THE IMPERIALL HISTORIE:

OR

THE LIVES OF THE EMPEROVRS, FROM IVLIVS CÆSAR, THE FIRST FOVNDER OF THE ROMAN MONARCHY, VNTO THIS PRESENT YEERE:

Public Library,
JUN 11 1891
DETROIT, MICH.

Containing their Liues and Actions,

with the Rising and Declining of that Empire; the Originall, *and Succesſe, of all thoſe barbarous Nations that haue* inuaded it, and ruined it by peece-meale: With an *ample Relation of all the memorable Accidents* that haue happened during theſe *laſt Combuſtions.*

First written in Spaniſh by PEDRO MEXIA: And *ſince continued by ſome others, to the death of* MAXIMILIAN the Second; Tranſlated into Engliſh by W. T.: And *now Corrected, amplified and continued to theſe times by* EDVVARD GRIMESTON Sergeant *at Armes.*

LONDON,
Printed by H. L. for MATHEVV LOVVNES, dwelling at the ſigne of the Biſhoppes head in PAVLES Church-yard. 1623.

Dum spiro spero Dav: Jones Queen by my Mast Sept 13 1741
R094 M55

Manderstoun TO Sept 15 1741

THE RIGHT HONOVRABLE, LIONEL LORD CRANFIELD, EARLE OF *MIDDLESEX*, Lord High Treasurer of *England*, and Master of his Maiesties Court of Wardes and Liueries.



THE treasures of Emperors themselues in their stil-preserued Actions, Counsailes and Liues (transcending farre their transitory treasures) In all Humility I present to your Lordshippes preseruation and protection; as proper, and peculiarly due to the Honors of your Office and Title, for the most apt correspondency of your Iudiciall habilities, to husband and dispose as well the Treasures of Counsailes and Actions, as of Offices and Reuenues. Of all these Imperiall Liues (my truely honoured Lord) most of the first Edition I haue only weeded, ordered, and amplified: The last six are the fruits of mine owne Labours. Three of the first I haue cast into new Mouldes: And the later I haue faithfully collected according to the most Authenticall and Impartiall-reputed Authours now extant, together with the confident relations of such as haue been eye-witnesses of some of the late Accidents, here offered as a Sacrifice to Immortall Memory. Notwithstanding which sufficient acquitall (and discharge from blame) of my well-intended Industries, I can no more assure nor promise their Approbations, then all other ingenuous and laborious Treasurers of example and vertue; though therein they cannot but be commended for cordiall restoratiues, to redouble Liues, if not to eternize them. But, in these moderne times, Endeuours that profit not, receiue acceptances that please not. Yet such was the Bounty and Nobility of all our antient Presidents of Times, that whosoeuer committed, to the Monuments of writings, eyther the prayses of Cities or singular Men, were euer adorned with Crowns, or Honours.

But in these degenerate yeers of ours; As many other excellent and ornamentall Merits: so these, especially, are left vtterly prayseleſſe and exolete. For ſince men ceaſe to doe praiſe-worthy deeds; To be prayſed, likewiſe they thinke thriftleſſe and idle. Notwithſtanding, what Preſents more precious can poſsibly bee giuen to Men, then Prayſe, Glorie, and Eternitie? All which I intentionally and effectually preſent and aſcribe, with all Worthineſſe, to your Lordſhippe, in entitling them to you, in theſe ſupreameſt Perſonages. For, Whoſoeuer protects and maintaines Vertue and Nobilitie, muſt neceſſarily be himſelfe both Vertuous and Noble. To the Protection therefore of all the Vertue and Nobility herein made ſacred to Eternitie, I only ſelect and inuoke your Honour, in theſe my humble Dedications; Abiding euer

Your good Lordſhippes moſt

humbly vowed, in all true Duty

and Seruice,

Ed. Grimeston.

A Table of the Names of all the Roman Emperors.

A

Adrian. 115
Albert *the First.* 349
Albert *the Second.* 602
Adulph. 546
Alexander Seuerus. 161
Antoninus Pius. 121
Anaſtatius *the Firſt.* 302
Anaſtatius *the Second.* 363
Arcadius *and* Honorius. 261
Arnolphus. 405
Aurelianus. 199
Auguſtus Octauianus Cæſar. 20

B

Baſsianus Caracalla. 147

C

Caligula. 48
Carus, Carinus *and* Numerianus. 213
Charles *the Great.* 383
Charles *the Second.* 399
Charles *the Third.* 403
Charles *the Fourth.* 571
Charles *the Fift.* 634
Claudius *the Firſt.* 53
Claudius *the Second.* 195
Clodius Balbinus, *and* Maximus Pupienus. 173
Commodus Antonius. 129
Conſtantius Clorus. 222
Conſtantine *the Great.* 225
Conſtantinus, Conſtantius *and* Conſtance, *the ſons of* Conſtantine *the Great.* 235
Conſtantine *the Third.* 346
Conſtance *the Second.* 347
Conſtantine *the Fourth.* 351
Conſtantine *the Fift.* 369
Conſtantine *the Sixt.* 377
Conrade *the Firſt.* 411

Con-

Conrade *the Second*. 439
Conrade *the Third*. 472
Conrade *the Fourth*. 532

D

Decius. 180
Didius Iulianus. 137
Domitianus. 100
Diocleſian. 216

E

EMilianus. 183

F

FErdinand *the Firſt*. 660
Ferdinand *the Second*. 755
Florianus. 206
Frederick Barbaroſſa. 479
Frederick *the Second*. 516
Frederick *the Third*. 605

G

GAlba. 76
Gallus. 182
Galienus. 187
Gordianus. 175
Gratianus. 252

H

HEliogabalus. 156
Henry *the Firſt*. 414
Henry *the Second*. 435
Henry *the Third*. 441
Henry *the Fourth*. 448
Henry *the Fift*. 461
Henry *the Sixt*. 500
Henry *the Seuenth*. 553
Heraclius. 339

I

IVlius Cæſar. 9
Iulianus Apoſtata. 241
Iouianus. 245
Iuſtinus *the Firſt*. 305
Iuſtinus *the Second*. 322
Iuſtinian *the Firſt*. 308
Iuſtinian *the Second*. 355

L

LEo *the Firſt*. 292
Leo *the Second*. 297
Leo *the Third*. 366
Leo *the Fourth*. 376

Lewes *the Firſt, called* Ludouicus Pius. 387
Lewes *the Second*. 397
Lewes *the Third*. 401
Lewes *the Fourth*. 408
Lewes *the Fift*. 595
Lotharius *the Firſt*. 395
Lotharius *the Second*. 498

M

MAcrinus. 151
Marcus Aurelius. 125
Martianus. 290
Mathias. 737
Mauritius. 328
Maximinus. 167
Maximilian *the Firſt*. 620
Maximilian *the Second*. 686

N

NEro. 62
Nerua. 105

O

OTho *the Firſt*. 81
Otho *the Second*. 419
Otho *the Third*. 428
Otho *the Fourth*. 431
Otho *the Fift*. 511

P

PErtinax. 133
Philip *the Firſt*. 178
Philip *the Second*. 505
Philippicus. 362
Phocas. 336
Probus. 207

Q

QVintilius. 198

R

RObert. 583
Rodulph *the Firſt*. 540
Rodulph *the Second*. 696

S

SEuerus. 141
Sigiſmund. 590

T

TAcitus. 205
Theodoſius *the Firſt*. 256
Theodoſius *the Second*. 274
Theodoſius *the Third*. 365

Tiberius *the First.* 39
Tiberius *the Second.* 326
Titus. 97
Traianus. 108

V

VAlentinianus *the First.* 247
Valentinianus *the Second.* 283
Valerianus. 185
Vespasianus. 91
Vitellius. 85

W

WEnceslavs. 576

Z

ZEno. 297

THE LIFE OF IVLIVS CAESAR,

FOVNDER OF THE EMPIRE AND MONARCHIE OF ROME.

THE ARGVMENT.

IVlius Cæsar *was of a Noble Fawily; and, returning to Rome from the Prætorship in Spain with great renown, entred into friendship with* Marcus Crassus *&* Gneius Pompey, *who were the mightiest Citizens in Rome: and, pacifying the controuersie between them, he obtained the Consulship: which he executed with such grauity and reputation, that his fellow-Consul would not endure to be with him, but liued retired. Afterwards, giuing his daughter* Iulia *in mariage to* Pompey, *hee went into France; which he subdued, and ouercame the Germains. Hee went afterwards also into Britannie, and by force subdued it to the Romen Empire.* Iulia *afterwards dying, and* Marcus Crassus *being slain by the Parthians, mortall discord grew between* Cæsar *and* Pompey: *the occasion whereof was, for that the second fiue yeers of* Cæsars *gouernment of France being expired, it was propounded by* Pompeyes *faction, that a successor should be sent him: and* Cæsar *desired, that hie command in the French Wars might be prolonged, and that in his absence he might demand the Consulship: which beeing denied him, hee made another proposition, that he would giue ouer his army in France, vpon condition that* Pompey *should do the like by his in Spain. Which being also denied, and being enioyned to leaue his army, he passed the Riuer Rubicon (limits assigned him which he was not to passe) and, taking the city of Ariminum, he went with such fury directly to Rome, as* Pompey *abandoned Italie; and he, following him, in the end ouerthrew him in Pharsalia. Whereupon* Pompey, *for refuge repairing to* Ptolomey *King of Egypt, was in a small Bark, by that Kings direction, slain by the hands of* Septimius *and* Achilla: *whose head being (by* Ptolomy's *command) presented to* Cæsar, *he wept. Afterwards, bending his force against* Ptolomy, *and ouercoming him, he passed into Egypt, and tamed the pride of the Egyptians. Thence he went into Africa, pursuing the remainder of* Pompeyes *faction; all which he ouercame: and* Cato *being in Vtica, vnwilling to fall into* Cæsars *hands, slue himself.* Cæsar, *returning to Rome, triumphed: and afterwards going into Spain (after a most cruell battell, wherein he was in danger to haue been lost) hee ouerthrew* Sextus Pompeius, *eldest son of the great* Pompey: *and, returning to Rome, hee took vpon him the Dictatorship. Where, finally,* Decius, Marcus Brutus, Gaius Cassius, Gaius Casca, Attilius Cimber, Quintus Ligarius, Marcus Spurius, Cornelius Cinna, *with many other principall Romans, conspiring against him, he was slain in the Senat, being of the age of 56 yeers, vpon the fifteenth day of March, with 23 woundes; many prodigious signes of his death appearing both before and afterwards: which hindred his passage against the Parthians, and many other high designes, which he resolued to haue vndertaken.*

BEing to write the liues of the Roman Emperours, which held the Monarchie of the world; or, to speak more properly, to reduce them into a brief *Compendium* (a work in truth of waight and troublesome, requiring an actiue spirit, and a more eloquent pen than mine) I hould it no small difficulty to begin with IVLIVS CÆSAR, of whom I am first to treat. Who although he were but Dictator, and not stiled Emperour, in that sense of Lord and Soueraign, as his Successors afterwards held it; yet he was the fore-runner, and made the way to this Monarchie: and all succeeding Emperours haue held it a glory to be called CÆSARS after his name. His exploits were such and so many, and Histories are so fraught with them, that I hould it as great a difficulty to relate them briefly, as to write them confusedly. Wherefore, out of so large and copious a field, I will onely collect that which I shall hould fittest

All Emperors took the firname of Cæsar.

fitteſt for the Subject of this Work; yet handling it with conuenient breuity: notwithſtanding (he being the *baſis* and foundation of this ſtately Building) it wil be needfull I ſhould extend my ſelf much more in this, than in the reſt which ſhall follow. As for his other braue atchieuements, I will refer the Reader to thoſe many books which make honourable mention of CÆSAR, and to the content which is generally conceiued of his vertues and worthy endeauours.

His greateſt exploit.

Among all the glorious actions of IVLIVS CÆSAR, the greateſt in my opinion, and which breeds moſt admiration, is, how he durſt project, then put it in practice, and laſtly bring it to effect, to make himſelf Lord of the Roman State (the which was Lady and Miſtreſſe of the greateſt and moſt habitable part of the world) and of all that ſhee had ſubdued during the ſpace of 700 yeers: for, ſo long it was from the firſt foundation of *Rome*, vntill that IVLIVS CÆSAR ſeized vpon the gouernment of the Common-weal: whereof there were 240 yeers vnder the abſolute command of Kings, and the reſt vnder the gouernment of Conſuls, who were choſen by the people; except ſome few yeers, in which the Tribunes and Decemuiri bare the ſway. Doubtleſſe, a ſhort time to raiſe and get ſo great an Empire as the Romans had obtained; when as CÆSAR, of a free State, made it ſubiect to the command of One; whoſe Empire without doubt exceeded all others both for continuance, extent and power: the which is confirmed by many approued Writers. Wherefore, omitting all other Kingdoms and Common-weals, wch are not to bee paralleld with this, I will make mention onely of the greateſt and moſt famous which at the firſt were called Monarchies; namely, the Aſſyrians, Perſians and Macedonians: all which the Roman Empire did far exceed. As for the Aſſyrians and Babylonians, which is the moſt antient of all Monarchies, during the ſpace of 1240 yeers (for, ſo long it continued, according to the computation of Saint AVGVSTINE) it neuer extended it ſelf out of the bounds of *Aſia*, nor had any footing in *Affrick* or *Europe*. Neither were the Medes more powerfull: of which Kingdome ARBATVS was the firſt Founder; by the ruine and death of SARDANAPALVS King of the Aſſyrians, ouerthrowing the firſt Monarchie. Then the Perſians extinguiſhed the Medes by the powerfull hand of CYRVS; and this ſhall bee accounted the ſecond Monarchie: who although they made ſome irruption into *Europe* (as that of XERXES and others) and in *Aſia* grew more powerfull than thoſe which had gone before, yet it continued not aboue 200 and odde yeers; and they were ruined, with DARIVS their King, by ALEXANDER, the Great, King of *Macedon*. We cannot deny, but that his Empire was of a greater extent than any of the aboue-named: for, he had vnder his obedience a great part of *Europe*, and hee ſubdued in a manner all *Aſia*: and this is held for the third Monarchie; but it was like a flaſh of lightning, burning all it encounters, and is ſoon extinct: for, with the death of ALEXANDER, his power decaied. Then grew factions, and diuerſe Kingdoms were erected; ſo as it is apparant, that the Roman Empire exceeded them all both in time, greatnes and power. In time, being not much leſſe than 1300 yeers ſince *Rome* was built, and yet the name of the Roman Empire continueth vnto this day. For the ſpace of 1300 yeers it ſtill increaſed, and hath euer ſince been held the moſt predominant power of all others. In extent of dominions & power; for, it is moſt certain, that, vniting whatſoeuer the others held, it will ſcarce equall the one half of the Roman Empire. For, laying aſide whatſoeuer the Emperours did adde vnto it, before that IVLIVS CÆSAR did ſeize vpon the State, they had ſubdued the beſt part of the world. In *Europe* they were Maſters of all *Italie*, and *Gallia Ciſalpina* or *Lombardie*, *Auſtria* and *Illiricum*, now called *Sclauonia*; and they extended themſelues as farre as the riuer of *Danubius*: they had ſubdued all *Greece* (ſome yeelding voluntarily; others, by force) the States of *Athens*, *Lacedemon*, *Thebes*, *Corinth*, and all *Peloponeſus*, now called *Morea*, with their Territories; the Kingdoms of *Macedon*, & *Epirus* now *Albania*, and in like maner *Thracia*. They held the Ilands of *Sicilie*, *Sardynia*, *Crete* or *Candie*, *Cypres*, *Rhodes*, *Eubœa*, now *Negropont*, with many other Ilands in the Mediterranean Sea. They alſo ſubdued *Spain* (but with more difficulty and oppoſition than any of the reſt) and in like manner all *France*, with that part of *Germanie* which lies on this ſide the *Rhine*, called the Lower, or *Gallia Belgica*, which was the work of CÆSAR himſelf; and in like maner that of *Britannie*, vnder which are comprehended *England* and *Scotland*. They were Maſters of all *Affrick* (which is the third part of the world) that is to ſay, of the fruitfulleſt and moſt habitable parts, hauing ruined proud *Carthage*. In *Aſia* they had ſubdued the greateſt and beſt Prouinces, and made them their Subiects and Tributaries: among the which were *Syria* called *Soria*, *Phœnicia*, *Paleſtina*, *Iudæa*, *Phrygia*, *Caria*, *Cilicia*, and *Bithinia* by the laſt will and teſtament of King NICOMEDES. The Kings of *Egypt* and *Cappadocia* were their friends and confederates; and they had a commanding power in *Armenia*, *Colchos*, and other Prouinces. *Albania*, *Iberia*,

The time from Romes foundation to Cæſar's vſurpation.

Dio. Halicar. c. 1. Strabo c. 6 Appian in the firſt of his triumphs.

S. Aug. de ciui. Dei. Tit. Liuius, Plinie, Solynus, their compariſons of Monarchies.

The Monarchie of the Macedonians decaied with the death of Alexander.

The greatnes of the Roman Empire.

Iberia, and ſome other Countries, did them homage, and paied them tribute: which Countries had been vanquiſhed by them, and many Kings and valiant Captains ſlain. Finally, they were Lords of ſo many Cities and Prouinces, as it were an endleſſe labour to ſet them down in particular; and their power was ſo great, as no forces but their owne were able to annoy them. But afterwards, diſcord and ambition creeping into this State which was ſo free and powerfull, what forren force could not effect, they wrought with their owne Arms, and triumphed ouer themſelues. The cauſe of all this grew through the diſcord between POMPEY and IVLIVS CÆSAR, which two were at that time the moſt eminent and powerfull men in *Rome*; and yet at the ſame Inſtant there were other Citizens of great eſteem. But, the root of this hatred grew from a further cauſe, that is, from the factions and ciuill war between SCILLA and MARIVS: in which, MARIVS being ſlain, SCILLA made himſelf Dictator, and ſeized vpon *Rome*; yet before his death hee gaue it ouer, and left the City at liberty. POMPEY had followed SCILLAS faction, and done braue exploits for him: but CÆSAR had ſided with MARIVS, being his kinſman, and at that time very young. This was the ſeed from whence ſprung the ciuill war between them. But, it ſhall be needfull to relate ſome former matters, for the better vnderſtanding of the occaſions which went before, and the ſucceſs which followed; the which wee will deſcribe briefly after this manner: The warre and power of SCILLA being ended, GNEIVS POMPEIVS and MARCVS CRASSVS (who had alſo followed that partie) remaining in great reputation, the one ſought to ſupplant the other, ſo as there grew ſome jarrs between them, which began during the life of SCILLA. CRASSVS grew very powerfull: for, beſides his Wiſdome, Nobility and Eloquence, he was very rich beyond all the other Citizens of his time. POMPEY alſo became famous and much eſteemed, beſides the ſucceſſion he had by SCILLA, for his great victories and valiant exploits in Arms performed in SCILLAS time and ſince, both by ſea and land, in *Affrick*, *Spain* and *Aſia*; the which are ſo many and ſo great, as I dare not relate them. The deeds of theſe two eminent Perſons being growne to this height, and their quarrels increaſing daily as the heads of factions (and yet at the ſame time there were others of great note within the City, as CATO, CICERO, LENTVLVS, and others) during theſe alterations, IVLIVS CÆSAR returned to *Rome* from his Prætorſhip in *Spain* with great reputation, yet his ambitious thoughts aimed at greater matters, both in regard of the greatnes of his houſe (for, by the fathers ſide, hee was of a Noble and very antient Family; and by the mother hee deſcended from the Kings of *Rome*, who were extracted from ÆNEAS of *Troy*) and for his many allies and friends; being alſo very witty and eloquent. He had alſo purchaſed great credit and authority in the managing of thoſe charges which had been committed vnto him. He had bin Queſtor in *Spain*, Tribune of the ſouldiers, *Ædile*, high-prieſt and Pretor; hauing gotten victories in *Spain* againſt the Inhabitants of *Galitia* and *Portugal*; adding to all this, his merits and vertues, being bountifull, wiſe and learned in all good Arts, moſt actiue in the managing of Arms both on foot and horſe-back; very valiant and ſtrong, whereof he made great proofs before he had any command in the wars of *Aſia*, vnder the Pretor MARCVS TERMO, and SERVILIVS the Proconſul; where hee obtained a Ciuicall Crowne. He was, moreouer, of a good conſtitution of body, tall of ſtature, fair, ſtrong of his members, and very patient of labour. For all which conſiderations and many others, hee was in great eſteem; but neither by his authority nor place able to equall MARCVS CRASSVS or POMPEY, for that the roots of their greatnes had been of long continuance.

The Romans vanquiſhed themſelues.

Competency betwixt Pompey and Craſſus.

The reaſons of their greatnes.

Cæſars familie and vertues.

CÆSAR being comn to *Rome*, with a ſecret intent to make himſelf greater than either of them; CRASSVS and POMPEY affected his friendſhip, by whoſe help they might ſupplant one another. But CÆSAR, being diſcreet and wiſe, would not follow any party, nor tie himſelf to defend their actions; but, carrying himſelf indifferently, he laboured to reconcile them; hauing a conceit, that, if he carried himſelf as a Neuter, they would both yeeld vnto his will: and this his cunning practice (as PLVTARCH reports) was onely diſcouered by M. CATO. In the end, by his endeauours a peace was concluded betweene them, beeing both bound vnto him: yet, being ſtill jealous one of another, and fearing to loſe CÆSAR, they both ſought to gratifie him: and in this ſort he made himſelf equall to either of them; and that power which two had formerly vſurped, was now diuided between three; and in the end wee ſhall ſee who got the ſole command. This league and attonement beeing made, CÆSAR demanded the Conſulſhip, which is the greateſt ordinary dignity. He carried himſelf in this charge with ſuch reputation, as his fellow Conſul BIBVLVS neuer accompani'd him, but kept himſelf retired during his Conſulſhip. CÆSAR, the better to maintain the credit and authority wch he had got,

Cæſars policy and practice.

A league betwixt Cæſar, Craſſus and Pompey.

Cæſar made conſul.

and to attain to the greatnes whereunto he aspired, he himself took to wife CALPHVRNIA, the daughter of LVCIVS PISO, who was to succeed him in the Consulare; and hee gaue IVLIA his daughter in mariage to POMPEY, rejecting her former spouse SERVILIVS CEPIO, by whose help he had a little before croft his Collegue BIBVLVS. CÆSARS consulship being ended, these three Confederates being equally greedy of honour, they easily made a match to inuade the Common-weal. CÆSAR made choise of *Gaul* or *France* for his Prouince; CRASSVS, of *Asia*; and POMPEY, of *Spain*: whither they went with three puissant Armies. And thus the whole world was to be held by three Princes in partnership. The exploits of CÆSAR in his Prouince, what battels he fought, what victories he won, what cities and people he subdued, what stratagems, policy and valour he vsed (this warre continuing little lesse than ten yeers) I cannot relate, my meaning being to obserue breuity. He left excellent Commentaries of his owne deeds, and full of truth; the which were approued by his very enemies, and much commended by CICERO. Yet ASINIVS POLLIO (enuying CÆSARS vertues) doth in some things tax him. They are also written by PLVTARCH, SVETONIVS, APPIANVS, ALEXANDRINVS, LVCAN, PAVLVS OROSIVS, LVCIVS FLORVS, EVTROPIVS, and many other: to whom I refer the Reader. CÆSAR got such reputation in this war, as he was held the greatest Captain of his time, yea, or of those that were in former Ages. He subdued all *France*, from the *Pyrene* Mountains vnto the *Alps*, and all the remainder vnto the riuer of *Rhine*. Hee first vanquished the Suissers and Tigurins, who (as PLVTARCH affirms) were 300000 men, whereof 190000 were well trained vp in Arms. He conquered the Germains, with ARIOVISTVS their Leader, who had inuaded *France*, from whence he expelled them. He subdued the Belgii, the Ambiani and Neruij, with other warlike people of *France*, and he spilt more bloud than euer was in any wars in the world. Then, passing the *Rhine* vpon a bridge of wood which he built, he subdued the Germains to the Roman Empire; and, finding no more opposition there, hee past with his Army into *Brittanie*, which was inhabited by a fierce Nation, not till that time knowne by any traffick or commerce: these hee forced to subject themselues to the Roman State. During the continuance of these warres, in which CÆSAR got great spoils and wealth, he neuer left to purchase to himself friends, both in *Rome* and in all other places, both by letters and gifts, and in like manner with the Kings and Cities of *Asia*, *Greece*, and other Countries; sending them aids of men, without any leaue or authority from the Senate: the which he might safely do, as long as the league continued betwixt him, POMPEY and CRASSVS. He won men vnto him, and was much beloued of his souldiers, giuing these double pay, and bestowing honours vpon others: by which means (POMPEY not foreseeing it) he grew to such power and reputation, as he began to fear him when he was not able to suppresse him. But now that strict league of friendship, which had been betwixt these two, began to dissolue, for that the pawn which maintained it was taken away; so as there grew a mutuall fear & jealousie betwixt them; first, by the death of IVLIA, CÆSARS daughter, who marrying to POMPEY entertained concord between the son and the father-in-law, by the league of nuptiall loue; secondly, by the death of MARCVS CRASSVS, the third man in this company, who was slain by the Parthians in *Asia*, whither he went to make war (as some write) more to heap vp riches, than to win honour; whose reputation notwithstanding was a support to their good agreement. So as the chief causes, wherupon their friendship was grounded, being taken away, their emulation presently brake forth. POMPEY was jealous of CÆSARS greatnes; and CÆSAR hardly endured POMPEY's supereminency: the one brookt no equall; the other, no superiour. Whereupon they fell to warre, which was the greatest and most generall that euer was: for, in it there were engaged the Senate, all the Roman Legions, all their friends and subjects, Kings and Cities, for the one or the other partie. On the one side were eleuen Legions, on the other eighteen; all Roman and Italian souldiers, with all the forces of *Rome*, besides the aids of their confederates. This war was managed in *Italie*, *France*, *Spain*, *Epirus*, *Thessalie*, *Egypt*, *Asia* and *Affrick*, by themselues or their Lieutenants; and in the end, after fiue yeers, it died in *Spain*. Some Authors set down the causes of this ciuill war, although they vary in some points: but the truth is, the chief reasons were enuy, ambition, and desire of command, wherewith they were both infected: and the one jealous of the others greatnes (as if the Roman Empire had not been sufficient for them two) the one sought to ruine the other. That POMPEY had any intent to vsurp the State, and become a Tyrant, it doth not appear: but it is apparant, he would not haue CÆSAR attain to that dignity wherein he was. Of CÆSAR some write, that being forced through fear he came to Arms, lest he should see himself called in que-

Cæsars and Pompey's mariage.

Cæsar goes with an armie into France.

Cæsars conquests.

The boldnes & policy of Cæsar.

Pompey grows iealous of Cæsar.

Their forces in the ciuill war.

The causes of the ciuill war.

question, and condemned: for, CATO had threatned to accuse him whensoeuer hee should giue-ouer his Prouince. Others object, that he had alwaies a desire to vsurp the State; and therfore, balancing his power with POMPEY's, he thought it behooueful to entertain friendship and contract an alliance with him. CICERO saith, that he had alwaies in his mouth that verse of EVRIPIDES, that If it were lawfull to infringe the lawes, it was for a Kingdome; and that CÆSAR, being greedy of command, could not endure to be without an Army: but, in my opinion, the reasons were such as haue been related; and these, the occasions.

This being the last of the second fiue yeers of CÆSARS gouernment in *France*, LENTVLVS and MARCELLVS being Consuls, and of POMPEY's faction; it was propounded in the Senate, to send a Successor to CÆSAR, and that hee should giue-ouer his gouernment and the Army; and if he would (as he had written) demand the Consulship, he should com to *Rome* in person. CÆSAR demanded, that his command in the war might be prolonged, and the gouernment which he had, and that he might demand the Consulate being absent, before he gaue-ouer his Armie; which honor ten Tribunes had formerly granted him, with POMPEY's good liking. But now POMPEY would not yeeld vnto it, as being against the lawes, which did not allow any man to demand the Consulship but present; forgetting, that he had been made Consul before he came to lawfull age, and had attained to other dignities, contrary to the ordinarie course of law. But it is the common condition of men, To blame that in another which they allow in themselues.

Lawes for demanding the consulship.

This being denied to CÆSAR, he made another propositon; that hee would leaue his Army, and come to *Rome* as a priuate man, so as POMPEY would giue-ouer his which he held in *Spain*. This was put to the question, and did cause a great distraction in the Senate. CICERO interposed himself, labouring to reconcile them, and to conclude their jars with peace. POMPEY would haue been tractable, had not those of his faction, being of the prime men of *Rome*, stood proudly vpon tearms; who (notwithstanding any just and reasonable conditions propounded by CÆSAR) were inflexible. It was therefore decreed in Senate, that CÆSAR, by a certain time prefixed, should leaue his Army, and that hee should not passe it ouer the riuer of *Rubicon*, which did bound in his Prouince; declaring him an enemy to the Roman State if he did otherwise. LVCIVS ANTONIVS and QVINTVS CVRIO, Tribunes of the people, fauouring CÆSAR, opposed themselues to this decree: but they were disgraced, ill-intreated, and thrust out of the Senate. Whereupon, they fled out of *Rome*, and went to CÆSAR: the which was a great help to him to win the hearts of his souldiers, for that the office of the Tribunes was held sacred and inuiolable.

Cicero seeks to reconcile Cæsar & Pompey.

A decree of the Senat against Cæsar.

CÆSAR hearing how matters had past, seeing himself depriued of all future hope of peace, he marcht speedily from *Rauenna*, onely with 5000 foot, and 300 horse, commanding his Legions to follow presently after, and to joyn with him. Comming afterwards to *Rubicon* (which if he should passe, there would be no hope of peace remaining) some say that he staid there a good space; considering with himself, of what importance this passage was, and what miseries would ensue. PLVTARCH writes, that he discoursed thereof with ASINIVS POLLIO, and other his friends which did accompany him. APPIANVS ALEXANDRINVS reports, that hee vsed these words, Doubtlesse, if I forbear to passe this riuer, it will be the beginning of my ruine; if I passe it, the ruine will be generall. And SVETONIVS writes, that turning towards the riuer, he said, It is yet in our power to turn back; but, passing the riuer, wee must make our way with our weapons. He writes, moreouer, that CÆSAR standing thus doubtfull and irresolute, he was animated by the apparition of a man of an extraordinary stature & shape, sitting neer vnto his Army, piping vpon a reed. Besides the shepheards and heardsmen, many souldiers left their guards, and went down to hear him, and with them some Trumpetters; so as hee caught hould of one of their trumpets, and leapt forth to the riuer, beginning with a mighty blast to sound the battell, and so went on his pase to the bank on the other side. Then, with a furious resolution, CÆSAR cried out, Let vs go whither the gods, and the injurious dealings of our enemies, do call vs: The dice are cast. I haue set vp my Rest, come what will of it. After which words, he set spurs to his horse, and past the riuer, the whole Army following him. In this manner he resolued: which was the beginning of the ciuill wars, and of *Romes* seruitude, and the first step to a Monarchy and the soueraigne command of one, as I will briefly set it down.

Cæsars words when he past Rubicon.

Whoso desires to haue a full view of this History, let him read APPIANVS ALEXANDRINVS, SVETONIVS, PLVTARCH in the liues of CÆSAR, CATO, and CICERO; Saint AVGVSTINE *lib. 3. de ciuit. Dei*, IVLIVS CÆSAR himself in his Commentaries, LVCIVS FLO-

FLORVS, *hist. 4.* TITVS LIVIVS his Abbreuiats, PAVLVS OROSIVS, EVTROPIVS, *6. hist:* LVCAN, PLINIE *de viris illustribus*, VALERIVS MAXIMVS, with diuerse others.

CAESAR hauing past the riuer, and drawn his whole Army together, where (as SVETONIVS writes) the Tribunes of the Commons came vnto him, in base and dishonourable garments, with the which they had fledde from *Rome*; there hee made an excellent Oration to his souldiers; shedding some tears, and rearing his garment down the breſt, laying before them the equity of his cause, and craving their helps and assistance. To whom hauing with a generall applause and consent made answer, that they were ready to obey his will, he parted presently, and the next day came to *Ariminum*, whereon he seized: the like hee did to all the Towns and Castles where he past. DOMITIVS, who in a factious tumult had been nominated his Successour in *Gaul*, held *Corfinium* with a garrison of 30 Cohorts: which being taken, he pardoned the souldiers and inhabitants, and intreated DOMITIVS kindly, giuing him leaue to depart (who went presently to POMPEY) which was an act of a Noble and generous minde: the which, CAESAR obserued in all his victories during the ciuill war; by which clemency he purchased to himself as great honour, as by his victories.

The beginning of the ciuill war.

CAESARS resolution being knowne at *Rome*, it troubled POMPEY, amazed the Senat, and terrified the common people; and it would bee tedious to relate what prouisions they made. POMPEY was much deceiued, for that hee could not beleeue that CAESAR would thrust himself into so great a danger, or that hee should bee able to raise sufficient forces to resist him: but the succeſs proued otherwise. For, notwithstanding that he had authority from the Consuls and Senate to leuie souldiers, to call home the legions, and to send Captains for the defense of diuerse cities of *Italie* whereas CAESAR should passe, yet all this was not sufficient to resist CAESARS fury, and the power he brought with him. The fame of his coming increasing daily, POMPEY with the whole Senat abandoned *Rome*, going to *Capua*, and from thence to *Brundusium*, a sea-town vpon the confines of *Italie*, seated at the mouth of the gulf of *Venice*: where he gaue order, the Consuls should passe to *Dirrachium*, now called *Durrazzo*, a sea-town of *Macedonie* (whereof a great part is now called *Albania*) to vnite all their forces; beeing out of hope to be able to resist CAESAR in *Italie*, who had already taken *Corfinium*, as I haue formerly said: where, hauing drawn DOMITIVS Cohorts to serue him, hee marcht on; and, hearing that POMPEY and the Consuls were together at *Brundusium*, he went towards them with his Legions with all the speed hee could. But POMPEY had fortified himself sufficiently to make defense; yet vpon CAESARS approach, beginning to inuest the Town, he imbarkt himself in the night time, and so past ouer to *Dirrachium*, where the Consuls attended him. And thus CAESAR remained in *Italie* without resistance; being very doubtfull what to resolue: for, although he would gladly haue followed POMPEY, yet he had no prouision of ships: and, by reason that it was winter, shipping could not come so soon as was requisite; and considering withall, how much it imported, not to leaue any enemy behinde him, which might cause any alteration in *France* or *Italie* by his absence, he resolued to deferre the pursuit of POMPEY, and to take his way towards *Spain*, which held for POMPEY: where he had his best legions, and two captains, PETREIVS and AFRANIVS. SVETONIVS TRANQVILLVS saith, that when hee had thus resolued, he said to his friends, Let vs first go against an Army which is without a Captain; and afterwards let vs return against the Captain that hath neuer an Army: for, the souldiers that POMPEY had in *Spain* were valiant, and had been long trained vp in Arms; but their Commanders, PETREIVS and AFRANIVS, were not held for politick or expert in the wars. And, on the contrary, POMPEY was most wise, and a very valiant Captain: but the souldiers which he had with him were newly leuied, and of small experience.

Pompey's error, presuming too much of himself.

Cæsar forced on Rome and all Italie.

Returning from *Brundusium*, in sixty daies, without bloudshed or battell, CAESAR becam Lord of all *Italie*; and coming to *Rome*, they were in very great fear, remembring the cruelties committed in the time of SYLLA: But CAESAR, vsing his accustomed clemency, did hurt no man of any degree, high or lowe; but called to the Senate those Senators which remained, and which came with him, comforting euery one with milde and good words, and laying the whole fault vpon POMPEY, in accusing him of all things which had hapned, and of this discord. He sought by all means to justifie his owne cause, and declared how much he did then and euer had desired peace, and therewith requested that Embassadors might be sent to POMPEY to procure the same; and, causing himself to be presently chosen Consul, he opened the Roman Treasury, notwithstanding that METELLVS, one of the Tribunes of the people, was desirous and went about to hinder the same. The treasure which he took from thence he diuided among his

Cæsar, Consul by force.

his souldiers: which, as PLINIE in his three and thirtith Book reports, was very great; the which LVCAN also affirmeth. These things being ended, and CAESAR desirous to go from *Rome* into *Spain* (like a wise and discreet Captain) first took order aswell for the ciuill gouernment, as for the wars; and, making choice of the legions which were to go with him, hee left part of his troops in *Brundusium* and *Otranto*, and in other strong places vpon the Sea side, to keep POMPEY from landing if he sought to return into *Italie*. He also nominated HORTENSIVS and DOLABELLA for his Captains, to make prouision of shipping to be brought to the port of *Brundusium*, there to bee in a readineſse against his return from his journey. QVINTVS VALERIVS hee sent with a legion to *Sardinia* against MARCVS COTTA, which held the same for POMPEY. To *Sicilia* he sent CVRIVS against MARCVS CATO, with direction, that hauing taken the same, hee should passe ouer into *Africa*. LEPIDVS hee left in *Rome*, as Prefect thereof; and MARCVS ANTONIVS, for Gouernor of all *Italie*: and, determining to leaue LICINIVS CRASSVS in *France*, with his accustomed celerity he went on his journy, and found no resistance, neither in *Italie*, nor in *France*, but onely at *Marſelles*, which held for POMPEY: who (in my opinion) more like bould and aduenturous friends, than wise men, would not receiue nor lodge him in their city, but put themselues in Arms against him for their defense. CAESAR coming thither beſieged the City; and, to auoid losse of time, left DECIVS BRVTVS and CAIVS TREBONIVS with sufficient forces, who continued the siege, and endured much: he himself followed his way into *Spain*, where his coming was alreadie knowne; and AFRANIVS and PETREIVS attended him, with the aid of their friends, and foure Roman legions; between which and CAESAR the warres continued many daies, and chiefly neer the city of *Lerida*. In the beginning, CAESAR was in great danger and much distressed, aswell through want of victuals, as by reason of the winter being com, which annoyed him with the swelling of riuers: before and after which, there passed many great skirmishes and conflicts between the two Armies, and other accidents and aduentures too long to bee recounted. Finally, CAESAR knew how to make war in such sort, as, without giuing them oportunity to come to a battell, he brought his aduersaries to such extremity and distresse, as perishing with hunger they came to a composition; which was, that to the legions (who now were able neither to offend nor defend) should be granted liberty to depart & to go whither they would: which was performed accordingly; and PETREIVS and AFRANIVS went to POMPEY: and part of the legions, which would not abide with CAESAR, had leaue to do as they listed; CAESAR still perseuering in his clemency and mildnes.

Cæsars going into Spain against Petreius and Afranius.

This war being ended, and the spring come (not to leaue any thing in *Spain* to be subdued) he passed forwards, and came into the prouince of *Betica*, now called *Andaluzia*, with part of his forces, leauing commandement with the Armie to march whither hee had appointed, and there to stay for him, because that MARCVS VARRO, being POMPEY'S Lieutenant in that prouince, held it for him, with one legion of good souldiers: but not daring to oppose himself against CAESAR, he peaceably yeelded vp vnto him both the countrey and the legion; and so all was pacified, and at his command. Thence hee went to *Cordoua*, where hee called a parliament, and an assembly of all the estates of that prouince: wherein, among other things which there were treated of, he highly commending the Cordouefes and Seuillians which had taken his part (as himself writeth) marched forwards, and visiting the prouince he came to the Isle and city of *Cales*; and, prouiding there certain necessaries, hee took the shippes and gallies which MARCVS VARRO had there in a readineſse, and such other as hee could get, and embarked himself. And, leauing QVINTVS CASSIVS with foure legions in that prouince, he took his passage by sea to *Tarragona*, sending commandement by land to his legions to march thither: where hauing in few daies taken order for that prouince, hee departed with his Army towards *Narbona*, and from thence to *Marſelles*: which yeelded vnto him, hauing in the siege and assaults endured many calamities. CAESAR, nothing respecting the small regard and ingratitude of that city, but the antiquity and fame therof, would not permit any violence to be offred to the citizens & inhabitants; but, leauing a sufficient garrison to guard the same, he commanded his legions by appointed iournies to march towards *Italie*: himself, with a necessary guard for his person, and others in his company, took passage for *Rome*; all things succeeding prosperously with him, although that some of his Captains had ill succeſſe. For, CAIVS ANTONIVS, whom (we said) he left with DOLABELLA for Captain of his Nauie, was ouerthrowne and taken prisoner in the gulf of *Venice* by OCTAVIVS, POMPEY'S Lieutenant. At this ouerthrowe there was an Act don worthy to be recommended with honour to posterity. ANTHONIE

Cæsar subdued all Spain.

The taking of Marſelles, and Cæsars return to Rome.

NIE was constrained to ship his souldiers in long boats for want of seruiceable ships; the which were taken by a stratagem as in a toil, by the Pompeians, who tied ropes vnder the water. One of them, which carried almost a thousand Opitergins, young men and valiant, was intangled in this snare, and was assaulted by the power of the whole Armie, they making resistance from morning vntill night: but, in the end being oppresst by the multitudes of their enemies, and seeing no means to escape by their valour, by the incouragement of VVLTEIVS their Colonel they slue one another. And DOLABELLA was likewise ouercome neer to the Ile of *Cocyra*, now called *Corfu*; and CVRIO, who (according to CÆSARS commandement) went into *Africa* with two legions, hauing in the beginning good successe, was afterwards ouerthrown, and the most part of his people slain by POMPEY's friend, IVBA King of *Mauritania*, which is now the Kingdom of *Fes*: hee might haue fled away, but shame perswaded him to dy with that Armie which his rathnes had cast away.

CÆSAR being comn to *Rome*, and made Dictator (as PLVTARCH and APPIANVS testifie) new Consuls were chosen; and he, being one of them, deposed himself from his Dictatorship, and so, changing and prouiding Pretors for the prouinces at his pleasure, sending MARCVS LEPIDVS into *Spain*, and AVLVS ALBINVS into *Sicilia*, SEXTVS PEDVCEIVS into *Sardinia*, and DECIVS BRVTVS into *France*, and taking such further order as he thought good, he departed from *Rome* in the moneth of December towards *Brundusium*: whither hee commanded all his Forces to march, there to take passage for *Macedonia*, the greatest part whereof (as I said) is now called *Albania*; where he knew that POMPEY staid with his Armie. Who, all one whole yeer, which CÆSAR spent in his journey into *Spain*, busied himself in prouiding a Nauie to return into *Italie*, and in gathering treasure, and in leuying souldiers for that purpose, and had made ready a wonderfull great prouision of all things. For, there came vnto him ships, mony and men, from many kingdoms, prouinces and cities of *Asia* and *Græcia*, from *Syria*, *Pontus*, *Bithynia*, *Cilicia*, *Phœnicia*, *Cappadocia*, *Pamphilia*, *Armenia* the lesse, *Egypt*, *Græcia*, *Thessalia*, *Boëtia*, *Achaia*, *Epire*, *Athens*, *Lacedemonia*, and the Iles of *Creta*, *Rhodes*, and many other parts and countries: there came also to his aid, in person, the Kings, DEIOTARVS and ARIOBARZANES. Of which people, and of those which he brought with him from *Italie*, POMPEY had drawne together a great Armie by land, and an exceeding great number of ships and gallies by sea; which I do not set down, by reason of the diuersity of opinions between Authors touching the number of his souldiers and of CÆSARS: for certain, they were very mighty Armies, but the greatest number were of POMPEY's side. Who imagining (because that it was in the hart of winter) that CÆSAR should not be able, nor haue time, commodiously to passe the seas; and hauing (as indeed he had) aduertisement that CÆSAR was in *Rome*, he diuided and lodged his people in *Macedonia* and *Thessalia*, retiring himself from the sea, commanding and charging his Captains by sea (of which, MARCVS BIBVLVS was chiefe) that they should guard and defend the coast. But CÆSAR knowing, that in the speedy execution consisted the principall point of his victory, and that occasion once let slip is seldome recouered; being departed from *Rome*, and arriued at *Brundusium* (as we haue before said) notwithstanding that all his legions were not yet come, yet he embarked aboord those ships which hee had there in readinesse, so many as they could contain, which were seuen legions of his choise men (as he himself recordeth) and sent commandement to those which were comming, to make haste, to the end they should join with the rest which there remained, whom he would speedily send for. And so hee departed from *Brundusium*, now called *Brindez*, in the beginning of Ianuarie: and, crossing the seas with prosperous weather, the third day after, he arriued vpon the coast of *Macedonia*, before that POMPEY, had any intelligence of his embarking; and, setting his people on shore in the despite of POMPEY's Captains, hee commanded the ships and gallies presently to returne to *Brundusium* to fetch the rest of his Armie which hee had there left and commanded to come. And the wars beginning, hee presently seized vpon the cities of *Apollonia*, which is now called *Bellona*, and *Erico*; driuing from thence LVCIVS TORQVATVS and LVCIVS STRABERIVS, which held the same for POMPEY: who as soon as he was aduertised of CÆSAR'S landing, with the greatest speed possible sending for his troops (such as were neerest hand) hee marched towards *Dirrachium*, where lay all his victuall, munition, and prouision for the warres; doubting that CÆSAR would come to surprise the same, as in truth he did; but in vain: for, the situation thereof made it inexpugnable.

POMPEY being come, their Camps were lodged within few forlongs one of the other, a riuer running between them: there passed many aduentures, skirmishes, and also some treaties of peace,

Pompey's people & prouision.

Opportunity lost is seldom recouered.

Cæsars passage to Græcia against Pompey

Cæsar and Pompey lodge

peace which CÆSAR offred; the which were not accepted by POMPEY, so much he assured himself of his power: and CÆSAR daily expecting the coming of his other legions, who staied longer than he thought they ought to haue done, without the which he thought it no wisdome to come to a battell, beeing much grieued, and very carefull for the same, hee resolued in person, with three confident seruants onely, secretly to embark himself in a Brigandine, and to passe that streight of the sea to fetch them, thinking to bee able to perform the same without the knowledge of any. And, putting it in execution accordingly, he passed down the riuer to the sea, which he found so troubled and tempestuous, as the Master of the Brigandine (not knowing whom he carried) nor daring to passe any further, would haue returned. Then CÆSAR, discouering his face, as it is reported, said, Be not afraid, Friend: for, thou carriest with thee CÆSAR and all his fortune. The Master, heerwith encouraged, striued to hould on his voyage: but, at length, the force of the tempest was so great, and the winde so contrary, that (notwithstanding CÆSARS courageous words) they were constrained to return, vnable to passe anie further forwards. Which being vnderstood in his Armie, they much wondred, grieued, and murmured thereat; praising him more for a valiant Knight, than a wise Captain: and so VALERIVS MAXIMVS recounts it for a rash aduenture; which, in my opinion, was the occasion why IVLIVS CÆSAR records it not in his Commentaries.

neer vnto Dyrrachium.

The rash aduenture of Cæsar.

This being past, within fewe daies after, ANTONIVS arriued with foure of those legions which were left behinde in *Italie*, presently returning the ships back again for the rest: and (after some aduentures which hapned) joyning with CÆSARS Armie, and all things set in good order (and the like being done on POMPEY's side) there passed some things between them, which for breuity I omit, vntill that neer to the city of *Dyrrachium* (whither CÆSAR went, with a determination to haue surprised the same, and POMPEY to relieue it) the two Armies lodged themselues the one so neer the other, as there were daily skirmishes and slaughters of men of either partie; and that one day the skirmish waxing hot, and rescues coming from either Armie, it came to a battell: wherein the successe was such, that CÆSARS troops began to flee, and could not bee made to stand by any intreaties or threats, till they came to their camp which they had fortified; and yet some abandoned the same, and durst not defend it. But POMPEY, either for that (as some think) hee imagined their flight to bee fained, and that there was some deceit or ambush, or that he supposed there was no more to be done, and that CÆSAR had been ouerthrowne with small toil, so as he should bee no more able to recouer himself, did not prosecute the victorie, neither followed the charge, but rather caused a retreit to bee sounded, without assailing his enemies camp. Whither when CÆSAR came, he took such order as was most conuenient, being no lesse courageous and politick in time of aduersity, than of prosperity: and it is reported that he said to his friends, Truely, this day had ended our warres, if our enemies had had a Captain which had knowne how to haue ouercome. This day, IVLIVS CÆSAR lost a great number of his souldiers, amongst which were foure hundred Romane Knights, ten Tribunes, and two and thirty Centurions; and his enemies took from him two and thirty Ensignes. This battell ended, POMPEY sent the newes thereof to diuerse parts of the world, houlding himself for absolutely victorious: And IVLIVS CÆSAR hauing blamed some of his Captains and Ensigne-bearers (notwithstanding that his whole Armie grieued, and were ashamed of their late loss) again desired the battell; yet he would not then fight, his Armie being timorous, against those which were in-heart & victorious, but rather took a new course: and, sending his sick and hurt men to the city of *Apollonia*, hee departed by night, with the greatest silence that could be, from the place where he was, and took his way towards *Thessalia*, with intent to refresh and encourage his Armie, and to draw his enemie further from the sea-coast, where his chief force lay, and where his camp was fortified and victualled; or, at the least, to go to meet and ouerthrowe SCIPIO, who (as hee was aduertised) came to join with POMPEY.

A battell betwixt Cæsar and Pompey neer to Dyrrachium.

Pompey's victory.

POMPEY, seeing CÆSARS departure, after that hee had followed him some fewe dayes, took counsell, and (as APPIANVS testifieth) was determined (leauing so sufficient a Nauie at sea, as CÆSAR should not be able to make any benefit thereof) to passe into *Italie*, and to recouer the same, with *France* and *Spain*, and then afterwards to return against CÆSAR: but, beeimportuned and ouer-ruled by the Roman Lords which came with him, he altered his determination, and presently departed to pursue CÆSAR, who made a stay in the fields of *Pharsalia*, which are in *Thessalia* (making his retreit with such discretion and in so good order, as in all occasions that were offred he had euer the better) vntill that at length, seeing his men full of resolution, force and courage, he resolued no longer to forbear the Fight; and therefore cared not any

any more to refuse the battell, but rather daily presented the same to POMPEY. Who knowing (as indeed it was true) that CÆSAR began to want victuals, and that his Armie began to weaken and diminish, he deferred the same, and would not fight; and, as a wise and well-experimented Captain, would haue prolonged the war, defeating his enemie without putting his own Armie in hazard: and although that POMPEY had thus resolued, yet the opinions, murmurings, and importunity of those which were with him preuailed so much (as LVCAN, PLVTARCH, and CÆSAR himself, report) that they made him yeeld to giue battell, euen contrary to his owne opinion and will: wherein joined, of the one side and the other, all the flower and force of *Rome*. And although that CÆSARS Forces were fewer in number (for, all Writers affirm, that POMPEY'S Armie was twice as great) yet his men were more actiue, and better trained. How many there were of the one side and the other, I cannot certifie; the Authors doo so much differ among themselues therein. APPIANVS setteth down the diuerse opinions which are held thereof. Some raise the number to three hundred thousand men, whereof LVCIVS FLORVS was one; others, to threescore and ten thousand: and some set down somewhat lesse, among which is PLVTARCH; who saith, that POMPEY brought to this battell 45000 men, whereof 7000 were on horseback; and IVLIVS CÆSAR, two & twenty thousand Foot, and of horse fewe more than one thousand. But APPIANVS vnderstandeth, that this lesser number of these Armies was to be vnderstood of Romans onely, who were the force and hope of both these Generals: for, it is not likely, that of all nations there should be so small a number in a war so long prepensed, and of such importance: and, in my opinion, this is most likely to be true. But, howsoeuer it was, this battell was between the best captains and best souldiers, aswell for experience, as for force and valour, that euer were in the world; and yet being so, it was not much fought, neither did it long continue. So strange and variable are the aduentures which happen in wars and battels: for, where there seemeth to be the greatest force and assurance, oftentimes is found the greatest weakness; and that which is least feared, doth sometimes annoy most. Before the battell there were many signes of an eminent downfall; The running away of beasts appointed for the sacrifice, swarms of Bees, the sky darkned in the day time, POMPEY'S fearfull dream ouer night of mourning in his Theatre at *Rome*; and in the morning early he was seen in the head of his main battell in a black Robe.

Pompey fought contrary to his owne opinion.

Ominous signes before the battell

Either of these two great Commanders, *hauing resolued to giue battell*, ordered his battalions and squadrons as to him seemed most expedient, making speeches and orations to animate their souldiers; and, the accustomed signe being giuen, the battell presently beganne on either side: In the beginning whereof, POMPEY'S horse-men (wherein he reposed his greatest hope) who were all of the Roman Nobility, and of the Order of Knighthood, and who alwaies had the better; began to come where CÆSAR'S Cauallery was, and forced them to forsake the Field. Which, CÆSAR perceiuing (losing nothing by ouerfight) he made a signe to a battalion, which for that purpose he had left a-part from the other squadrons, to charge POMPEY'S Cauallery: who charged them with such fury, wounding them (according to CÆSAR'S direction) no where but in the face; that POMPEY'S horse-men either vnable or vnwilling to endure it, began to retire, in such sort, as from that part whence POMPEY thought to haue obtained the victory, from thence sprang the beginning of his ouerthrowe. For, notwithstanding that they had broken the first squadron, and were entred into the second, and the other battalious continued still fighting, and that they maintained the same with great resolution; yet, seeing that POMPEY'S Cauallery fled, and that CÆSAR'S came to charge them afresh, they all did the like; in such manner, as in short space the victory plainly appeared for CÆSAR: and POMPEY, hauing lost all hope to preuail, fled to his camp, leauing the field and victory to his enemy. Happy had POMPEY been in this misery, if he had runne the same fortune with his slaughtered Armie: but he out-liued his owne glory, that with dishonour he might flee for life through *Thessalie*, be chased from *Larissa*, and vpon a forlorn rock of *Cilicia* studie whether to flee; to *Parthia*, *Affrick*, or *Egypt*: Finally, that vpon the Pelusian shoar, by the command of a most vnworthie treacherous King, by the councell of gelded men, he should be murdered by the sword of SEPTIMIVS his Fugitiue, in the view of his sorrowfull wife and children. CÆSAR, letting slip no occasion, seeing that hee found no resistance in the field, assembled his Forces to assaile POMPEY'S camp, which with small difficulty hee entred: which POMPEY perceiuing, leaning his ensignes and robes of Generall, and putting on other apparell, vpon the first horse that he could get, with foure on horse-back onely that accompanied him, which (as VELLEIVS PATERCVLVS saith) were his son SEXTVS POMPEIVS, and the two LENTVLI, and FA-

The battell of Pharsalia, wher in Pompey was ouercome by Cæsar.

FAVONIVS of the Pretorian order: he fled so fast as he could, as you haue heard; and neuer staied vntill he came to the citie of *Larissa*; where ioyning with some thirtie other horse, which had fled, without any stay he continued his flight, vntill he came vnto the shore-side of the *Ægean* sea; where, finding a certaine Merchants ship of *Rome*, he embarked himselfe therein, and sailed to the Isle of *Lesbos*, which is in that sea which now is called *Archipelago*, to the citie of *Mytilene* in that Iland: For, in that citie were his wife and familie, which he tooke with him: and, gathering together such ships and men as he was able, he departed from thence very doubtfull, and not able to resolue whither to go. Some counselled him to sail into *Africa*, for that King IVBA was his friend, and very mighty. Others were of opinion, that hee should retire himself to the Parthians. Finally, he resolued to go into *Egypt*, for the friendship which hee held with King PTOLOMY, father of that PTOLOMY then raigning; and did so. Hauing first touched in the prouince of *Cilicia* in *Asia*, and in the Ile of *Cyprus*, sailing into *Egypt*, and arriuing at the city of *Alexandria*, he had such an end as we will presently declare.

Pompey's flight.

IVLIVS CÆSAR hauing obtained so great a victory, as is aforesaid, vsed therein his accustomed clemency, not suffering any Romane to be either slaine or hurt after the battaile was ended, and pardoning all those which were taken therein, or found in the Campe; among which was MARCVS TVLLIVS CICERO. And although that in the battaile were slaine of POMPEIES side fifteen thousand men, and of the Conquerors lesse then two thousand, as CÆSAR himselfe writeth: yet vnderstanding which way POMPEY fled, to the end to giue him no place or meanes to returne and repaire himselfe; without losing any time, he pursued him with the lightest and swiftest of his Army. And comming to the Sea side, bringing to his obedience in his way all the Cities whereby he passed, and gathering together such Ships and Gallies as hee then could, together with those which CASSIVS had, who was at this time receiued to his grace and seruice, he therein shipped such troupes as he was able, and passed into *Asia* the lesse; where being aduertised that POMPEY had been in *Cyprus*, he presumed that he tooke his way towards *Egypt*. For which cause he tooke the same course, taking with him two whole legions of old souldiers only; and arriuing in safety at *Alexandria* in *Egypt* (where we said that POMPEY had lately taken port) he vnderstood that POMPEY was arriued, there: who presuming of the benefits and good entertainment which this King PTOLOMIES father had receiued in his house, he sent to request PTOLOMY to harbour and assist him. But as with men which are fallen from a high fortune, few men hold faith and friendship; and in their aduersities, the benefits and good turnes receiued are commonly forgotten: so this King sent him his promise to perform what he required: and comming vpon safe conduct, in a small boat towards the shore, hee was murdered before he came to land by the Kings commandement, by the hands of one called SEPTIMIVS, and another ACHILA; thinking by meanes hereof to winne CÆSARS friendship. This was done by the perswasion and counsell of FOTINVS an Eunuch, who was of great authority in the Court, and by whom the King was much ruled. He vnderstood also that CORNELIA, POMPEIES wife, and his sonne SEXTVS POMPEIVS were fled from that port in the same ship, wherein they came. CÆSAR being landed and receiued into the City, they presently brought him for a present, the great POMPEIES head; which hee would not see: and his ring and seale of Armes being presented vnto him, he wept for pity, considering the end and successe of the great aduentures and prosperities of POMPEY, who with such honour and fame had three times triumphed, and bin so many times Consul in *Rome*, and had gouerned the same, and had been the most eminent man there for so many yeers, and had in like sort obtained many victories and dignities.

The clemencie of Cæsar.

Cæsar pursued Pompey.

The death of Pompey.

Cæsar wept for the death of Pompey.

When IVLIVS CÆSAR landed in *Egypt*, he found the countrey infested with ciuill wars, and great discord between yong King PTOLOMY and his sister, the fair CLEOPATRA, about the diuision and inheritance of that Kingdome: wherein IVLIVS CÆSAR (as a Roman Consul) took vpon him to intermeddle. For which cause (as CÆSAR himself writeth) or because that their guilty conscience, for the treacherous murder of POMPEY, made them to fear, as PLVTARCH affirmes; the before-named FOTINVS which had been the practiser of this murder, and ACHILA who had been the actor thereof (both which were in great authority in Court and with the King) imagining that CÆSAR inclined to fauour CLEOPATRA'S faction, sent for the Armie which the King had neer the city, consisting of 20000 good men, purposing to do by IVLIVS CÆSAR as they had done by POMPEY: and so within few daies there beganne between CÆSAR and the small forces which he brought with him, both within the city and in the harbour, between the ships and gallies, the most cruell war and in-

Cæsars war in Egypt.

incounters that he euer had; which I cannot distinctly set down, for the many aduentures that passed. But let this suffice, that IVLIVS CÆSAR fought therein many times in his owne person, both within the city (whereof his enemies held the greatest part) and also in the harbour with his ships; and was sometimes in such perill and danger, as he was driuen to leap out of the boat wherein hee was, into the water, and by swimming to flee into one of his gallies: and, as SVETONIVS writes, he carried his Commentaries in the one hand out of the water, lest they should bee wet; and his Robe in his teeth, to the end it should not fall into his enemies hands. But at length his forces and aid being comn from *Asia* and other parts, he at the end of nine moneths (for, so long lasted these wars) remained victorious, as in all others hee had been; and the yong King PTOLOMY was slain in Fight. In this warre CÆSAR did such exploits, and shewed such valour and wisdome, that for the same onely hee did well deserue the fame and renowm of a most excellent Captain.

The death of Ptolomy King of Egypt.

CÆSAR hauing tamed the pride of the Egyptians, and put to death the murtherers of POMPEY, and established CLEOPATRA for Queen and Gouernesse in that Kingdome, whom during his staie there he entertained for his friend, and she conceiued and had a sonne by him, called CÆSARIO; all things being quietly settled, he departed from *Egypt* towards *Asia*, trauelling through *Syria*, now *Soria*, by reason that he was giuen to vnderstand, that while he was busied in the warres of *Egypt*, King PHARNACES, sonne of the mighty King MITHRIDATES, thought it now a fit time (seeing the ciuill discord between the Romans) to recouer that which his father had lost: and hauing ouerthrowne DOMITIVS, whom CÆSAR had sent to gouern those parts, and also hauing taken by force of Arms the prouinces of *Bithynia* and *Cappadocia*, expelling thence King ARIOBARZANES, a friend and subiect to *Rome*, and beginning to do the like in *Armenia* the lesse, which King DEIOTARVS had made subject to the Romans: IVLIVS CÆSAR coming with his Armie sooner than King PHARNACES imagined, although hee had expected him, and had intelligence of his approach; within fewe daies they came to a battell: in which (without any great resistance) the King was ouerthrowne and put to flight, with great slaughter of his people, from which hee escaped by flight. Great was the joy CÆSAR conceiued of this victory, for the desire he had to return to *Rome*, where he knew that many scandals and insolencies were committed, by reason of his absence: he knew also, that POMPEY's eldest son had seized on a great part of *Spain*, and had raised great forces of those which M. VARRO had there left, and of his fathers troops. Hee also vnderstood, that in *Africa* many principall Romans, which had escaped from the battell at *Pharsalia*, were gathered together, whereof M. CATO (called VTICENSIS, because that in *Vtica* he slue himself) was the chief, and SCIPIO, POMPEY's father-in-law; and that these went thither with a great part of the gallies and ships of POMPEY's Nauie, and with the greatest power they were able to leuie; joyning with IVBA King of *Mauritania*, they had subdued all that countrey, and had a great Armie in readinesse against CÆSAR, hauing chosen SCIPIO for their Generall, because that CATO would not take that charge vpon him, and for that the name of SCIPIO was very fortunate in *Africa*. CÆSAR, hauing intelligence of all these things, within fewe daies, with great celerity and diligence, recouered all that which PHARNACES had vsurped: and, chasing him out of *Pontus*, he recouered all those countries: and leauing CELIVS MINVCIVS for Generall, with two legions to guard that prouince, pacifying the contentions and controuersies in the rest, rewarding the Kings & Tetrarchs which had continued firm in league and amity with *Rome*; without any longer aboad he departed from *Asia*, and in short space passing into *Italie*, came to *Rome*: within little more than a yeer after that, he departed from thence; a short time in truth, for the performance of so great matters and so long a journey.

Cleopatra, queen of Egypt, had a sonne by Cæsar.

Cæsars victory against Pharnaces King of Pontus.

Within few daies after his comming to *Rome*, he made himselfe to be chosen the third time Consul, and reforming (the best that he could in so short a time) all disorders in *Rome*, being grieued and not able to endure that his enemies should possesse *Africa*, with great expedition he prepared all things necessary, and from *Rome* tooke his way thitherward, commanding his forces to follow him. First he went into *Sicilia*, and there shipped himselfe, and thence passed into *Africa*: and notwithstanding that neither his Naule nor Armie arriued with him; trusting in the valour and goodnesse of his souldiers, and his owne good fortune, he tooke land with those small forces which he brought with him, neere vnto the citie of *Adrumentum* in *Africa*; and from thence marched to another citie called *Leptis*, where he was receiued: and after some conflicts which passed, his legions being come, and certaine troopes both on foote and horseback; he began the warre, which lasted foure moneths, *viz.* from the beginning of Ianuarie till

Cæsars warre in Africa against Scipio.

till the end of Aprill, beginning first against PETREIVS and LABIENVS: afterwards it was continued against SCIPIO and King IVBA; which assisted the contrary faction with 8000. men, the one halfe whereof were horsemen, whereof the prouince of *Africa* did then, and to this day doth abound; among all which were leuied against CÆSAR eight legions of footemen and 20000. horse. In this warre were many encounters, skirmishes and battailes, which HYRCIVS in his Commentaries, PLVTARCH, LVCAN, LVCIVS FLORVS & others write of at large, in which CÆSAR was in great danger: but at the last with his force and good fortune, he ouercame them all in a great battaile; wherein, of the enemies, were slaine 10000. men, and CÆSAR remained master of the field, and in few daies after of all the Countrie. SCIPIO and all the principall Captaines which were his aduersaries, died sundrie deaths within few daies; and king IVBA by slight escaping from the battaile, and finding no place of refuge, in despaire, he and AFRANIVS determined to die fighting; the one against the other, till they were both slain, in which combat King IVBA being of greater strength then AFRANIVS, slew him; and afterwards commanded a slaue of his own, to kill himself, and so he died desperately.

Hyrcius lib. 3. Appian lib 2. Lucan lib. 3. Lucius Florus lib. 4. Titus Liuius lib. 114. Plutarch in his liues. The strange death of King Iuba and Afranius.

The good MARCVS CATO who was in the citie of *Vtica*, knowing that CÆSAR marched thitherwards, and although he knew that he would not put him to death, but had rather a desire to pardon him, and to doe him honor; yet to the end that he would receiue neither life nor honor from his enemie, he slue himselfe: in whose death passed many notable accidents recorded by many authors both christian and heathen. CICERO did write in commendation of the death of CATO, against the which CÆSAR did write another discourse: both which are lost. And FLORVS writes his death after this manner; Hearing of the decease of his partners, hee dallyed not at all, but (as it became a wise man) did ioyfully hasten his owne death: for after he had imbraced his sonne and friends and bid them good night; he rested a while vpon his bed, hauing perused PLATOES booke of the immortalitie of the Soule; then about the first reliening of the watch, he drew his sword, and thrust himselfe into the bodie: After which the Physitians sought to wrong this resolute man, by applying some salues, the which he endured vntill they were out of the roome; but then he pulled them away: and, the blood following abundantly, he left his dying hand in the very wound. SCIPIO, who had been Generall in this warre, escaped from the battaile by slight, and shipping himselfe in certaine galleyes, wherein he fled, was met withall by CÆSARS nauie; who, to the end hee would not be taken, giuing himselfe some wounds, cast himselfe into the sea, and so was drowned. CÆSAR, hauing obtained so great and absolute a victory, spending some fewe dayes in ordering the prouinces of *Africa*, reducing the kingdome of king IVBA into a prouince, hee came to the citie of *Vtica*, where he imbarked himselfe the third of Iune, and came to the Isle of *Sardinia*, wherein he stayed some few dayes, and arriued at *Rome* the fiue and twentith day of Iuly. At his comming (as SVETONIVS, APPIANVS, and PLVTARCH record) there were granted vnto him foure triumphs. The first triumph was for his conquest and victories in *France*, where were set the portraitures of the riuers of *Rodanus* and the *Rhine*, wrought in gold: and in the second triumph of *Egypt*, and of King PTOLOMEY, were set the riuer of *Nilus* and the *Pharus* of *Alexandria* burning. The third triumph was of the prouince of *Pontus* and of King PHARNACES, wherein for the speede wherewith he prosecuted the victorie, was placed a briefe writing which signified as much; which was, *veni, vidi, vici*, which is to say, I came, I saw, I ouercame. The fourth triumph was of the prouince of *Africa*, wherein was placed King IVBA his sonne, as a captiue: and in this triumph (as SVETONIVS writeth) were giuen iewels and armes to OCTAVIVS, CÆSARS Nephew, who afterwards was Emperor, as we will declare, notwithstanding that he was not present in those warres by reason of his yong age: for he was not then fully sixteene yeares old. As for the battaile which CÆSAR wanne against POMPEY, he would not triumph for it, because it was against Citizens of *Rome*.

Cato Vticensis slew himselfe. S. Aug. in his booke de ciuit. dei. 1. Scipio slew and drowned himselfe. Lactantius Eirmianus, Aulus Gellius in his twelfth booke. Cicero in the 3. of his offices. Valerius Maximus cap. 3. Cæsars triumphs.

Veni, vidi, vici.

Cæsar would not triumph for his victorie against Pompey.

These triumphs being ended, giuing great rewards to his souldiers, and entertayning the Romane people, with feasts, gifts and other great bountie, hee caused himselfe to be chosen the fourth time Consul, and to the end that there should be no place in the world wherein he would not be obeyed, he resolued to goe into *Spaine*, where he vnderstood that GNEVS POMPEIVS (POMPEIVS sonne) with the remainder of the armie which had escaped out of *Africa*, was gone to ioyne with his brother SEXTVS POMPEIVS, who already was there, as I haue said, and was in possession of a great part of *Spaine*, with the cities of *Seuill* and *Cordoua*, and many others in that coast, and many Spaniards were come to their ayde. CÆSAR, departing, carried with him his most experienced and chosen souldiers, and made so good speede, as within few

dayes he arriued in *Spaine*, and in this iourney (as SVETONIVS and VELLEIVS PATERCVLVS recorde) his Nephew OCTAVIVS followed him.

Cæsars going into Spaine against Pompy's sonnes.

CÆSAR, being entred *Spaine*, came into the prouince of *Betica*, which is *Andaluzia*, where SEXTVS POMPEIVS and his brother GNEIVS POMPEIVS were with such legions and souldiers as they had gathered together; and so there began betweene them a cruell and bloudie warre. The end whereof was, that neere to the citie of *Munda*, CÆSAR and GNEIVS POMPEIVS (for SEXTVS POMPEIVS was in *Cordoua*) ioyned battaile; which was one of the most obstinate and cruell, that euer was in the world. For CÆSAR being the most excellent Captaine, and the souldiers which he brought with him, the most valiant and accustomed to ouercome; the resolution and courage of POMPEY and his men was such, and they fought in such manner, as CÆSARS esquadrons began to giue ground and were ready to forsake the field, and at the very point to haue been wholly ouerthrowne: And the matter came to this issue, that (as SVETONIVS and EVTROPIVS do write) CÆSAR was about to haue killed himselfe, because he would not see himselfe ouercome; and that he took a target from one of his souldiers and rushed in among his enemies, saying with a loud voice (as PLVTARCH reporteth) If you be not ashamed, leaue me and deliuer me into the hands of these boyes: for this shall be the last day of my life and of your honour. With which words, and his example, his souldiers took heart in such manner, that, recouering the ground which they had lost, the battell becam equal, which (as APPIANVS affirmeth) lasted the most part of one whole day, without any signe of victory; sometimes seeming to incline to one partie, and sometimes to the other, vntill that at length CÆSAR and his men did so great exploits, as the euening being come his enemies became faint, and began to flee, and the victory was apparantly CÆSARS. There died of his enemies aboue 30000 men in this fight: and of CÆSARS part, were slaine a thousand men of account, besides many other of lesser note. CÆSAR esteemed this victorie so much, and so gloried in the danger wherein he had been, that after the victorie he vsed to say, that only that day he fought for his life, and in all other battailes euer for honor and victorie. He then remayning master of the field, his aduersarie POMPEY, who in nothing had failed of the office of a valiant and good captaine (after that he saw no other hope) escaped by flight, and wandring through many places was afterwards taken and slaine by CÆSARS friends, whose head was brought vnto him; the like hapned vnto LABIENVS. His second brother SEXTVS POMPEIVS fled form *Cordoua*, & in the end forsook *Spain*: hereafter more mention shall be made of him. I. CÆSAR recouered the cities of *Seuill* and *Cordoua*, & all the rest; and disposing of all things in *Spaine* at his pleasure, returned to *Rome*, & entred in triumph for the warres in *Spaine*, which was his fift and last triumph: in this place LVC. FLORVS and PATERCVLVS speak of all his triumphs.

Cæsars cruell battaile and victorie against Pompeies sons.

Cæsars triumph for his victories in Spaine.

CÆSAR came to be the most mightie, the most redoubted, and most highly esteemed man that euer had been in the world, hauing subdued and conquered the greatest part thereof, with an Armie and by force, in as little time, as it might seeme that another man might be able to trauail those countries by reasonable iourneys. All which being in subiection vnto him, he made himselfe perpetuall Dictator of *Rome*; and so without contradiction he finished the making of himselfe soueraigne Lord and Monarch of the Romane Empire, within little lesse then fiue yeeres after that he began the same. And this was the originall and beginning of the Romane Emperours: for IVLIVS CÆSAR would not be called King (for the name of King was odious to the Romans aboue all things, euer since the Kings were chased from *Rome*) but contented himselfe to be called perpetuall Dictator and also Emperor; although not with a name of such power and dignitie as his successors haue done since; but as by a name wch signified he had been a conqueror in the warres, which in this sense was giuen to the Romane Captaines, when they had obtained any notable victorie: but after IVLIVS CÆSAR, all his successors took that name, glorying to be called Emperors, which was held for the highest title and dignitie in the world.

The beginning of the Romane Empire.

The originall of the name of Emperor.

IVLIVS CÆSAR hauing attained to that absolute power which he so much desired, he shewed in all things great clemency and magnanimitie, honouring and rewarding his friends, and easily forgiuing, and very cheerefully pardoning all those which had been his aduersaries; and so he not only pardoned BRVTVS and CASSIVS, CICERO, MARCELLVS, and many others: but also some of them he admitted to his companie and priuate familiaritie, and to offices and dignities. It is certaine that among all the many vertues wherewith CÆSAR was endued, his clemencie and liberalitie were most glorious. But this sufficed not to quench the desire of their lost libertie, neither to asswage the hatred and malice conceiued against him by his aduersaries, as in time did appeare.

The clemency and bountie of Cæsar.

And

And notwithstanding that many were grieued: yet some for the loue which they bare him; others for feare and dissimulation; the Senate and people of *Rome*, and finally all, gaue him names, preheminencies and titles of honour, such as neuer had been giuen to any other; neither ought he to haue accepted the same, as PLVTARCH, APPIAN and others doe report: But CÆSARS minde and ambition was such, and his thoughts so eleuated and so high; as he held nothing so great, but he was worthie thereof and had deserued the same: and so he not only accepted that which they offered him; but many more were offered, because they knew that he desired the same. Whereupon they gaue him the name of Emperour, Father, restorer and preserver of his countrey: He was created perpetuall Dictator, and Consul for ten yeeres, and perpetuall Censor of their customes. His statue and image was erected among the Kings of *Rome*, and a chayre and throne of Iuorie in the Temples and Senate, and a high pulpit and throne in the Theatre, and in the place where the Senators did vse to sit, his pictures and statues were set vp in all the Temples and publike places. I passe ouer some titles which they gaue him, and he accepted, which only, to those whom they held for God, ought to haue been attributed. The moneth which they called Quintil, they called IVLIVS after his name, as March of their god MARS, and Iune after the goddesse IVNO: they did also consecrate and build Temples vnto him, as vnto IVPITER, and their other gods: and gaue him certaine honours which they held particularly for their gods, which they call Thensas: and so they did many other things to his honour, which exceeded all measure.

The names and high titles which were giuen to Cæsar.

IVLIVS CÆSAR enioying such honour and power, so as he had no equall or second in the world with whom he might contend; it seemeth that he would contend with himselfe, and attempt something wherein he might excell himselfe: for he was not contented with all the victories which he had obtained, neither (as PLINIE, SOLINVS and other report) to haue fought in fiftie seuerall battailes (in all which he ouercame) sauing in that one at *Dyrrachium* against POMPEY; where, as we haue alreadie said, he was not wholly ouerthrowne, neither (according to the same authors) to haue slaine in the warres and battailes which hee fought, a million, ninetie and odde thousand men; and yet they say that they reckon not those which died in the ciuill warres: but that as he was of a most haughtie minde, he sought to doe greater matters, if greater might be. For, first he resolued to passe into the East, there to conquer and subdue the fierce nation of the Parthians, and to reuenge the death of MARCVS CRASSVS, and to passe through *Hircania* and other countries, vntill he should come to the Caspian sea, and so through all the prouinces of *Scythia Asiatica*; and passing the riuer *Tanais*, to returne through *Scythia* in Europe, and in this retreit to come into Germany, and other prouinces bordering thereupon, conquering and subduing them all to the Romane Empire; for the which conquest hee presently caused to be leuied in sundrie places, ten thousand horsemen, and sixteene legions of choosen footmen, and appointing the time wherein he thought to depart, he commanded them to march towards their Rendeuous. And besides all this, he sought not only to subdue all the nations of the world, but to correct and reforme nature it selfe: for he purposed to haue made an Iland of *Peloponesus*, which now is called *Morea*, by cutting the neck of the land which is betweene the *Egean* and the *Ionian* Seas.

The high thoughts and purposes of Cæsar.

Of the Riuer *Tiber* and the Riuer *Anien* (as PLVTARCH saith) he purposed to haue altered the courses, and to haue opened new chanels, through which they should run into the Sea, making them to leaue their naturall course, and capeable to bear great ships. He commanded, and already began to dig down and make plain many hils and high mountains in *Italie*, and to dry vp and dreine some of the great lakes and marishes which are therein: and, in this manner, hee thought to haue done other things more than a man, which seemed to bee possible to none but to God alone. He corrected (as many Authors affirm) the computation of the yeer, conforming it with the course of the Sun, and brought it to that rule which is yet held: for, before that time it was much out of order. He did the like in the course of the Moon, and the conjunctions and oppositions of her and the Sun: and this was attributed to him for tyrannie, by those which did hate him. For, one day, in a discourse in the presence of CICERO, it was said, that the next day there should be an Eclipse of the Sun; yea, quoth he, it is so: for, CÆSAR hath so commanded. Many other things CÆSAR began, which were very great, in reforming the lawes, customes and offices, which for breuity I omit: among which, the reedifying of the ruined city of *Carthage* by SCIPIO (as all the world knoweth) was one, and he sent thither Colonies and Roman citizens to inhabite: the like hee did by *Corinth*. But all these works and these so high conceits and resolutions were abbridged by death, which within fewe daies ensued: and this

Cæsar corrected the computation of the yeere. Suetonius, Plutarch, Censorinus.

Carthage repeopled by Cæsar.

man, whom no force could resist, a fewe men (yea, and those disarmed) were of power to bereaue of life; as hereafter we will declare. Fiue moneths onely hee liued a soueraigne Lord in peace (as VELLEIVS PATERCVLVS hath noted) when those, in whom he reposed greatest trust, conspired his death.

The causes of the conspiracies against Cæsar.

Some write, that CÆSAR was counselled to haue had a guard alwaies about him: whereto he answered, that he would haue none; for, he would rather dy once, than liue continually in jealousie and fear. Many set down the causes wherefore they desired to kill him. Some say, that it was for the hatred they had long borne him: some others say, that it was for the desire of liberty, houlding him for a tyrant. But the most part are of opinion, that it was for suspicion that hee would haue made himself King of *Rome*; a thing in the highest degree hatefull to the Romans: whereof he gaue many signes and causes to suspect; which PLVTARCH and others do write at large. Heerunto was added, that he began to haue men in contempt, and all other things: whereby he became hatefull to many. For, he vsed to say, that the Common-wealth was but a voice and a name without a body or substance; and that it well appeared, that CORNELIVS SYLLA had no learning, seeing that hee resigned the perpetuall Dictatorship. All the whole Senate, coming one day into the Temple of *Venus* wherein he was, he attended their comming, sitting still, and rose not as he was wont to doo, notwithstanding (as some say) that CORNELIVS BALBVS counselled him to rise: which was a thing much noted, and odious to the Common-wealth. His friends and fauourites began also to say and to publish, that in the books of the *Sibyls* (which in *Rome* were held in great veneration, and for a true prophecy) it was written, that the Parthians could neuer bee ouercome but by a man which should haue the title of king; and they practised that CÆSAR should take this name, for that conquest, whither he had determined to goe: and although that he made shew to be much moued thereat, yet they suspected the contrary. Which suspicion encreased (besides that which is already said) for that the Tribunes of the people commanded a man to be apprehended, which had set a Diadem (which is the ensigne of a King) vpon the head of one of CÆSARS statues: Whereat CÆSAR was so highly offended with the Tribunes, that he deposed them from their offices, making shew that he did it, because they gaue him cause of offence, in this, that they would make the world beleeue that there was cause of suspicion, that he would make himself a Tyrant-king. The like in a manner passed, when MARCVS ANTONIVS, who was a great fauourite of his, and (that yeere) his fellow and companion in the Consulship, being at certaine publike games, came to CÆSAR and put a Diademe vpon his head: and although that he cast it downe, yet they all imagined, that MARCVS ANTONIVS would not haue presumed to haue done it without his consent or liking, and that he did this to proue what liking the people had thereto, and how they would take it: so as these, and such other like things as passed, gaue them occasion to desire and to procure his death: as some of them did. This did also encourage them, and made them attempt to do it; for that in sundry publick places certain Writings were set vp, which did incite and animate them to conspire against him: as, vpon the statue of BRVTVS, who in antient time chased the Kings out of *Rome*, were written these words; *Would to God thou wert now liuing*, Brutus: And vpon the image of MARCVS BRVTVS, who then was Pretor, and descended from the other BRVTVS, these words; *Thou sleepest long*, Brutus: *truely thou art not* Brutus. And, as APPIAN recounteth, at other times they set vp others, which imported, *Thou art dead*, Brutus: *would to God thou were liuing: thou art vnworthy of the succession from the* Bruti: *surely thou art not descended from that good* Brutus. And other such like things were set vpon these statues, and in other places: So as for all these reasons, and for other added heerunto, there were seuenty of the most eminent men in *Rome* which conspired to murder him; one alluring another, vntill they grew to that number: of which, the principall Heads were DECIVS, MARCVS BRVTVS, CAIVS CASSIVS; yet MARCVS BRVTVS was held for CÆSAR's son: for, his mother was suspected by him, and had receiued from him great honours and good entertainments. With these were GAIVS CASCA, ATTILIVS CIMBER, SERVIVS GALBA, QVINTVS LIGARIVS, MARCVS SPVRIVS, and many other men of account: which, after som consultations, concluded to kill him vpon the Ides of March, which is the fifteenth day of that Month, in the Temple where the Senators were to sit that day: which was agreed vpon, and kept so secret, that (notwithstanding their great number) there was not any one found that did discouer the same. But there were so many signes and prodigies, and to himself there hapned so many auguries and forewarnings, that, without knowing any cause, all men were of opinion, that CÆSAR's death was neer at hand. The which, among many other which recite the same,

The conspiracie against Iulius Cæsar.

OVID

OVID doth most excellently set down in his Metamorphoses, which for breuity I omit: but chiefly SPVRINA, who was his diuiner or soothsaier, forwarned him, that he should look to himself vntill the Ides of March were past; for, his life was in great danger: and CÆSAR's owne wife entreated him vpon her knees, that hee would not that day go forth to the Senate; for, she had dreamt, that he lay dead in her lap. Finally, CÆSAR was so many waies forewarned, and put in such fear of some great danger, as he was about to send to MARCVS ANTONIVS to make his excuse, and to defer the Senat vntill another day. But (as it was Gods will he should dy so) MARCVS BRVTVS, being in place when this matter was in question (who, as we haue already said, was one of the conspirators) counselled CÆSAR, that in no case hee should make shewe of any such fear: whereupon he resolued to go. *Lib. 14*

A petition giuen Cæsar.

Some (as SVETONIVS and PLVTARCH) write, that CÆSAR made small account of death, and that he suspected he should dy in this manner: for he said, that hee did not so much esteem his owne life, as the danger whereinto the Common-wealth would fall by losing him: For, as for him, he had wonne power, fame and glory enough for himself; and that hee in no time could dy with greater honour. It gaue also cause of this suspition, that some discoursing in his presence, the night before his death, what kinde of death was best: euen, quoth hee, the sudden, and that which is not prepensed. Whether this be true or no, I knowe not: but, the fifteenth of March, he went from his house in a Litter towards the Senate; and, passing along the street, there was a petition deliuered vnto him, which (some say) ARTEMYDORVS, his Master in the Greek Tongue, gaue him: others say, that it was giuen him by another, and that ARTEMIDORVS could not come so neer to him as to aduise him: but, whosoeuer hee were that gaue it, therein was giuen him (in writing) all that which was concluded in this conspiracie, and he which gaue it desired him to reade it presently; which he began to doo: but there came so many to speak to him, that he could but begin to reade it; for, it was found in his hand when he was dead. And, passing so along the street, hee also met with SPVRINA, who had giuen him warning to look to himself vntill the Ides of March were past: and as CÆSAR saw him, very pleasant and jesting he said, Dost thou not knowe, SPVRINA, that the Ides of March are come? Yea, answered SPVRINA, and I knowe that they are not yet past. Being comm to the Temple where the Senate was to sit that day, he cam down from his Litter, and entred therein; and, hauing first done sacrifice (as then was the custome) which all, according to their superstitious ceremonies of that time, presaged to be fatall and infortunate, he fate down in the Senate in his chair: and BRVTVS ALBINVS, entertaining MARCVS ANTONIVS at the door of the Temple, or (after some others) TREBONIVS; as it was decreed, one of the conspirators (whose name was CELER) came to CÆSAR vnder colour to intreat him to be pleased to release a brother of his from banishment, and presently all the rest of the conspirators drew neer to his chair. Which when CÆSAR perceiued, thinking that they had all come for the same purpose, it is written that he said vnto them, What force is this? And at that Instant one of them, whose name was CASCA, beginning, they all drew their poiniards and swords, which they had brought in secret for that purpose vnder their gowns, and began to wound him. The first blowe he receiued, they say, CASCA gaue him in the throat: at which wound CÆSAR spake aloud; saying, What dost thou, Traitor CASCA? and, wrestling the poiniard out of his hands, he arose and stabbed CASCA through the arm: and beeing about to strike him the second time, he was preuented by the other wounds which they gaue him; with great force and courage leaping from one side to the other to defend himself. But, when hee saw MARCVS BRVTVS (whose authority and reputation was great) with his sword drawn in his hand, wherwith he had already wounded him in the thigh, they write, that hee was much amazed thereat, and said in the Greek Tongue (which the Romans did then vnderstand and vsually speak) Why how now, sonne BRVTVS? and thou also? And hauing said so, and seeing so many weapons bent against him, and that no body came to his rescue (for, there was so great a tumult in the Senate, as they all thought to haue died; and, being in despair, none durst attempt to defend him) he remembred to keep the honour of his person, and with his right hand couered his head with part of his robe, and with his left hand hee gitt himself, and settled his clothes about him; and, being so couered, he fell dead to the ground, wounded with three and twenty wounds: and his fortune was to fall at the foot of the seat or base whereupon POMPEY's statue stood; which was noted for the judgement and permission of God. And so in this maner died the most mighty, the most worthy, valiant, wise, and fortunate Prince and Captain, that without all doubt before him hath been in the world; and I knowe not if after him in valor and humane power there

Cæsar wounded in the Senate, & died at Pompey's feet.

The excellencies of Iul. Cæsar.

hath been the like. For, his excellencies, graces and abilities; his inuincible minde, his incomparable force and courage; the battailes and victories which he obtained; the prouinces, Kings and nations, which he ouercame and subdued; his counsels, stratagems, policies, and bold attempts; his magnanimitie, clemencie and bountie to the conquered and conquerors; the great designes he had propounded when he was slaine; being all well weighed and considered: it will plainely appeare, that in none of these things aforesaid, neither in many other more which may be said of him, there hath beene any King or Captaine that hath excelled him; but that he in the most hath excelled all others, and had fewer imperfections and vices then any other. For, setting apart his ambition and desire to raigne (which he held for no vice, and might alledge that he was compelled thereto) he was only noted and blamed, as too much giuen to women; as for the rest, wherewith he was charged, it doth rather appeare to be the murmuring and slandering of his aduersaries, than any truth.

The time wherein Cæsar died.

CÆSAR was slaine in the six and fiftieth yeere of his age, foure yeeres and a little more (according to PLVTARCHS computation) after the death of POMPEY; in the seuen hundred and tenth yeere (according to OROSIVS) after the foundation of *Rome*; and according to the Hebrew truth, in the three thousand and tenth yeere from the creation of the world; and according to the greater account of the seuentie interpreters, fiue thousand, one hundred, fiftie and seuen yeeres; in the hundred, eightie and fourth Olympiad; and fortie and two yeers before the birth of Christ our Redeemer: But I would haue the reader to vnderstand, that in this account of yeeres, there sometimes happeneth difference betweene the authors.

Iulius Cæsar adopted Octauianus his Nephew for his son.

Octauianus his parentage.

CÆSAR had neither sonne nor daughter legitimate, at the time of his death; for notwithstanding that he was married foure seuerall times, yet he had but one only daughter, named IVLIA, which (as I haue said) was married to POMPEY, and died: Wherefore he adopted for sonne by his last will, and made him his heire in the Dodrant, which are nine parts of the twelue of his goods, his Nephew OCTAVIVS CÆSAR; which afterwards was called OCTAVIANVS AVGVSTVS, who was nephew to his sister IVLIA and of ACIVS BALBVS, and sonne of ACIA his neece, and of OCTAVIVS Pretor in *Macedonia*, who died sodainely. OCTAVIVS was at this time by the commandement of his vncle, in the citie of *Apollonia* in the prouince of *Epire*, where he gaue himselfe to studie; staying for him there, thence to goe with him to the warres of the Parthians, being then of the age of seuenteene yeeres.

CÆSAR being dead in the manner as I haue said (as it happeneth in great accidents) the newes presently ranne ouer all the citie; and the tumult and alteration therein was so great, as no man knew what to doe or say: all offices ceased, the temples were shut vp, there was no man but was amazed: CÆSARS friends were afraid of those which slew him; and they, of his friends. It would be a long discourse to recite what succeeded, but I will briefly set down that which shall be most to my purpose. BRVTVS and CASSIVS and all the conspirators, and others which were willing to ioyn with them, hauing murthered him, seeing the great tumult among the people (and as PLVTARCH writes) for feare of MARCVS ANTONIVS and LEPIDVS, whereof the one was Consul, and the other Master of the horsemen, durst not goe to their houses, neither doe such other things as they had pretended; but presently from thence went to seize vpon the Capitoll, and cryed by the way as they went, Libertie, libertie, imploring the assistance and fauour of the people. The rest of that day and all the next night, MARCVS ANTONIVS & LEPIDVS who took CÆSARS part, were in arms, and there passed treaties & messages from the one to the other; wherein it was agreed the Senat should sit, whither BRVTVS & CASSIVS cam, M. ANTONIVS sons (by the perswasion of CICERO, a great louer of the libertie) remaining hostages for them; where they treated of peace & concord, and all that wch was past should be buried in perpetuall silence and obliuion. Wherunto M. ANTONIVS (who was Consul) and all the whole Senate agreed: and all the prouinces being diuided, there was a great likelyhood of peace; for the Senate approued and commended the fact, and the people dissembled it: for on the one part, the authoritie of BRVTVS and CASSIVS, and the name of libertie, seemed to giue them some contentment; and of the other side, the greatnes of the fact, and loue which they bare vnto CÆSAR, did moue and incite them to hate the murtherers, and so it rested indeterminate. But MARCVS ANTONIVS, as one who also thought to become a tyrant, euer sought meanes to incense the people against them; and matters passed in such sort, that among other things which were done, CÆSARS testament was opened; wherein (besides the adopting of his Nephew OCTAVIVS for his son, and appointing him for his chiefe heire, among other bequests which he made) he bequeathed to the people of *Rome* cer-

The determination of the Senate.

Cæsars will and testament.

certaine gardens and heritages neere the riuer of *Tiber*, and to euery citizen of *Rome* a certaine sum of money; to be diuided among them; which being knowne, did much renew their olde loue, and made his death farre more pittifull. And hauing agreed vpon his funerall, which was, with great solemnity to burne his body in the field of Mars, putting it in effect, MARCVS ANTONIVS, who that day made a funerall oration in his praise, and with the intent aforesaid, took the robe wherein CÆSAR was slaine; which being all bloody, he shewed to the people, vsing some speeches which prouoked them both to wrath and pittie. So as before the solemnitie of the funerall was throughly ended, they all departed in great furie, with the brands of the same fire which was made for CÆSARS bodie in their hands, and went to burne the houses of BRVTVS and CASSIVS, running vp and downe the streetes of *Rome* seeking them and the rest of the conspirators to haue slaine them; and in that furie they vnaduisedly slew ELIVS CINNA, by mistaking him to haue been CORNELIVS CINNA, who was one of the conspirators. This tumult put BRVTVS and CASSIVS and their confederats, in such feare, as they all fled from *Rome* to sundry other parts; and MARCVS ANTONIVS not obseruing what was decreed, thinking to inherit CÆSARS power and authoritie, fought their destruction in all that he might: And notwithstanding that the Senate (hauing appeased the tumult of the people) would haue inflicted punishment vpon some of the seditious, and some were already imprisoned, yet BRVTVS and CASSIVS durst not returne to *Rome*, but after a while went into *Græcia* to gouerne those prouinces, which CÆSAR (whom they had slaine) had consigned vnto them; which were *Macedonia* to BRVTVS, and *Syria* to CASSIVS, and so all the rest of the conspirators absented themselues. Surely it was a wonderfull thing that within the space of three yeers, they all died, and not one of them a naturall death.

The murderers of Cæsar fled from Rome.

The death of those which conspired against Cæsar.

At this time CAIVS OCTAVIVS, who (as is aforesaid) was afterwards called OCTAVIANVS AVGVSTVS, came to *Rome* from *Apollonia*, being aduertised of CÆSARS death, and sent for by his mother and other his kindred, all continuing in the confusion aforesaid.

After the death of Cæsar, Marcus Antonius became the mightiest man in Rome.

For MARCVS ANTONIVS was now very mightie: for his brother LVCIVS ANTONIVS was Tribune of the people, and other his friends and kinsmen were in offices and dignities, many of which he procured for them, saying; that IVLIVS CÆSAR had so ordained it in his Commentaries: and in this season came OCTAVIVS to *Rome*, whose storie we will now begin.

THE LIFE OF THE EMPEROR
AVGVSTVS CÆSAR.

THE ARGVMENT.

OCTAVIANVS, or Octauius, *the adopted sonne of* Caius Iulius Cæsar, *after the death of* Cæsar, *applyed himselfe, together with* Marcus Antonius, *to pursue* Brutus *and* Cassius *with their complices; and ouercomming them he returned to Rome: where plotting the Triumvirat, he shed so much blood, and did such like cruelties, as there was not any streete in Rome, but was polluted with ciuill blood. He fought with* Lucius Antonius, *brother to* Marcus Antonius, *for that it should seeme that* Octauius *made small account of his brother: and besieging him in Perugia, he constrained him (through famine) to come in person to sue for peace and life; whom he gently pardoned, together with all those which were his partakers in that warre. He also ouercame* Sextus Pompeius, *after they had warred together many yeeres. And falling at variance with* Marcus Antonius *by meanes of his wife* Octauia, *sister to* Octauius, *for that* Antonius *was besotted with the loue of* Cleopatra *Queene of Ægypt: Finally after many changes of fortune, he ouercame him: whose victorie constrained* Marcus Antonius *(in a manner) in despaire to kill himselfe, and* Cleopatra *to poyson her selfe; but* Marcus Antonius *slew himselfe, more for that he beleeued that* Cleopatra *had already killed her selfe, then that he accounted himselfe ouercome by* Octauius. *After this victorie,* Marcus Antonius *being dead, and* Lepidus *reduced to a most base estate,* Octauius *obtained the Monarchie and sole gouernment of the Empire. In which time, subduing many barbarous Nations, he seuerall times made* Ianus *temple to be shut, and was called* Monarch; *in which Monarchie he liued in such manner, as with his greatnes, he alway digressed from vertue by reason of his high estate; and was no lesse vertuous then a fauourer of learned and vertuous men. He had infortunate in honest wiues, and chast and continent daughters; and most vnhappy in sonnes, hauing none amongst him by nature worthie of the Empire. He ruled the world sixe and fiftie yeares; foure and fortie alone, and twelue in companie with* Marcus Antonius. *In his time our Sauiour Iesus Christ was borne. And being little more then threescore and sixe yeeres old he died, to the great griefe and sorrow of the whole world, which through his goodnesse had been so long time maintayned in peace.*



Octauius Nephew to Cæsar and his sonne by adoption.

IF in the Historie and life of IVLIVS CAESAR it behooued me to be briefe in the relation thereof; I haue now no lesse neede to do the like in the Historie of his Nephew OCTAVIVS CAESAR, which afterwards was called OCTAVIANVS AVGVSTVS, his sonne by adoption, as by that which is before written may appeare: aswell for the great accidents which happened in his time, as for the multitude thereof, which cannot be repeated but by a long discourse. But we will do herein what we shall be able, notwithstanding that his raigne was long (for it was fiftie and odde yeares) that in reason we may spend somewhat more time, then in the actions of those which were of lesse continuance. The father and grandfather of OCTAVIVS, I haue already said, who they were. His linage and familie of his fathers side, was of the OCTAVII,

The Linage of Octauianus.

and was of great antiquitie in *Rome*, from the time of TARQVIN their king, and in the beginning they were Patricij (as SVETONIVS recordeth in his life) although that afterwards the order altred, reducing it to the people by adoption, or some other cause: and in processe of time many of the OCTAVII, obtaining offices and Magistracies, continued in the order of Knighthood, which was in the middle degree betweene the Patricij and the Plebeians, vntill the time of OCTAVIVS the father of OCTAVIANVS; who was a Senator, and a Pretor in *Macedonia*. Of

Of his mothers side (as it was said of IVLIVS CÆSAR) hee descended from the Kings of *Rome*. And yet notwithstanding all this, as OCTAVIANVS had many enemies and emulators, it was said to his reproach, that his grand-father (the father of his father) had been a mony-changer, and that his great grand-father was a Libertine; which is as much as to say, a man that had been a slaue. But it seems to me vnlikely, that the son of such parents should haue been admitted into the Senat, and made Pretor; and that IVLIVS CÆSAR, whose place & thoughts were so high, would haue married him to his Niece. And so SVETONIVS treats thereof, as a matter which he houlds for vntrue.

OCTAVIVS then vnderstanding of the death of his Vncle IVLIVS CAESAR, being aduertised and sent for by his mother (as I haue said) departed from *Apollonia*, and with the best speed he could make came to *Rome*, accompanied with some of CÆSAR's friends and some men of warre, of those which in *Epire* and *Macedonia* attended the enterprise and wars of *Asia*, as it was decreed: and, arriuing at *Brundusium*, he found there certain legions, which by CÆSARS commandement were comn thither to haue been embarked for the warre pretended; by whom he was receiued with the greatest loue and affection that could be. And (as saith APPIANVS) he was there called and took vpon him the name of CÆSAR, by the adoption of his vncle; and, leauing off to bee called OCTAVIVS the son of OCTAVIVS, was called CAIVS CÆSAR, son of CAIVS CÆSAR; and commonly he was called CAESAR OCTAVIANVS: wherein he preserued the memory of his naturall father, with the name of his adoptiue father: like as PAVLVS EMILIVS son of PAVLVS EMILIVS, being adopted by SCIPIO, the son of SCIPIO the Great, was called SCIPIO EMILIANVS; SCIPIO by his adoptiue father, and EMILIANVS by his naturall father; a matter vsuall among the Romans. So was OCTAVIVS called CAESAR OCTAVIANVS: and so from thenceforth we will call him.

Octauianus tooke vpon him the name of Cæsar.

OCTAVIANVS CAESAR departed from *Brundusium* towards *Rome*, accompanied with the ould souldiers: and by the way many more joined with him, with many of his vncle and father CAESAR's friends, and of his faction, and entred into the city with great shew & pomp. But, as MARCVS ANTONIVS was of great power, and therewith very proud, and took in ill part that OCTAVIANVS was preferred before him, as PLVTARCH recordeth, hee went not to receiue him: which was much noted, and was the first signe of the discord which afterwards ensued between them. OCTAVIANVS had a resolution and great desire to reuenge the death of IVLIVS CAESAR. But, by his mother, and PHILIP his father-in-law, with whom she was married, he was counselled to dissemble his purpose for a season: for, on the one side, they saw that the Senate had approued the death of IVLIVS CÆSAR; and, on the other, MARCVS ANTONIVS, who was to bee their principall fauourer heerin, did not shewe himself a friend to OCTAVIANVS. Wherefore he, following their wise counsell, aduisedly concealed his thoughts for a time: and, to justifie himself, and to hould correspondence, and temporize with ANTONIE, he went presently to his house to visit him. And, vnderstanding that ANTONIE had in his custodie all the treasure which IVLIVS CAESAR had left, after discourse of some other matters, he desired him to command it to bee deliuered vnto him, therewith to satisfie his debts, and to distribute it as CAESAR had ordained by his Will. To this, and all the rest which OCTAVIANVS required, hee was answered by MARCVS ANTONIVS with greater haughtinesse and grauity than the minde and thoughts of OCTAVIANVS were able to bear, denying to him what he required, yea, and reprouing him for his demands. Whereupon presently contentions and discord arose between them; OCTAVIANVS aiding himself with the counsell of MARCVS TVLLIVS CICERO, a great enemy to ANTONIVS: whose authority at that time, by reason of his wisdome and eloquence, was very great. The hatred encreasing, although that friends of either side passed between them to bring them to some conformity, and to haue reconciled them, yet in the end it brake out. And OCTAVIANVS his power encreasing, principally (as I said) through the fauour and assistance of CICERO, MARCVS ANTONIVS left *Rome*, and began to raise forces in *Italie*, and so leuied foure legions of ould souldiers against him. And because that DECIVS BRVTVS, who commanded *Gallia Cisalpina* (which is now called *Lombardie*) was opposite vnto him, procured thereto by CICERO his counsell and letters, MARCVS ANTONIVS went to besiege him in the city of *Mutina*, now called *Modena*. This being knowne in *Rome*, CICERO his credit and authority in the Senate was such, as, after much contention, MARCVS ANTONIVS was declared an enemy to the State: and the new Consuls HIRCIVS and PANSA were sent against him, and with them OCTAVIANVS, with ensignes of Consul and title of Propretor,

Octauianus and Marcus Antonius fell at variance.

M. Antonie declared an enemie to the commonweal.

tor, with part of the Armie, hauing been first receiued into the Senate (notwithstanding that he was not yet eighteen yeers ould) by the procurement of CICERO, although that afterwards he did ill requite it.

There were also assigned vnto MARCVS BRVTVS the prouinces of *Illyricum* or *Sclauonia*, and *Macedonia*, with the Armies therein; and to CASSIVS, the prouince of *Syria* in *Asia*, with the Armie also. This and other things beeing granted by the Senate, OCTAVIANVS and the Consuls with their Armies drew neer to MARCVS ANTONIVS, MARCVS TVLLIVS CICERO remaining for chief in all matters in *Rome*. After some skirmishes and incounters, which passed between the two Armies, they came to battell, or (as some record) battels, which are declared in sundry manners; but in effect they all agree: and the truth is, that the Consuls and CÆSAR had the victory, and one of the Consuls (which was HIRCIVS) was slain in the battell, and PANSA the other Consul came wounded from it, and died shortly after: and so OCTAVIANVS remaining with the whole Armie, DECIVS BRVTVS was freed from the siege; and MARCVS ANTONIVS, with part of his people, escaped by slight. In this seruice, OCTAVIANVS made maruellous proof of himself (as SVETONIVS reporteth) not onely as a Captain, but also as a priuate souldier: and, among other things which hee did, one was, that seeing him which bare the standard to bee sore wounded and ready to fall, with the Eagle, the ensigne of his legion, which were the Armes of *Rome*; OCTAVIANVS took the same, and bare it a great while, vntill that he put it in safety: yet for all this, some of his enemies forbare not to defame him; saying, that, being in the battell, he himself slue the Consull HIRCIVS; and that afterwards he caused poison to be put into the medicines applied to the Consul PANSA, and that thereof he died.

The battell against Marcus Antonius, wherein Octauianus and the consuls had the victorie.

MARCVS ANTONIVS, being escaped from the battell, gathering together the remainder of his Armie, passed the Alps and went into *France*, soliciting the friendshippe of LEPIDVS, who remained there with an Armie since the death of IVLIVS CAESAR: with whom, after some treaties and matters which succeeded, he concluded to be his friend. And OCTAVIANVS, after the battell and victory obtained, seeing himself at liberty from the authority of the Consuls, began to put in effect the high designes which he did inherit with the goods and name of CAESAR, and presently sent to the Senate to require triumph for the victory; and also the Consulship for the rest of the time which remained to the dead Consuls, with succession in their charge, and command of the souldiers succeeding them in dignity. But his demands were not so pleasing to the Senate as he desired: for, the kinsmen and friends of the conspirators which slue CAESAR, began to stand in fear of him, and they grieued to see him so powerfull. Wherfore (as APPIANVS ALEXANDRINVS and VELLEIVS PATERCVLVS distinctly set down) they vsed a mean to protract and delay that which he required; and in the end they resolued to assigne the Armie vnto DECIVS BRVTVS: and temporizing with OCTAVIANVS, *they granted him the triumph, without admitting him to the Consulship.* Whereat hee shewed himself much discontented, and took occasion thereby to attempt that which peraduenture he had before projected: which was this; He had secret treaties & practices of friendship with MARCVS ANTONIVS, and hauing drawne vnto him the hearts and good will of the Armie, imitating IVLIVS CAESAR; accompanied therewith, he took his way to *Rome*: and approaching neer vnto the city, in despite of the Senate hee made himself to bee chosen Consull, being then not fully twenty yeers ould. Wherein hee presently entred: and, discouering his desire and resolution, he made accusations to be exhibited against BRVTVS and CASSIVS, and the rest of the conspirators, which was declared against them all: *and as there were none to defend their cause, and they absent, not daring to appear, they were condemned.* This *being done, he again departed from the city*; and, with the Armie which he brought, returned to draw neer to the camps of LEPIDVS and MARCVS ANTONIVS, who were already entred *Italie*.

Octauianus made himself to be chosen consull.

Those which murdered Cæsar, accused & condemned.

DECIVS BRVTVS, being aduertised of the treaties and league betwixt OCTAVIANVS, LEPIDVS and MARCVS ANTONIVS, not daring to stay in that countrey, departed with his people: by which, seeing himself abandoned, part whereof going to CAESAR, and part to MARCVS ANTONIVS, he fled into sundry parts; and in the end was taken and brought to MARCVS ANTONIVS, and put to death by his commandement, and (his head beeing brought vnto him, hee caused him presently to bee buried. The Armies of these Captains approaching neer together, with which ASINIVS POLLIO and PLANCVS, with the legions which they commanded, were joined; the league was made, and friendship concluded betweene

tweene these three, to wit, OCTAVIANVS CÆSAR, MARCVS ANTONIVS, and LEPIDVS, all three meeting to that effect three daies together, at an appointed place in the fields betweene *Bologna* and *Perugia*, as APPIANVS recordeth, which was an Iland, which the River *Lauinum* which passeth thereby, maketh; where they concluded their accursed peace. And either of these firebrands of sedition entred into that accursed Triumvirat, with a seueral desigme & intent. LEPIDVS was couetous of riches, the hope wherof consisted in troubling the State. ANTHONIE by nature an enemie to peace, and troublesome to the common weale, desired to be reuenged of such as had declared him an enemie to the State. And OCTAVIVS, for the death of his adopted father, upon BRVTVS and CASSIVS, whose lives were offensiue to his unrevenged ghost. After which, OCTAVIANVS, putting away SERVILIVS daughter, to whom hee was married, contracted himselfe to CLAVDIA, ANTONIVS daughter in law, daughter to his wife FVLVIA, which was then a childe; from whom he was also divorced afterwards, without touching her, by reason of the discord which arose, as shall bee declared. In this proscription and league which they made, besides the dividing of the Empyre and Provinces, as hereafter shall bee declared, they concluded each of them to kill his enemies, and the one delivered them into the others hands, having more respect and care to bee revenged of an enemie, then to the saving of a friend; and so was made the most cruell and inhumane proscription and butcherie that ever was seene or heard of, giving and exchanging friends and kinsmen, for enemies and adversaries. For MARCVS ANTONIVS gave his fathers brother; and LEPIDVS, LVCIVS PAVLVS, his owne brother; and OCTAVIANVS, MARCVS TVLLIVS CICERO, whom hee called father, and by whom hee had beene intreated and honoured as a sonne. Besides these, they proscribed and condemned to dye, three hundred other principal men of *Rome*, as PLVTARCH setteth downe in their lives, although LVCIVS FLORVS, and TITVS LIVIVS doe but briefely set downe the number of the Senatours: of which one saith, there were put to death 130, and the other 140. But if wee shall beleeve APPIANVS, a most diligent and grave Author, there died of the Senators in a manner 300 (therin agreeing with PLVTARCH) and neere 2000 Romans of the order of Knighthood: so great power had ambition & hatred in the hearts of these three Citizens.

The Triumvirat and league betweene Octauianus, Marcus Antonius, and Lepidus.

The cruell proscription made by Octauianus and Marcus Antonius.

Cicero deliuered to his enemie.

Having made their agreement, and resolved what they would doe, they all three (newly reconciled) went to *Rome*, where they tooke upon them the governement of the Common-wealth, by the name of a Triumvirat, for that they were three, the time being appointed for five yeares, although they never meant to leave the same. And presently those which by them were condemned and proscript, were by their commandement put to death, being sought out in all parts and places, ransaking their houses and confisking their goods: In the execution whereof there was so great confusion, sorrow and heavinesse in the cittie of *Rome*, and almost in all *Italie*, as the like was never seene nor heard of by man. And although APPIANVS ALEXANDRINVS very eloquently recounteth the cruell death of many, it shal be sufficient for us to describe the murdering of CICERO onely: who understanding that his name was in the catalogue of those which were proscript, onely for that he had beene a lover of the Romane libertie, fled towards the Sea, where imbarking himselfe, hee had so cruell fortune, as hee was forced to returne to the shore: and comming to certaine his possessions neere to *Capua*, not far from the sea, sleeping, hee was awakened by Crowes, which with their bills pluckt the cloathes from his backe. His servants moved with this evill presage, tooke him and put him in his Litter, and againe carried him towards the Sea; but hee was overtaken by the executioners, which smote off his head, and right hand, wherewith hee had written the orations against MARCVS ANTONIVS called PHILIPPICKS, *imitating those which* DEMOSTHENES *made against* PHILIP, father to ALEXANDER the great: and so CICERO was slaine by one whom hee had defended and delivered from death. And his hand being ioyfullie beheld by MARCVS ANTONIVS, was by his order nayled up in the place where hee was wont to plead; whither repaired all the Romane people to behold so miserable and sorrowfull a spectacle: whereof there was not anie one but was heartily sorie for the death of so great a personage, and so fervent a lover of the Commonwealth.

These Princes having done their wils in *Rome*, and knowing that BRVTVS and CASSIVS had a great and mightie Armie in *Grecia*, able both to defend, and offend, & called themselves deliverers of their Countrey, and gave it out publikely, that they would goe to set *Rome* at libertie from oppression; CASSIVS having before overthrowne and slaine DOLABELLA in *Syria*, who was made Consul in the place of IVLIVS CÆSAR when he was slaine; and in the time that

that CICERO bare sway, was adjudged for an enemie to his Countrey: and being certified that they had (with the assistance of the Kings and provinces of *Asia*, and such people as they could levie) drawn together 18 legions: This (I say) being knowne, MARCVS ANTONIVS and OCTAVIANVS resolved to goe against them with the greatest Armie they were able to levie, which they had of expert and old soldiers, and that LEPIDVS should remaine behinde to guard *Rome*. Being departed from thence, and arrived in *Gracia*, dividing their Armie, for the more commodious marching thereof, they drew neere to the place where BRVTVS and CASSIVS were encamped, which was in *Macedonia*, in the fields called *Phillippicks*, for that they were neere the Citty *Philippos*. Before the Armies came to joyne, there were apparent signes of an inevitable overthrow; for those birds which used to gorge themselves with Carion, hovered about BRVTVS Campe, as if it had beene their owne alreadie: as they marcht out to battel, a blacke Moore met them, which was an eminent signe of ominous succesſe: and BRVTVS himselfe being alone in his tent at night in meditation, a man sad and gastly appeared unto him; and being demanded by him, what he was? he answered, I am thy evill spirit; and so vanished out of his sight. In Cæsars Campe, all presages were as good as the others bad, birds and beasts promising all fayre fortune. These contrarie Armies being so neere together; after some encounters and skirmishes, they came to a battaile, where the victorie was divided after a strange manner: for either partie having ranged their Armie into two squadrons, or battailes, the right wing of BRVTVS his Armie, joyned with the left wing which OCTAVIANVS commanded; and the right, whereof MARCVS ANTONIVS was leader, with the left which CASSIVS governed: where wounding and cruelly slaying one another, BRVTVS his Battalion was of such power, as that it brake and put to rout OCTAVIVS CÆSARS Battalion; who, as APPIANVS ALEXANDRINVS, PLVTARCH, and LVCIVS FLORVS report, was not in the battaile, for that hee was then very sicke; neither durst he abide in his Tent in the Campe, for a certaine augurie or dreame of one who was his Phisition, who (they say) adviſed him, that he ſhould not abide in his Tent in the Campe; for if hee did, hee would be slaine by his enemies. Yet SVETONIVS, VELLEIVS PATERCVLVS, and PAVLVS OROSIVS affirme that he was there, & that being overcome, he retyred to ANTONIVS battaile. And although that this be diverſly reported (as it usually happeneth in great exploites and adventures) the truth wher-*in all agree, is, that his people being overthrowne, and his Campe entred by his enemies*, imagining that he had beene in his bed, there were many thrusts and stabs given thorough the curtaines, and into the bed, and it was publiſhed abroad that hee was dead. And while as BRVTVS followed this victorie, his companion CASSIVS was overthrowne by MARCVS ANTONIVS, notwithstanding that hee performed all that was possible for him to defend his people; so as there was victorie on either side, whereof the cloudes and dust of that day were a great occasion; for the one could not see nor understand the other: and CASSIVS seing his people overthrowne and scattered, retired himselfe to a high ground, where hee had pitched his Tent, whereinto he could not come, for that the enemie had alreadie possessed it: And so standing and looking about, hee saw BRVTVS troopes come to his ayde, and to relieve him: but hee imagining they came flying, or that they were his enemies, as he had before resolved (so great was his griefe and sorrow) so commanded hee a slave of his, whom hee had made free (named PINDARVS) to kill him, who performed it presently, and so he died fooliſhly, yet bound by neceſſitie, believing that which was not.

Brutus puts his enemies to rout.

Cassius defeated by Antonie

The death of Cassius.

OCTAVIANVS his people escaped by flight, & retired to MARCVS ANTONIVS campe, whose forces returned to him with victorie: although their General MARCVS ANTONIVS, as some write, did not that day discharge the part of a good Captaine but rather affirme, that the battaile being begunne, hee left it, and went into a lake which was thereby, where he remained untill that hee certainely understood, that the victorie remained on his side: which truly is hardly to bee beleeved in so valiant a man, and of such experience as he was; so as there was a great broile and a confusion. But PLVTARCH affirmeth, that if BRVTVS his people had not that day busied themselves in ransacking and pillaging of OCTAVIANVS his Campe & Tents, his partie had obtained an entire victorie: for they might in sufficient time have rescued CASSIVS, and both being joyned together, might easilie have broken MARCVS ANTONIVS his battaile. But the victorie divided in such manner as I have told you, the Captaines of either partie gathered together their forces, where of BRVTVS part were slaine 8000 men; and of his adversaries a far greater number: and BRVTVS did his best to comfort the soldiers and gentlemen which followed CASSIVS. And although the next day there were some shew between the

the two Armies of a desire to fight, and that they were neere the one to the other, yet they came to no battaile: but within few daies after (during the which, there past some skirmishes of smal importance) it was tried betweene them, whereto BRVTVS was forced by his soldiers. For he would willingly have delayed and prolonged the warre: being advertised that his enemies wanted victuals, and many necessaries, and also for that he repoſed [illegible] trust in CASSIVS forces; for he found that they were growne fearefull, by meanes of that which was past, and were ill to command: but being come to the encounter, he [illegible] roughly discharge all the offices which to a good Captaine and valliant knight did belong. But in the end, his men unable to endure the force of OCTAVIANVS and MARCVS ANTONIVS, were by them broken and overcome: And BRVTVS, after that hee had done all that which was possible to gather his troopes together, being out of hope to be able to make any resistance, the night being come, he was counselled by some which joyned themselves with him, to flie, to whom hee answered, that he was resolved to doe so, not with his feete, but with his hands: and having spoken these words, hee tooke a sword from a servant of his, named STRATVS, and slew himselfe. Some affirme, that this STRATVS killed him by his commandement. And so DRVSVS LIVIVS and QVINTILIVS VARRO and some others of the conspiracie slew themselves, besides many others which died fighting in the battaile. And in this manner were OCTAVIANVS CÆSAR and MARCVS ANTONIVS Lords and Masters of the field, and all things succeeded unto CÆSAR according to his desire: for whom alone, God in his secret judgment, had reserved the sole Monarchie, which then was divided and sharedbetween three.

The Battaile gainſt Brutus.

Brutus slew himselfe.

This exploit being atchieved, and BRVTVS and CASSIVS legions being reduced to their obedience (saving those which flying sundrie waies went to SEXTVS POMPEIVS, sonne of the great POMPEY, who in these troubles and confusions seised on the Ile of *Sicilia*, and was very mightie by Sea) OCTAVIANVS, and MARCVS ANTONIVS agreed together, that ANTONIVS should remaine in the Provinces of *Gracia* and *Asia*, LEPIDVS should goe into *Africa*, and OCTAVIANVS should returne to *Rome*, whither with some difficultie he came, through want of his health; and MARCVS ANTONIVS went into *Asia*, & afterwards gave himselfe to sensualitie, delights and pleasures in *Egypt*, with Queene CLEOPATRA, of whom wee have spoken in the life of CÆSAR.

Marcus Antonius fell in love with Cleopatra Queene of Egypt.

Within few daies after that OCTAVIANVS came to *Rome*, there arose new warres and troubles: for although that he were in peace with LEPIDVS, to whom was given the Province of *Africa*, OCTAVIANVS remaining with the rest of *Spaine*, *France*, and part of *Germany*, *Italie* and *Illyricum*: LVCIVS ANTONIVS, who at that time was Consul, incited thereto by his Sister in law FVLVIA, wife to MARCVS ANTONIVS, began to oppose himselfe against LEPIDVS and OCTAVIANVS, attempting to defeat the Triumvirat, and the league and government of three; which began about the division of the fields, which OCTAVIANVS CÆSAR had made to the men of warre which had served him. APPIANVS writeth, that FVLVIA did this with an intent to disturbe *Italie*, and so to procure her husband MARCVS ANTONIVS to come unto her, for that she was ialous, hearing of his familiaritie and companie keeping with CLEOPATRA, *the Queene of Egypt*. The discord in *Rome* grew to that height, as they came to Armes: and LVCIVS ANTONIVS departed from thence, and levied an Armie against OCTAVIANVS, who marched towards him with his power: but LVCIVS durst not joyne battaile with him, but rather suffered himselfe to be shut up in the Citie of *Perugia*, where CÆSAR besieged him, and at that time divorced himselfe from CLAVDIA, the daughter of FVLVIA, to whom he was contracted (as is aforesaid) without ever touching her, and was married the third time with SCRIBONIA, by whom hee had one daughter. *Perugia* was so strictlie besiedged (OCTAVIVS being then 23 years old) that LVCIVS ANTONIVS, and the rest which were besieged with him, endured so great hunger, as it grew to a proverbe, to say, The *Perugian* hunger; wherewith LVCIVS ANTONIVS oppressed and forced, yeelded himself to OCTAVIANVS, who pardoned him, & used him wel, & those which were with him; and so this warre was ended without shedding of blood, and he came victorious to *Rome*, & was ever after Lord thereof. Wherefore many account the beginning of his Empire from this time, which might be about some 4 years after the death of his uncle CÆSAR: & the account which is commonly called CÆSARS computation, agreeth with this time: foure yeares (as I said) after the death of CÆSAR, and thirtie and eight yeares before the birth of *Christ*.

Lucius Antonius opposeth himself against Octavius.

Lucius besieged in Perugia, yeelds.

The beginning of Octavius his Empire.

CÆSAR being in this quietnes (the which cannot long continue in the course of this life)

presently without any delay, FVLVIA with letters and false persuasions, sought by all means to set MARCVS ANTONIVS and OCTAVIAN at variance, seeing that LVCIVS ANTONIVS his attemptes tooke no better effect: and with this resolution shee went out of *Italie*, by OCTAVIVS permission, and tooke her way towards her husband, in hope to perswade him to come into *Italie* against OCTAVIVS, as he did. When shee parted from *Italie*, MARCVS ANTONIVS parted from *Alexandria* in *Egypt*: and comming to the Ile of *Rhodes*, he was enformed of all that happened to his brother; and arriving in *Græcia* at the city of *Athens*, he found his wife FVLVIA there sicke, but sound and constant in her determination against OCTAVIVS: whom hee there leaving by her owne good will and consent, hee came with two hundred Gallies into *Italie*; and landing neere unto *Brundusium*, now *Brindez*, the warres began between him and OCTAVIANVS his forces, who then was in *Rome*. SEXTVS POMPEIVS (as I said) held *Sicilia*, and was in such sort Lord of the Sea, as he caused a great scarcity and want of corne in *Italie*. But as this warre was not through OCTAVIANVS his fault, or by his will, so MARCVS ANTONIVS, by the relation of sundrie persons, understood it to be so; and therefore there were some friends which interposed themselves to reconcile them and make them friends: and it was agreed there should be arbitrators, which should compound the differences betweene them: whereto were nominated of OCTAVIANVS side, his great and private friend MECENAS, chanted by VIRGIL, HORACE, and other Poets; and for MARCVS ANTONIVS, was ASINIVS POLLIO. And in this time, newes came that FVLVIA the wife of MARCVS ANTONIVS was dead: whereby a great obstacle to the peace was taken away. MECENAS then, and ASINIVS POLLIO, set downe the agreement betweene them; the principal points whereof were, to renew the league and Triumvirat for other five yeeres, and to share the Romane Empyre betweene them, as they before had done. To MARCVS ANTONIVS was assigned all the East from *Italy*, from the beginning of the *Ionian* Sea, which is the entrie into the gulfe of *Venice*, unto the River *Euphrates* in *Asia*, wherein were included all the Provinces of *Græcia* and *Asia*, and the Ilands contained betweene these two limits. To OCTAVIVS was alotted from the said *Ionian* Sea to the westerne Sea (which wee call the Spanish Sea) *Italie*, *France*, the provinces of *Spaine*, *Germanie*, *Britannie*, with their Ilands and bounds. And to LEPIDVS was confirmed *Africa* wherein hee then was, and all the provinces therein conteined, subject to the Empire. And for the better corroborating of this league of friendship, it was agreed that MARCVS ANTONIVS, who was a widdower, should marrie with OCTAVIA, who was sister to OCTAVIANVS by his fathers side, and lately the widow of MARCVS MARCELLVS, with whom shee had bin married, and had by him one sonne called MARCELLVS, whom hee much loved, and OCTAVIAN adopted him for his sonne, of whom VIRGIL maketh much mention. This marriage was made by dispensation of the Senate, because that in *Rome* it was not permitted for widdowes to marrie, untill they had lived ten months in widdowhood.

Sextus Pompeius *in Sicilia.*

The death of Fulvia wife of Marcus Antonius.

Marcus Antonius *married Octavia sister to Octavianus.*

This being concluded, OCTAVIANVS and MARCVS ANTONIVS went to *Rome*: where the wedding was solemnized, and they returned againe good friends. But this peace was greatly disquieted, by meanes of the ill neighbourhood of SEXTVS POMPEIVS: for hee commanded the Sea from *Sicilia* where hee lived, and with his ships and Pirats (for he had many in his service) he disquieted CÆSARS part (relying on the friendship of MARCVS ANTONIVS) and OCTAVIANVS had determined to make warre and to ruine him: but at the entreatie of the Senate, and of MARCVS ANTONIVS, hee gave eare to a peace, and by the mediation of some which were friends to them both, it tooke effect in this manner: That all matters past being forgotten, they should become good neighbours and friends, and that SEXTVS POMPEIVS should enioy *Sicilia*, *Sardinia*, and *Corsica*, which hee had in possession; and that he should cleere the seas from danger, for Merchants and passengers; and that hee should furnish *Rome* yeerely with a certaine quantitie of corne. This being concluded, they agreed upon a meeting betweene them three, ANTONIVS, OCTAVIANVS, and POMPEY, upon the Sea side, in the streight of *Mesina*, in a Fortresse built for that purpose, which reached into the water, whither SEXTVS POMPEIVS might come with his gallies, and might be in safety on all parts: which was performed with great joy and solemnitie, and afterwards POMPEY feasted them in his gallies, and they him likewise by land: and from thence he returned to *Sicilia*, and OCTAVIAN and ANTONY to *Rome*, where they remained certaine daies in very friendly manner. And MARCVS ANTONIVS, making preparation for his journey into the East, sent

sent VENTIDIVS away before with a great Armie against the Parthians, against whom he had resolved to make war, as hee did. VENTIDIVS had so good successe in his journey, as hee overcame and defeated PACORVS, the Kings sonne of the Parthians, and slew of them twenty thousand men: so as he sufficiently revenged the death of MARCVS CRASSVS: for the which, after his returne to *Rome*, he triumphed.

Ventidius triumphed of the Parthians.

MARCVS ANTONIVS departed *Rome* towards the East with his new wife, with whom he wintered in *Græcia* in the Citie of *Athens*, & from thence he continued his journey. Within a while after, as OCTAVIVS (remayning in *Rome*) grew mightie, and in great estimation; so likewise hee became pensive: and as the companie and neighbourhood of SEXTVS POMPEIVS in *Sicilia* was displeasing unto him, so he attended an occasion to warre against him: which having resolved, he prepared a great fleet for that purpose, under pretext that POMPEY with his gallies and ships hindred the comming of prouision of corne into *Italie*. These warres of *Sicilia* were long (resting sometimes) and continued certaine yeeres. In the beginning whereof OCTAVIVS had ill successe, more through tempests and foule weather at Sea, then the force of his enemies, although there were some fights betweene the ships of either partie; but by tempest and shipwrack OCTAVIVS lost sundry fleetes. And if SEXTVS POMPEIVS had beene as able to offend and conquer as he was to defend himselfe, and overthrow his enemie; and as he was valiant, if he had beene wise and politicke, most authors affirme, that he might have greatly distressed OCTAVIAN in all matters concerning *Italie*. But the matter was so handled, that in this warre MARCVS ANTONIVS came twice out of *Græcia* into *Italie*, whither hee came from the East at OCTAVIANVS request; in one of which journeyes hee came to *Brundusium*: and not finding him there according to his appointment, and as he had sent him word, he returned without seeing him, upon some suspicions and jealousies which greyve betweene them. Wherefore OCTAVIANVS having lost the most and best part of his Navie in a storme, he sent MECENAS his private friend unto him; at whose intreatie, MARCVS ANTONIVS returned againe into *Italie* with three hundred sayle of ships and gallies, giving it out; that hee came to CÆSARS ayde: And notwithstanding that there were some differences & jealousies betwene them, yet in the end OCTAVIA, who came thither (being wife to the one, and sister to the other) prevailed so much as shee reconciled them, so as they met together in the mouth of a River neere to *Taretum*, where MARCVS ANTONIVS gave to OCTAVIAN one hundred and twentie gallies for the warres: and OCTAVIAN gave to him certaine troupes of Italian trained souldiers; and they renewed their Triumvirat for other five yeeres then begun: MARCVS ANTONIVS returned towards the East, to the warre which he had begun against the Parthians (which concerne not mee to write) his wife OCTAVIA and her children remayning in *Rome*.

The first warre between Octavian & Sextus Pompeius.

Octavius *and* Antonie *parle and agree by the means of* Octavia.

ANTONIE being gone; OCTAVIANVS, who was resolved to prosecute the warres with all his forces against SEXTVS POMPEIVS (whom it seemed fortune and the winds did favour) was not contented with the arming of two navies (AGRIPPA being Captaine of the one, and himselfe of the other) but he earnestly intreated LEPIDVS, a Triumvir & his companion, to come from *Africa* to his aide: who came with such power, as APPIANVS affirmeth, that he brought with him a thousand ships little and great, and foure score gallies, wherin hee transported five thousand horse, and twelve legions of foote. SEXTVS POMPEIVS, whose power by Sea was very strong, seeing so great preparations made against him, did marvailously fortifie all places upon the Sea side in *Sicilia*; and on the frontiers of *Africa*, neere unto *Lilybæum*, he placed a very good Captaine called PLINIVS, with good troupes of souldiers: his whole fleet by Sea (whereof he was aboundantly provided) he drew together in the port at *Mesina*, where he purposed to follow the warres with his shippes and gallies, for by land he was neither of such experience nor power; and in this order hee stood ready to prosecute it, which APPIANVS, TITVS LIVIVS, and LVCIVS FLORVS write at large. The summe whereof is, that LEPIDVS parting with his whole fleete from *Africa*, was overtaken with a tempest, wherein with great losse of his Shippes, hee landed at *Lilybæum*; and having taken certaine places in those parts, he might have done much hurt: but being of small judgement and little experience in the wars, hee managed it with greater cost and outward shew, then to any effect or profit.

Octavius *last second warre with* Sextus Pompeius.

And the very same day that he was in that tempest, OCTAVIVS also was at sea, & lost thirty galies, besides Foists & Brigandines, & with much difficulty returned into *Italie*: and TAVRVS, who had

had the command of the gallies, which MARCVS ANTONIVS left with him, the same day tooke land at *Tarentum*, with great losse and danger; so as it seemed that the winds and weather tooke part with POMPEY. Wherewith OCTAVIANVS was so much grieved, as he was in doubt to have given over the warre for that yeere: but altering his determination, hee repaired his Navies and Armies, and commanded AGRIPPA with a great fleet to passe into *Sicilia*, and there to make warre by Sea and Land: and hee with all the rest afterwards did the like.

Octavianus puts away his wife Scribonia, and marrieth Livia.

In this time, or a little before (as it seemeth by SVETONIVS) OCTAVIANVS divorced himselfe from SCRIBONIA, notwithstanding that hee had by her one daughter, called LIVIA, and married LIVIA DRVSILLA: wherefore TIBERIVS NERO, to whom she was married, and by him had a sonne called TIBERIVS as his father, was driven to leave her, which hee unwillingly did, to please OCTAVIANVS, she being with child of a son. This LIVIA he much loved, and continued with her til his death. But returning to our history of the war; I say, that AGRIPPA assaulted & tooke certaine places upon the coast of *Sicilia*: which when POMPEY understood, hee departed from *Messina*, to relieve them; at which time hee had of his owne, and of Pirats which served him, one hundred seventy and five Galleys.

A battaile by Sea.

It is a wonderfull thing to consider the great Fleets that were put to sea in those dayes. AGRIPPA being advertised of his comming, put his Galleys, being almost equall in number, in a readinesse to encounter him; & so they joyned battaile: wherin, although at first the victory was doubtful, yet in a short space it plainly appeared, that AGRIPPA had the better: which POMPEY perceiving, fled, before he would be wholly overthrowne, and his gallies and foysts withdrew themselves to some places and Rivers neere at hand. But AGRIPPA, for that his Gallies were greater, could not follow the chase, nor come so neere the shore as he would: but yet notwithstanding, POMPEY lost thirtie of his Gallies. AGRIPPA the next day went to a citie called *Tindaria*, which he thought to get by reason of certain secret intelligence he had with those of the Citie: and POMPEY, in the darke of the night, giving secret advice to his whole fleet, tooke his course toward *Messina*. And OCTAVIAN, to lose no occasion, embarked abord his ships and gallies a great part of his armie; and passing over into *Sicilia*, set them on shore, appointing CORNIFICIVS for their Commander, little thinking that POMPEY had beene so neere; of whom he was in great danger, if hee had beene so dainely charged by him: so as if POMPEY had then given him battaile, hee had defeated him. But hee losing that oportunity, OCTAVIAN embarked himselfe againe, with intent to determine the quarrell by a battaile at Sea, leaving CORNIFICIVS with his land souldiers fortified on land: and POMPEY, with the same desire, after some accidents which happened, sailed out of *Messina* with all his whole fleete: and neither partie refusing it, they came to fight; in which conflict (although the historie recite it with some difference) OCTAVIANVS CÆSAR was overcome, and all his great Fleet scatered and lost, and hee driven to flie into *Italy* in a Brigandine, where hee escaped many dangers; and in the end arrived where his Armie was; whereof MESALLA was General: & being nothing discouraged with this losse, he presently tooke order for all that was needefull. To *Rome* he sent in hast his familiar friend MECENAS, to foresee that these newes should breed no alteration: and by a Brigandine he presently sent direction to AGRIPPA, who (as is said) was Admiral of his other fleete, that with the greatest speede that might bee, hee should goe to succour CORNIFICIVS, who remained in *Sicilia* with his Armie by land: and to LEPIDVS he sent word, that (all matters set aside) hee should make his present repaire to the Isle of *Lipari*, which is betweene *Sicilia* and *Calabria*; whither hee should come so soone as hee might possibly.

Octavianus Cæsar overcome in a battell at sea by Sextus Pompeius.

With these provisions, and the diligence and good order which hee tooke, hee so much prevailed, as within a short time, being holpen with the wars which LEPIDVS and AGRIPPA made (in despite of POMPEY) he passed over all his forces into *Sicilia*. And joyning himself with LEPIDVS, he encamped neer to the citie of *Messina*, where the war began to be most cruell both by sea and land: which truely was admirable, to consider the power and sufficiency of POMPEY, to know how to defend himselfe against so great enemies. Who seeing himselfe oppressed, (notwithstanding that hee had well fortified the land, and wanted no forces for his defence by sea) he sent a challenge to OCTAVIANVS CÆSAR, with this message; that to avoide the effusion of blood, and to make an end of the warre; although hee were

Pompey doth challenge Octavianus.

were well provided and furnished with singular good Gallies, and well trayned souldiers; yet that hee would come to a battaile by Sea, so manie against so manie Shippes and Galleys; whereunto were made many answers and delaies, but in the end they agreed to doe so. And appointing the number, which were three hundred Ships and Galleys of either side; and the time and place set downe, eyther of these Commanders prepared himselfe as strongly as hee could for the battaile: and OCTAVIANVS, leaving LEPIDVS with his Armie by land, embarked himselfe in his Fleet; and POMPEY doing the like, they joyned battaile; which, without doubt was one of the most cruell that ever was, considering the Commaunders and power of either part: wherein, after that POMPEY had done all that which to a good and valiant Captaine did appertaine, and after the death of much people of either side, he was overcome by OCTAVIANVS, and all his Fleete was taken, burnt, or sunke, saving xvi Sayles which escaped by flight, and hee in one of them; and so hee entred into the haven at *Messina*: The which though it were sufficiently fortified, & that he knew, PLINIVS, a Captaine of his (as is aforesaid) came to his rescue: yet, acknowledging that all sufficed not to defend him from such powerfull enemies, in a darke night he imbarked himselfe in a Galley; and with the other xvj which escaped, abandoning *Sicilia*, he fled towards the East, and sayled to MARCVS ANTONIVS, in hope to have found some relieefe with him; but it happened contrary to his expectation: for being arrived, after some great toyle and accidents that happened (which for brevity I omit) hee was slaine at the command of MARCVS ANTONIVS, by the hands of one named TICIVS. And so ended the power of SEXTVS POMPEIVS (which truly was very great) and in him the house and memorie of his father the Great POMPEY.

A battell by sea.

Octavianus Cæsar overthrew Sextus Pompeius.

The death of Sextus Pompeius.

It is a great example, and a fayre document of the inconstancie of all things in this life, to see and read the changes in the Historie which wee are now to relate. For when it seemeth that matters succeede in such sort as quietnesse and peace may ensue, then begin new alterations, and greater troubles; as wee have seene hitherto, and shall see hereafter in the processe of this discourse.

SVETONIVS writes, that at the very instant of this naval Battaile, OCTAVIVS was in such a sound sleepe, as his friends were faine to waken him, and to rayse him from his bed to give the signal; wherewith ANTONY did afterwards reproach him, that hee could not with his eyes see his battaile arranged, but lay like a senslesse corps on his backe, looking up unto the skie, and that hee never came in sight of his soldiers, untill that M. AGRIPPA had put twelve of his enemies shippes to flight.

Hee escaped many dangers in this warre. For having transported part of his Armie into *Sicilie*, and sayling backe againe to conduct the rest from the firme Land; hee was at unawares surprized by DEMOCHARES, and APOLLAPHANES, Lievetenants and Admirals to POMPEY: from whom, with great difficultie hee escaped with one onely Barke. In like sort, travailing by land to *Rhegium*; neere to *Locris*, seeing a farre off, certaine of POMPEYES Gallies neere the shore; and supposing them to bee his owne, hee went downe, and was in danger to have beene taken by them: And even then seeking to escape away by unknowne passages, a Bond-slave of ÆMILIVS PAVLVS his familiar friend; grieving that his masters Father PAVLVS had in times past beene proscribed by him: he imbraced this oportunitie of revenge, and attempted to kill him.

OCTAVIANVS, having obtained so great a victorie (although not without great losse) going to land with his Shippes, and the Armie; hee commanded AGRIPPA presently to joyne with LEPIDVS and goe to *Messina*, whither PLINIVS POMPEIVS Captaine had retyred himselfe (after POMPEYS flight) with all his troupes; who, for that he would not stand upon his defence, yeelded himselfe to LEPIDVS, with all his Legions: whereof LEPIDVS grew so proud, that coveting to have all *Sicilia* for himselfe, hee presumed to contend with OCTAVIAN: And entring into the citie of *Messina* (notwithstanding that AGRIPPA requested him to stay for OCTAVIANVS) hee placed a Garrison therein to his owne use, and did the like in many other places in that Iland. And OCTAVIAN being come, hee sent the next day to speake with him, greatly complayning of his proceedings.

But as in rule and command, equalitie is intolerable; so either of them coveting the Ile of *Sicilia* particularly for himselfe, they fell at variance, and OCTAVIANVS made his Navie to draw neere the shore: both Armies beganne to stand upon their guard, the one against

Discord betweene Lepidus and Octavianus.

against the other, and many messages and complaints passed betweene them: in the end although they met and spake together, yet they could not agree. But as OCTAVIAN was much more beloved and better esteemed by the men of warre for his many vertues and nobilitie, and for the names sake and remembrance of IVLIVS CAESAR, this dissension did much grieve them all, and both the one part and the other laid all the fault on LEPIDVS. Which when OCTAVIAN understood, before that they would fall so farre out as to take armes, he practised secretly with sundrie in LEPIDVS his Armie, and with gifts and promises drew them to his will: so as having well effected this device, hee one day with a great troope of horsemen roade neere to LEPIDVS his Campe: and singling himselfe from his companie, hee began to parley with his souldiers, complaining of him, and laying the fault of all that was like to ensue, upon LEPIDVS: which being heard by them, many of them began to come over to his side. LEPIDVS, advertised hereof, commanded the alarme to be given, and to sally out against him; so as they skirmished, where in the beginning, OCTAVIAN was in some danger, but it continued not long: for the most part of LEPIDVS troupes passed over to OCTAVIAN, whom LEPIDVS could not containe; but, seing himselfe in danger to be abandoned by his whole armie, for his last refuge, he yeelded himselfe into CAESARS power; and putting off his robe of General, went out of his Tent, and submitted himselfe unto OCTAVIANVS, humbly intreating him to pardon him: whom OCTAVIAN received, as if he had never offended him, very courteously and honourably, but he restored him neither to his estate nor power, but sent him to *Rome* well accompained, and entertained, but without Magistracy or office, with the dignity of highest Priest onely; which he had ever held from the death of IVLIVS CAESAR, whose it was: and so this quarrell was ended without battaile or bloodshed, which some feared would have brought both danger and ruine.

Lepidus deprived of his province of Africa.

OCTAVIANVS CAESAR remained Lord of *Sicilia*: and, depriving LEPIDVS of the Triumvirat, he appropriated to himselfe the province of *Africa*, and remained General of the three Armies, *viz.* that which was LEPIDVS armie, POMPEIES, and his owne, wherein APPIANVS affirmeth, were 45 Legions of footmen, and 25000 horse, well armed, besides many other light horsemen and Numidians: which seemeth not incredible to him that considereth how great a part of the world they commanded which levied the same. He affirmeth also, that there were then at sea, and upon the coast 600 Gallies, and a greater number of Ships, Foists, & Brigandines: And although that OCTAVIANVS had these great forces, yet would hee not pursue or send after POMPEY, who (as we have said) fled, which he did (as some did suspect) supposing that MARCVS ANTONIVS would have harboured and succoured him, being glad that occasion might be offered to quarrell with him, for that now there was no other man living that was an eye-sore unto him: or else he did it, as he himselfe said afterwards, for that POMPEY was none of those which conspired CAESARS death. And purposing now to disperse his forces, and to returne to *Rome*, he paid his souldiers, giving Coronets, and other honours and armes to those which had performed any notable exploits in the warres: and having given many gifts, and made many fayre promises to his legions, pardoning the Captaines and souldiers which had followed POMPEY, and in the best manner that he could, paying and contenting LEPIDVS his companies, he sent them home to their houses; notwithstanding that there were some scandals and mutinies: but he pacified and brought all in good order. Leaving in *Sicilie*: and sending into *Africa*, Pretors & Governors, he tooke his way towards *Rome*, where he was received with ovation (which was little lesse then a tryumph) with incredible joy and honour, and began to be so beloved and esteemed, as in many places they erected Temples and Altars unto him, as to their gods; and hee reformed all things which by reason of the wars and troubles were corrupted and out of order. It would be a long discourse to relate the particulars of all things which he did in *Rome* and in the provinces, as well concerning the governement & justice, as the decency and beautifying thereof.

An exceeding great assembly of men of war.

At this time, MARCVS ANTONIVS, who was in the East; although that in the Parthian warre hee had no prosperous successe: yet neverthelesse he was still of great power, very rich, and greatly obeyed in all the provinces of *Grecia*, *Asia*, *Egypt*, and in all the rest of his governments. But he was so much blinded and besotted with the love and companie of CLEOPATRA Queene of *Egypt*, as he thought of nothing but how to satisfie her humor, being unable to leave her, or to have any regard or remembrance of his wife OCTAVIA, sister to OCTAVIANVS, who in beautie and wisdome was nothing inferior to her, and in vertue and goodnesse did farre excell her.

Antony captivated by Cleopatra.

And

And so the Monarchie of the world was divided betweene these two, the one in the East and the other in the West: and as the desire and gredinesse to raigne is endlesse, and the thirst with continuance encreaseth; as though that each of them had not had enough to his share, both of them bethought themselves how they might be able to obtaine the whole. Principally OCTAVIAN seeing that ANTONY cared not for his sister, neither sent for her after that hee had left her in *Rome*, he therefore continually advised and urged her to goe to her husband, to have (as I conceive) occasion to fall out with him (as PLVTARCH observes in the life of ANTONY) if she were not well entertained. And she not understanding this device, with an intent to prevent all controversies that might arise betweene her husband and her brother, departed from *Rome*, bearing with her many jewels and presents, which she had gathered together to present them to MARCVS ANTONIVS, as VELLEIVS PATERCVLVS reportes. But he who had fixed his heart upon CLOPATRA wrote to her upon the way, that shee should stay in *Grecia* in the citie of *Athens*, untill he should returne from the journey which he intended against the Parthians; the which he never performed, CLEOPATRA hindring the same. Finally, to be briefe (for otherwaies there were much to say) OCTAVIA sent all those things which shee brought with her, to her husband; and this nothing availing, shee returned to Rome sorrowfull, and forsaken. Whereunpon OCTAVIAN began openly to complaine of MARCVS ANTONIVS, and to shew himselfe his enemy: and MARCVS ANTONIVS (who had the same desire) entred into league and amity with the King of the Medes in *Asia*, causing CLEOPATRA (besides the title of *Egypt*) to be called Queene of *Syria*, *Lybia*, and *Cyprus*; and joyntly with her a sonne of hers named CÆSARION, of vvhom (as we haue already said) IVLIVS CÆSAR left her with child vvhen he was in *Egypt*; and to two sonnes which he had by her, the one named PTOLOMY, and the other ALEXANDER, he gave titles of kings: to ALEXANDER, of *Armenia* and *Parthinia*, which he meant to conquer; and to PTOLOMY, of *Cilicia* and *Phœnicia*: for which and many other causes which vvere offered, the hatred betvveene him and OCTAVIAN was apparant; but the warre was yet deferred, for that OCTAVIAN was hindred by the wars in *Illyricū* & *Dalmatia*, now called *Slavonia*. The people of which countries, seeing the civil warres of the Romans, rebelled, with other nations which conspired with them, and did assist them, although not subjects as they were, to wit, the two *Pannonia*: the upper, which is now *Austria*; and the lower, which is *Hungary*, and *Noricum*, which is now part of *Bavaria*, with other their borderers and neighbours. Which war OCTAVIAN undertooke of purpose, and followed it in his owne person, the which was very cruell and dangerous: wherin he was twice wounded, and made marveilous proofe of his person, both for valour and wisdome: wherein there passed great and famous actions, which require a large field to relate. APPIANVS, in his sixt booke which he calleth *Illyricus*, writeth thereof at large: and also VELLEIVS PATERCVLVS, although more briefly LVCIVS FLORVS, and TITVS LIVIVS abbreviated by him and some others. The end thereof was, that OCTAVIAN not onely subdued and tamed *Illiricum*, and sundrie Nations contained under that name, but also the *Pannonia's*, and the rest which had conspired with those of *Illyricum*, partly by himselfe in person, and partly by his Captaines.

Caesarion the sonne of Iulius Cæsar.

The wars which Octavianus made in Illyrica.

These victories being obtained, OCTAVIANVS CÆSAR came victorious to *Rome*: and notwithstanding that the triumph was granted unto him, yet he would not tryumph as then; so great was the desire he had to make war against MARCVS ANTONIVS, who was no better affected unto him: but he levied soldiers, procured friends and armes against him, and promised his friend CLEOPATRA, to bring her triumphing into *Rome*. LVCIVS FLORVS, writeth, that she requested of him the rule and Empyre of *Rome*, and he promised it her: as though the Romans had beene more easie to subdue then the Parthians. And matters standing on these tearmes, MARCVS ANTONIVS sent to his Wife OCTAVIA, sister to OCTAVIANVS, a divorcement and renunciation of his marriage, in such manner as then was accustomed, commanding her to goe out of his house, wherein she dwelt in *Rome*: All which, with many other indignities OCTAVIAN imparted to the Senate, complaining against him, and in his orations and speeches to the people, accusing him, that the second five years of his Triumvirat & league being expired, without comming to *Rome*, or respecting the authority of the Senate, he exercised the same, and held the possession of *Grecia* and the provinces of the East, and so used many speeches against MARCVS ANTONIVS to incense the people against him.

Octavianus refuseth to triumph after his victory.

Octavianus complaines of Antonie.

MARCVS ANTONIVS on the other side, complained by messengers and letters, alleaging that OCTAVIAN had often broken the peace, and had cast SEXTVS POMPEIVS out of *Sicilia*,

Antonie complaines of Octauius.

retayning those prouinces and others which he held; and that therein he had no respect of him, neither had he given him any part thereof; and that hee detained the gallies which hee lent him for that Warre: and besides this, that he had practised meanes to deprive LEPIDVS, and so held all the prouinces of *Africa*, and all the Legions which were his, without imparting any thing thereof vnto him; and that he had giuen the lands of all *Italy* to his Souldiers, not contributing any part thereof vnto his. And in this manner the one accused the other, and either of them made shew, that he was vrged and enforced to vndertake this warre. But the truth is, they both desired to be Lords of the whole: and in my opinion, vaine-glorie, ambition, couetousnesse, and enuie, moued them thereto, each of them putting his determination in effect, & calling diuers Nations to their aydes; so as the whole world in a manner, either of the one side or other, was in armes: those of the West in the behalfe of OCTAVIAN, and those of the East in fauour of MARCVS ANTONIVS; at the least, the best and most choise men of all, although not so many as they might haue leuied: for the Romanes neuer vsed to make warres with such huge multitudes and excessiue armies as they should not be well able to maintaine and rule, as the Persians and other barbarous nations did.

The causes of the warre betweene Octauianus and Marcus Antonius, and the beginning thereof.

ANTONY was first in field, and came with great troupes to the famous citie of *Ephesus*, which was in *Ionia* a prouince in *Asia* the lesse, whither he had sent for his ships and Nauie, to passe into *Europe*, and had there in readinesse 800. galleys and ships of burthen; 200 whereof CLEOPATRA gaue to him with all the munition and victuals necessarie for the fleete; and her selfe he caried with him, contrarie to the opinion of all those which were of his councell: And herewith sayled to the Ile of *Samos*, whither he had appointed to come by a prefixed day, all the Kings, Terrarchs and people of those cities which serued him in this warre, and from thence he went to *Athens*. PLVTARCH sets downe the Kings which came with him, and those which sent forces to his aide, part whereof were friends and allies to the Empire, and others vassals and subiects; to which were giuen the title and gouernment of prouinces: of which he names TARCONDEMVS of the vpper *Cilicia*, and ARCHELAVS of *Cappadocia*, PHILADELPHVS of *Paphlagonia*, and MITHRIDATES of *Comagena*, with others; besides those which sent their forces, as HERODES king of *Iudea*, AMYNTAS of *Lycaonia*, and the king of *Arabia*, the king of the *Medes*, and PALEMON king of *Pontus*, with some others: wherein (it was said) he brought 100000 good and well trained footmen, and 22000. horse: and according to the same PLVTARCH, besides this armie by land, his Nauie by Sea consisted of fiue hundred galleys, besides the ships of burthen which carried the munition and victuals.

Samos an Ile in the Ionian Sea ouer against Ephesus.

The people and preparation of Marcus Antonius.

Although that in the number of Ships and Gallies Authors doe varie, yet it should not diminish the credit of the History; sithence that in actions which passe now adaies the which we see with our eyes, we can hardly know the certaine number of Ships and Armies. MARCVS ANTONIVS came with such power, as Historiographers affirme, that if he had presently taken his passage for *Italy*, he had put OCTAVIAN to his shifts, and in great hazard: for he had not then sufficient forces leuied to haue fought with him, neither had he necessary prouision for the warres. And so MARCVS ANTONIVS delaying the time, he was taxed with want of discretion, knowledge and foresight of the good fortune which was offred him. For he spent so much time in *Athens*, that OCTAVIAN had leasure to prouide all things wanting, from *Italy*, *France*, *Spaine*, and other prouinces vnder his subiection: and leuying 80000. choise and well trained Souldiers, and aboue 20000. horse; seeing that ANTONIE stayed so long, he sent him word, that for as much as he had Ships & prouision fit, he should draw neere to *Italie*, where he staied in field to giue him battaile, promising to giue him free Ports and Hauens, where hee might safely take landing without any interruption, to the end that he might the more commodiously order and prouide all things thereto necessarie. Whereto ANTONY answered, that it would be more honourable, if he would determine this quarrell in person against him bodie to body, which he vvould vvillingly accept; notwithstanding that he vvas now old and crazed, and the other young and lusty: and if he liked not hereof, he would stay for him with his Army in the fields of *Pharsalia*, in the same place where his father IVLIVS CÆSAR fought with GNEVS POMPEIVS.

These Embassies and messages passing betweene them, vvithout effect; ANTONY drew his Army by land, and his Nauy by Sea, towards the coast of *Italy*; and OCTAVIAN, drawing his Ships to *Brundusium*, embarked his legions, and crossing the Sea came to a place called *Torma*, in the prouince of *Epire*, vvhich is now called *Romania*. After certaine notable exploits which passed, the two Armies drew neere, and the like did the Nauies by Sea. OCTAVIANVS Nauie

Epire, *Romania*.

vie (as PLVTARCH affirmeth) consisted of 250. galleys, but better appointed and swifter, then MARCVS ANTONIVS his galleys were, which were more in number, although (as I haue said) Authors, in this matter, agree not: but the most common opinion is, as I haue said. But howsoeuer it were, MARCVS ANTONIVS, perswaded by CLEOPATRA (who euen in this also was the cause of his ruine) would needes trie his fortune in a battaile at Sea, notwithstanding that in his armie by land hee had the aduantage. CLEOPATRA did this (as some write, and as it after appeared) thereby to haue the better meanes to flie if the battaile should be lost. ANTONY chusing 22000. men out of his armie, put them aboord his fleet, vvhich was neere at hand: and OCTAVIAN, who refused not to fight at sea, made his prouision also for the battaile; and shipping himselfe aboord the galleys, committed the charge of his armie by land, to TAVRVS: and ANTONY doing the like left his forces with CANIDIVS; in sight of both which, these two most powerfull Captaines with the best troupes and Nauies of the world, tooke the Seas, where they fought for no lesse then the Empire and Monarchie of the world. The which was deferred for three daies space in despite of both parties, the Seas swelling so high as they could not gouerne their vessels. The fourth day they came to encounter at a Cape called *Actius*, which is in *Epire*, not far from whence were their armies by land. The battaile was one of the most cruell that hath beene written of: for it lasted tenne houres before that OCTAVIAN, who was the victor, did wholly obtaine the victorie, although that ANTONY staied not so long in the fight: for as CLEOPATRA knew better how to mollifie and soften mens harts, then to encourage them; in the hottest and greatest furie of the battaile, with a feminine hart vnable to endure the sight of so furious a spectacle, she fled away in her galley, whome 70 of her other galleyes followed; which is not to be woundred at, but how she durst stay so long. But the vnfortunate MARCVS ANTONIVS, who all his life time had been a valiant and worthie Captaine, that day metamorphosed into CLEOPATRA, seeing her galley flie, whereon he had fixed his heart & eyes, went out of his (for that it seemed too heauy) and embarking himselfe in another more swift (desiring rather to flie with CLEOPATRA) then to conquer without her) followed her, without respect of his Armies by land or sea: and, ouertaking her, he went aboord the same galley wherein she was; wherein hee sailed three daies without seeing or speaking to her, for shame (as it is most likely) for the great weakenes which he had shewed. And after some wandring, hee arrived in the Port at *Alexandria* in *Egypt*, where hee after wards ended his life, as we will declare.

The battaile at Sea betweene Octauianus and Marcus Antonius.

The shamefull flight of Marcus Antonius.

Octauianus his victorie.

His Armie which he left fighting, although without a captaine, made resistance as I haue said, whereof there were slaine about fiue thousand men: but in the end it was wholly ouerthrowne, more through want of a captaine, then through any force of the enemie: although some write, that the lightnes and swiftnes of OCTAVIANS gallies was a great help vnto him, and so he remained conqueror, and graunted life and pardon to the conquered, and had in his power three hundred of their gallies. In the armie by land there wanted neither constancie, nor faith to their generall ANTONIE, although abandoned by him; who continued seuen dayes in their campe readie to giue battaile, without accepting any composition or offer, made vnto them by OCTAVIAN (with a shew that they would yet haue stayed longer) if CANIDIVS, whom ANTONIE left in his place, had not abused his charge, as he who had giuen him that charge had done. For it happened after seuen dayes that he fled secretly in the night from the campe to seeke ANTONIE, and abandoned the armie: which being forsaken, yeelded to the enemie, and OCTAVIAN vsed his victorie with great clemencie: which being obtained, he either thought it not good, or could not at that time pursue ANTONIE, but tooke his way towards the citie of *Athens*, where taking order for all matters in *Græcia*; by reason of some mutinies of his souldiars in *Italie* (as SVETONIVS writs) he returned thither, where he stayed somewhat longer then he would haue done, aswell by reason of the former letts, as the euill weather to saile in, which followed.

Octauius goes into Egypt against Antonie.

After all this, OCTAVIANVS hauing set all things necessarie in a readinesse, he sailed with great forces into *Egypt*, with a resolution to make an end with MARCVS ANTONIVS (as indeede he did) and arriued neere to the citie of *Alexandria*: where ANTONIE (recouering courage, and Queene CLEOPATRA making great preparation for the warres, in the time of OCTAVIANVS his stay) had leuied great forces, both of foote and horse for their defence. They had also a great nauie by sea, as well of CLEOPATRA's, as of those which came from other places: and MARCVS ANTONIVS with his old courage, which now too late and to no purpose he recouered, tooke the field and entertaining a skirmish with CÆSARS horsmen, which

Antonie raiseth a new army.

which were then landed and ſtrongly entrenched, he vſed ſuch skill, and charged them with ſuch dexteritie, as he made them flie to their ſtrength: and being returned to the citie, he againe ſent to challenge OCTAVIANVS to fight with him body to body. Whereto CÆSAR anſwered, that MARCVS ANTONIVS had other waies and meanes enough in a readineſs to die, without dying by his hands.

Antonie challengeth Octauius, and his anſwere.

ANTONIE receiuing this anſwere, determined to die fighting, although it happened otherwiſe. The next day in the morning he againe ſalied forth with an intent to fight; and ſtanding vpon a high ground, looking towards the ſea, hee ſawe that his nauie and gallies moued, and made towards OCTAVIAN his fleete; which he thought they had done, with a reſolution to fight: and ſtaying a little to ſee the ſequell, within a while, he ſaw them ioyne together in companie, by meanes of a ſecret practice paſt betweene them. Which when hee ſaw, and fearing the like in thoſe which he brought with him to field, he returned to the citie, ſuſpecting and affirming that CLEOPATRA had betraied him, although that in truth ſhe was blameleſs therein: and ſhe being aduertiſed of what ANTONIE had ſaid, ſtoode in feare of him; and withdrew hir ſelfe into a ſtrong temple or ſepulcher: and commaunding the doores thereof to be ſhut and fortified, ſhe ſent ſome fainedly to tell him that ſhe had ſlaine her ſelfe with her owne hands. Which MARCVS ANTONIVS beleeued as firmely as though he had ſeene it, and refuſing to liue any longer, without ſtay to die fighting; after he had vttered certaine ſpeeches, he ſtabbed his poiniard into his owne breſt, and ſo (deadly wounded) he fell downe vpon a bed in a ſwoune. And within a while comming againe to himſelf, being aduertiſed that CLEOPATRA was yet liuing, he made himſelfe to be carried thither where ſhe was: who receiued him with ſo many teares and ſuch pitifull complaints, as he being ſo neere death, began to comfort her, ſaying, that ſhe ought not lament for him, neither to hold him for vnfortunate, ſith hee accounted not himſelfe ſo, for he had been a great captaine and very powerfull, and in the end died ouercome by the Romans. He counſelled her to yeeld to the mercie of OCTAVIANVS CÆSAR, and ſpeaking theſe words (his ſtrength failing within a little while after) he dyed: and ſo ended the power and life of MARCVS ANTONIVS. Who in truth for matters of war was very famous: and if his excellent wit and courageous mind had not been captiuated with the loue of CLEOPATRA, after IVLIVS CÆSAR he was in election to haue obtained the monarchie of the world: but it appeared plainely that the ſtars and the diuine powers were inclined to fauour OCTAVIVS.

Antonie kills himſelfe.

OCTAVIANVS hauing intelligence hereof, and of the bad order and guard of the city, marched thither with his forces and entred the ſame, ſending to comfort CLEOPATRA, and to make great offers vnto her, to the end ſhe ſhould not kill her ſelfe; and going to ſee her in perſon, he did the like: but all his care little auailed. For ſhe being aduertiſed, that he would ſend her to *Rome*, and would carrie her and her ſonnes in his triumph, choſe rather to dye, then that he ſhould triumph ouer her: and ſome ſay, that ſhe tooke poiſon which ſhee had prouided for that purpoſe, wherewith ſhe killed her ſelfe. Others (and this is the moſt common) that ſhe put an Aſpicque to her arme (which is a certaine kinde of Serpent or venemous Adder) to the end that it ſhould ſting her, which was brought to her in a basket of flowers; ſo as ſhee was found dead without any ſigne of blow or wound, but as if ſhe had bin aſleep. Whereat OCTAVIAN was much grieued (not without great admiration at the reſolution and courage of that woman) and he commanded her to be buried in the ſame Sepulchre wherein ſhe had entombed her ſelf, together with MARCVS ANTONIVS, with whom ſhe had liued and raigned 14. yeares, ſhe being 39. yeares old when ſhe dyed, and MARCVS ANTONIVS 56, or (after ſome) 53. He commaunded the tombe which they had begun, to be finiſhed.

The death of Cleopatra.

OCTAVIANVS eaſily pardoned all thoſe which had ſerued or ſent ſuccours to MARCVS ANTONIVS, and alſo his children, which were ſeauen, by three women, FVLVIA, OCTAVIA ſiſter to OCTAVIANVS, and CLEOPATRA; ſauing the eldeſt, which he commanded to be ſlaine, and the like he did by CÆSARION CLEOPATRAS ſonne by IVLIVS CÆSAR, of whom we haue alreadie made mention: the eldeſt (they ſay) he ſlue vpon particular diſpleaſure which he conceiued againſt him; and CESARION, by the counſell of ARRIVS a Philoſopher, who told him that it would not do well to haue many CÆSARS; an vſuall thing among Princes to ſecure their eſtates.

The clemencie of Octauius to Antonies children.

This buſineſs touching MARCVS ANTONIVS being ended, and the kingdome of *Egypt* made a tributarie prouince, that it might bee fit to yeeld corne and victuals for the Citie of Rome; he viewed the tombe with the bodie of ALEXANDER the great, taken newly out of the

the vault or ſecret Chappell where it had beene layd; hee ſet a coronet of gold vpon it, and ſtrewing flowers theron worſhipped it; and being demanded if he would looke vpon the PTOLOMIES, he anſwered that his deſire was to ſee a King, and not the dead.

Afterwards paſſing through *Syria* and *Aſia* the leſſe, leauing all quiet and in peace, he paſſed into *Gracia*, and there doing the like, he came into *Italy*; where hauing ended all ciuill warres, and the whole Empire being ſubiect to himſelfe alone; he entred into *Rome* in triumph, with the greateſt feaſts and ſolemnities of the Senat and the people of all *Italy*, that could be deuiſed or imagined. It was granted vnto him to triumph three times; to wit, for the victorie in *Illiricum*, and for the victorie in his battaile by Sea, and the ouerthrow of MARCVS ANTONIVS, the conqueſt of the Kingdome of *Egypt*, and Queene CLEOPATRA, whoſe ſtatue was placed in his triumph, with the Aſpicques ſet to the veines of her armes.

And ſo OCTAVIANVS finiſhed the building, and erected the Monarchie which his Vncle IVLIVS CÆSAR had begun and founded: which (at it ſeemeth by PAVLVS OROSIVS his computation) was ſixteene yeeres after the death of IVLIVS CÆSAR. And although that hee obtained it by meanes hardly juſtifiable, yet truely, he afterwards governed it moſt juſtly and wiſely, and was one of the beſt Princes that ever was in the world; gentle, mercifull, liberal, juſt, valiant, indued with many vertues and excellencies, moſt happie and fortunate in all his affaires, and beloved above meaſure of all men.

Octauianus an excellent Prince

As there was no man to contend with OCTAVIANVS CÆSAR, and he ſo beloved of all men (as is aforeſaid) the people & Senate of *Rome* gaue him a new name, which before that time was never heard of, AVGVSTVS; & ſo he was afterwards called CÆSAR AVGVSTVS: a name which they held for holy, venerable, of great majeſtie, and which appertained to the Gods and their temples; as wee finde it vſed by CICERO, VIRGIL, OVID, and other authors; although that ſome derive it from the Verbe *augeo*, in Latine, to increaſe, becauſe that OCTAVIAN enlarged and increaſed the Empire: and ſome others give it other derivations; but whether ſoeuer be the moſt certaine, it was given him for the moſt honourable name of al others: they alſo called him father of his Countrey, & gaue him all the other titles & names they could deuiſe.

Titles giuen to Octauius.

CÆSAR AVGVSTVS (for this name henceforth we ſometimes give him) ſeeing himſelfe now in ſuch quiet, & without war with any perſon or nation in the world; commanded the temple of IANVS to be ſhut, which they religiouſly obſerued that during the warres it ſhould ſtand open; and never had beene ſhut but twiſe from the foundation of *Rome*, according to TITVS LIVIVS, LVCIVS FLORVS, and PLVTARCH, and other Authors: once in the time of NVMA POMPILIVS, ſecond King thereof; and the other after the end of the ſecond Punick warres, which they waged with *Carthage*, whenas TITVS MANLIVS was Conſul. I know that ſome Authors ſet this ſhutting vp of IANVS temple by OCTAVIAN to be a great while after, at the time of the birth of Chriſt our Saviour. But in this place I follow the authority of PAVLVS OROSIVS, a Chriſtian Author, who vſed great diligence and truth, and is of a 200 yeeres antiquitie; who reckoneth, that CÆSAR AVGVSTVS ſhut this temple three times; whereof this was the firſt; and I hold his opinion for certaine: for hee is aſſiſted by the authority of TITVS LIVIVS, who in his firſt booke affirmeth, that AVGVSTVS did ſhut this temple after the warres with ANTONY: and LVCIVS FLORVS, and other Authors ſet downe, that this temple was ſhut after that. And hereby it appeareth, that OCTAVIANVS CÆSAR did ſhut the temple of IANVS more then once, and every one ſheweth his time when; and PAVLVS OROSIVS all, which was thriſe, ſetting downe the time to every one of them, as he noteth; which is alſo drawne out of SVETONIVS TRANQVILLVS, following the letter, as PHILIPPVS BEROALDVS followeth. I haue a deſire to ſet this downe here (although it little importeth) to the end that the varietie and difference which the Reader ſhall finde among Authors ſhall not offend him; and that hee may know that I haue an approued Author whom I follow, though I name him not, if he ſhall finde ought written by me contrary to that which he hath read. OCTAVIANVS CÆSAR, living in this peace and tranquillitie, omitted no part of his care for the gouernement of the Romane Common-wealth, and Prouinces thereof; ſending thither Pretors, Proconſuls, and other Gouernours, which were excellent men, to rule and governe; and himſelfe gaue direction, and was very diligent in all things touching juſtice, cuſtomes, religion, and publike buildings: ſo as in all things his raigne was moſt happie, peaceable, and quiet; and ſo it continued during his life.

How many times the temple of Ianus was ſhut.

Note the ſaying of the Author.

VELLEIVS PATERCVLVS, ſpeaking like a Gentile, doth ſo extoll his raigne, that he ſaith, men could not deſire or aske any thing of the gods, neither thinke nor imagine ought; neither could

Paterculus commendation of Octauius.

could the gods give that to men which OCTAVIANVS CÆSAR AVGVSTVS, after his victories and returne to *Rome*, did bring and give to the Romane people, and the whole Empire. Notwithstanding that this was common to them all (as great minds naturally affect libertie) yet in that so prosperous a time, some people and nations were so presumptuous as to shake off the Romane yoke, and to molest and disquiet the Empire; as the Spaniards, the nations of *Illyricum* and the Pannonians. In *Spaine* the Cantabrians, which are the Alaveses and Biskains, the Asturians, and part of *Gallicia* were not onely unwilling to obey; but passing their limits, began to make warre against the subjects of the Empire. OCTAVIANVS CÆSAR knowing this, holding it to be a doubtfull warre, and of importance, commanded (as PAVLVS OROSIVS writes) the temple of IANVS to bee opened, and determined to goe thither in person, and to send other Captaines to follow the other warres. The time of these warres, which were first or last, the Authors doe handle very confusedly, so as I cannot bring it to light: whereof it might bee that divers of these things did concurre at one time. But OCTAVIANVS AVGVSTVS tooke his journey into *Spaine*, and began the warre with three armies against the people before named, which rebelled; which warre was very doubtfull and desperate, and lasted five yeares. During this time passed many conflicts: and although that AVGVSTVS did suppresse the Cantabrians and Asturians, and drave them to the rockes and mountaines; yet they did so defend themselves, as it behooved him before hee could subdue them, to raise a great Navy on the coast of *Brance*, to invade the sea coast of *Cantabria*, *Asturia*, and *Gallicia*: at which time he drave the people of those countries to such extreamities by land, as he compelled them to yeelde and submit themselves to his obedience; His great favorite AGRIPPA, serving him well and faithfully in this warre (as in all the rest) whom hee married to his daughter IVLIA, who then was the widdow of his nephew MARCELLVS, sonne to his sister OCTAVIA, with whom she had beene maried. And so AVGVSTVS finished the full subjection of all *Spaine*, above two hundred yeeres after that the Romans began to make their first warre there: so as no province cost the Romans more blood, more toyle, and more time, then *Spaine*. And this long and doubtfull conquest being finished, PAVLVS OROSIVS saith, that OCTAVIAN esteemed the same so much, as having established peace in *Spaine*, in signe therof, he againe commanded the doores of IANVS Temple to be shut, and came to *Rome* in great triumph. But this Temple continued not long shut, for some Nations of the Germanes rebelled (although at divers times) so as it was againe opened to make warre against them which were the Inhabitants of *Noricum*, which is now *Bavaria*, and the *Pannonies*, which are *Austrich* and *Hungary*, as is aforesaid, and the two *Missias*, which are *Bulgaria* and *Servia*, and also *Illyricum*, which is *Slavonia*, although at another time tamed by him; and the Province of *Dacia*, which now is *Transilvania* & *Walachia*, and some others also. Against all these Nations this most fortunate Emperor CÆSAR AVGVSTVS sent his Captaines and armies: among which were his sonnes in law, the sonnes of his wife LIVIA, TIBERIVS NERO, who succeeded him in the Empyre, and his brother DRVSVS NERO, of whom LIVIA was with childe when OCTAVIAN married her: and these two brothers (although the warre lasted somewhat long) vanquished those Nations, and obtained great victories in *Germanie*, and the confines thereof; especially TIBERIVS (as SVETONIVS writeth in his life, and PAVLVS OROSIVS in his histories) who in three yeeres space subdued the *Pannonies*, *Illyricum*, and *Dalmatia*; for which victories he afterwards entred into *Rome* in ovatian triumph, with great honour and pompe. And another Captaine, whose name was MARCVS CRASSVS (as LVCIVS FLORVS, and TITVS LIVIVS report) overcame and put the *Missians* to flight in their owne Countrey, a nation which had never seene the Romans; which (as LVCIVS FLORVS recordeth) being readie to give battaile, in manner of justification, said to the Romane Armie: *Tell us who you are that seeke to molest us?* Whereto they were answered: Wee are Romans, the Lords of Nations. Whereupon they replied: It shall be so if wee bee overcome. And so they were afterwards, both they, and those also which conspired with them. But OCTAVIAN had not these victories without some crosses: for in this warre died his sonne in law DRVSVS, who was highly extolled and esteemed for his great acts and victories, for whom hee and the Empresse LIVIA his mother were very sorie. But that was farre greater without comparison, which hee conceived for the mishap which befell to QVINTILIVS VARRO, who was Captaine of three legions in *Germanie*, and being careless, was surprised by the Almanes, and himselfe and all his legions, and the Auxiliaries slaine, and two Standards with the Imperiall Eagles taken: wherewith he was so wonderfully grieved, as they write, that hee cryed out very unadvisedly, and knocked his head against the

Augustus goes into Spaine to make warr.

Warre in Germanie & Hungarie.

Augustus sorrow for the losse of his Legions.

the walles, saying: QVINTILIVS VARRO, give mee my legions againe. For certaine months together he suffered the haire of his head and beard to grow carelesly: And the verie day of this unfortunate accident hee did every yeare observe mournefully, with sorrow and lamentation.

Augustus sorrow for the losse of his Legions.

Of his sonne in law DRVSVS, there remained two sonnes, called GERMANICVS and CLAVDIVS, which he had by ANTONIA, OCTAVIANS neece, & daughter of his sister OCTAVIA and of MARCVS ANTONIVS: of which, CLAVDIVS was Emperour: and this GERMANICVS which married with AGRIPPINA, the daughter of IVLIA which was OCTAVIANS daughter, was father to CAIVS CALIGVLA, who afterwards was also Emperour. But these losses confirmed the victories which his sonne in law TIBERIVS obtained: Wherefore OCTAVIAN married him to his daughter IVLIA, who was a widow by the death of AGRIPPA, causing him to put away AGRIPPINA the daughter of the same AGRIPPA, by his first mariage, by whome he had one sonne named DRVSVS: so as after many notable victories, and subduing sometime one nation, and sometime another, which were compelled to sue for peace, OCTAVIAN againe commaunded the Temple of *Janus* to be shut, and from thenceforth all things succeeded vnto him most prosperously.

He was carefull to haue martiall discipline obserued: he dismist all the tenth legion with ignominie vpon a mutinie and vnwillingnes to obey. Whole bands and Cohorts, if they gaue ground and recoyled before the enemie, he decimated, and to the rest he allowed barley in steed of wheat to feed on. A Romane Knight, hauing cutt off the thombes of two young men his Sonnes to auoide the militarie oth and seruice of warre, he set him and all his goods to open sale: but seeing the Publicans bidde freely for him, he deliuered him to his owne freed man; that being confined and sent awaie vnto his liuing in the Countrie, he might suffer him to liue free.

The subiects of the Empire were very obedient vnto him, and all others sent him ambassades seeking his fauour and friendship, offering him their seruice: the Indians (a people of the remotest part of the East) and also the Scythians which inhabit in the North, and the Parthians (a people most fierce and vntamed) sent their Ambassadours to him, giuing securitie to keepe the peace, and deliuered the Standards and Eagles taken in battaile, when MARCVS CRASSVS was slaine. There came also Kings, friends and subiects to the Empire, to *Rome*, to doe him honour, as his familiar friends, laying aside their Ensignes and royall Robes; and many of them built cities to his name, for his honour, calling them *Cæsareas* in remembrance of him: so did HERODES in *Palestina*, IVBA in *Mauritania*, and others.

The greatnes of the Romane Emperors.

The world continued in this quietnes and generall peace, fortie and two yeeres being fullie expired since that OCTAVIAN, after the death of IVLIVS CÆSAR, came to *Rome*, from which time is commonly accounted his Empire. In this generall peace was borne IESVS CHRIST our Lord and Sauiour in *Bethlem*, of the holie womb of the blessed Ladie the Virgin MARY (HERODE being King of *Ierusalem*, placed there by the Romanes, he who slew the innocent children) comming to the world in humane forme and nature, to saue and redeeme mankinde with his blessed death and passion: whose most holie life, mysteries and infinite miracles ought not to be mixed with prophane Histories, and therefore I will not intermeddle to treate thereof. But returning to my purpose, I say, that OCTAVIAN enioying so great prosperitie and good fortune, was not altered in his naturall condition, as in other Princes it hath happened, but rather became more milde, iust, and affable, more curteous, more liberall and more temperate. He established wonderfull good orders and lawes, for the reformation of abuses and euill customes: he erected in *Rome* and without it, great and sumptuous edifices, and bestowed great gifts and fauours vpon all sorts of people: hee delighted the people with feasts and playes in diuers manners, going himselfe in person, to honour them, and sent Colonies and inhabitants to sundrie parts and prouinces: he made an excellent good order for the gouernment and gouernours of the whole Empire. The like hee did for the warre and martiall discipline; he shewed himselfe louing and sociable to his familiars and friends, and honoured and loued them much. Some conspiracies which were discouered against him, he punished without rigour; giuing more pardon then punishment and correction. Of murmurings and defamatorie libels he neuer sought nor desired to know the authors, but with great grauitie answered, giuing satisfaction, and purging himselfe of those things which were imputed vnto him. He was much giuen and affected to letters and learning, and was very learned and eloquent, and compiled bookes and notable workes: He did much honour and reward the wise and learned men of

The vertues and qualities of Octauianus.

his time, wherein were many very learned in all Arts. But for all these vertues and perfections, and other which for breuitie I write not, yet he escaped not to be noted of some vices, growing through humane weakenes and great liberty, especially to be much giuen to women; although that in eating, drinking, in his apparell and ornaments, he vvas very modest and temperate: he gaue himselfe also excessiuely to play at dice, and other games then accustomed. But SVETONIVS sayth, that the most part thereof was vpon ceremonious and festiuall dayes, which ought well to be noted for a shame and example to our time, wherin Christianity is professed. For that is accounted by many for brauery and valow, which to OCTAVIAN being an Heathen and vnbeleeuing Prince, was imputed for vice. Wherefore, to conclude and make an end of his History, as is reason, I say, that although that in many things hee was happy and fortunate, yet besides all his troubles and dangers, he was vnhappy and vnfortunate in his children and succession: for by foure wiues, with which he was maried, onely by SCRIBONIA, which was his third wife, he had one daughter named IVLIA; and yet this one scarcely proued honest of her body: so as for want of sonnes to succeed him, he first adopted his Nephew MARCELLVS, his sister OCTAVIAS son aforenamed, to whom he first maried his daughter IVLIA: and MARCELLVS dying without issue, he maried her to his fauourite AGRIPPA, who also left her a widow, as is aboue sayd: but he left by her, three sonnes and two daughters, the daughters prouing no honester then their mother, and two of his sonnes dyed in OCTAVIANS time, hauing bin first by him adopted. Wherefore, desiring to ouercome the crosses which he had herein, he adopted the third, who was called AGRIPPA as his father vvas, the which adoption he afterward reuoked for some displeasure conceiued against him: and taking this care for his succession, he adopted and made his sonne in law TIBERIVS NERO, his sonne, whom, as is aforesaid, he married to his daughter IVLIA, who, as I said, was AGRIPPA his widow. But hee commaunded TIBERIVS when he adopted him, that he (notwithstanding that he had a son called DRVSVS) should adopt his Nephew GERMANICVS, sonne to his brother DRVSVS, who died in *Germanie*, for that he had married his neece AGRIPPINA the daughter of IVLIA: and by this meanes came TIBERIVS to be OCTAVIANVS successor, more through the diligence of his mother, then any good liking that his father in law had to him; who rather was, and seemed to be very sorrie, that he should succeede him.

The death of Octauianus Cæsar Augustus.

All things standing in this state, OCTAVIAN being now seauentie and sixe yeeres old and odde dayes, hauing raigned aboue fiftie and sixe yeeares, and being the best beloued and most obeyed Prince, that euer was in the world, death ouertooke him: the cause thereof was a flux which held him for certaine dayes, whereof in the end he died in the citie of *Nola* (whither he came sicke from *Naples*) a quiet and peacefull death, in the fifteenth yeere after the birth of Christ our Redeemer.

TACITVS writes, that it was suspected his death was hastned by the lewd practices of his wife, for that it had been bruited abroad, that AVGVSTVS accompanied only with FABIVS MAXIMVS had been in the Iland of PLANATIA to visit his Nephew AGRIPPA, both weeping when they met, where vpon there was some hope that the young man should be recalled to his Grandfathers house. This secret FABIVS disclosed to his wife, by whose means it came to LIVIA and to TIBERIVS: which made them to practise all the means they could to preuent this reconciliation.

Octauian his proporcion of body.

His death was generally lamented, and there was an vniuersall sorrow and heauines ouer the whole Empire for him: for he did wisely and vprightly gouerne that, which by force and cunning he had gotten. OCTAVIAN was of a meane stature, and of a very good shape and proportion of his body, exceeding faire of face mixed with modestie and grauitie, his eyes were exceeding cleere and bright, he was very aduised, and loued to speake quicke and briefly. His last will and testament was written a yeare and foure months before he died, and left in the custodie of the Vestall Virgins. It was then produced, & in open Senate read: the contents whereof you maie reade in SVETONIVS.

THE

THE LIFE OF THE EMPEROR TIBERIVS.

THE ARGVMENT.

AFter the good Augustus, *succeeded his sonne in law wicked* Tiberius Nero, *who was most subtill, and knew how to dissemble and faine to loue those will whome he hated, and to hate those which he loued. He made shew to be vnwilling to accept of the Empire; to obserue who was his friend and who his enemie: and whereas before this dignitie, he was very orderly and discreet, he became afterward so riotous and such a drunkeard, that he was called in scorne* Biberius. *In his time died* Iesus Christ and Iohn Baptist *in Ierusalem; he caused* Germanicus *a great Comander to be slain; although he made shew to* Agrippa *to be very sorie for it. He subdued many prouinces which rebelled against the Romane Empire, and was no lesse cruell then libidinous: and of these three vices (to wit) cruelti, incontinencie, and gluttonie, it is hard to say, which was least. He ruled the Empire, foure and twentie yeares, and was no great enemie to Christians: he propoued in the Senate whether Christ should be accepted for a God or no, whereto the Senate consented not. Finally, he died through the treason of* Caligula, *whom he had nominated his successor, being seuentie and eight yeares old: which he did, as it was thought, to the end that* Caligula *his vices should make his seeme lesse, who was so wicked and cruell, as he wished that the world might end at his death.*

AFter the good and valiant Emperor OCTAVIAN, succeeded his sonne in law, and adopted son, the wicked and cruell TIBERIVS NERO, vnworthy of his succession and of the Empire: for he was one of the most cruell and wicked men that euer was: yet in OCTAVIAN his time, both in *Germanie* and in other parts he did many great and notable feats in armes. In the beginning of his Empire he made shew of a good prince, and did many good deedes, but afterwards (as this was but counterfeit) he discouered his malice, and gouerned cruelly, couetously, and dishonestly. This TIBERIVS (as I haue said) was the sonne of TIBERIVS NERO and LIVIA, whom OCTAVIAN afterwards tooke to wife, of both sides descended of the auncient family of the CLAVDII: whose grandfather by his fathers side was TIBERIVS CLAVDIVS NERO; and by his mothers side he descended from APPIVS CLAVDIVS PVLCHER, and by adoption he likewise descended from the LIVII, a worthie family (although but Plebeian) for Consulships, censures, and triumphs. He was of a tall and strong body, and had a large brest and broade shoulders, where to all parts of his body were answerable: he had a faire face, and great eyes, and so cleere, as they affirme a strange thing of him, which is, that awaking in the night, for a good space he cleerely saw the place wherein he lay, and al things therein aswel as if he had had a light. He was a man of great strength, and had the vse of both his hands alike; whereas commonly euery man vseth the right hand with greater dexteritie then the left, and he had so great strength in his fingers, that with a fillip he would (as often as he listed) breake a pages or a young mans head, as SVETONIVS reporteth. He was very learned both in Greeke and Latin, delighted chiefly in poesie, and made many verses in both tongues, which truely was ill imployed in him, seeing he so little profited thereby. When OCTAVIVS AVGVSTVS fell sicke, TIBERIVS was gone towards the prouince of *Illyricum* or *Slauonia*: and his mother LIVIA seeing that his sickes encreased, sent in great haste for him, and he happily arriued at the citie of *Nola*, CÆSAR AVGVSTVS being euen neere his end, but yet in such case as he could speake, and (as SVETONIVS reporteth) he conferred with him a great while in secret: Although CORNELIVS TACITVS

The linage and corporall constitution of Tiberius.

Tiberius his learning.

faith

saith, that it is not certainely knowne whether he found him aliue at his comming or no, for his mother the Empereſſe had ſet ſo many gards as the death of OCTAVIAN was not knowne, vntill that all had conſented that TIBERIVS ſhould rule, and ſucceede him. At that time was *Poſthumus* AGRIPPA Nephew to OCTAVIAN, and ſonne of his daughter IVLIA by AGRIPPA her ſecond husband, ſlaine by the hand of a Tribune of ſoldiers who had him in keeping, (as it was thought) by the commaundement of his father in law TIBERIVS, and by the counſell of his mother LIVIA, to the end that hee ſhould bee aſſured of the ſucceſſion.

But yet he gaue it out that it was done by AVGVSTVS commandement, who (as he ſaid) had giuen charge to the Tribune or Centurion which had him in gard, to make him awaie as ſoone as he ſhould haue notice of his death: but it is not credible, that to aſſure the ſtate to his wiues ſonne, he would ſeeke the bloud of his owne Nephew. The Centurion bringing word that he had fullfilled his commandement, he anſwered preſently that he had commanded him no ſuch thing, and that he ſhould anſwer it before the Senat. CRISPVS SALVSTIVS who was acquainted with Tiberius greateſt ſecrets hearing hereof, hauing ſent the Centurion letters to proceede in the buſineſs, fearing his owne danger aduiſed LIVIA not to diuulge the ſecrets of her houſe, the counſell of friends, nor the ſeruices of ſoldiers; & that TIBERIVS ſhould haue a care not to weaken his power of ſoueraigntie, by referring all to the Senate, and ſo this buſineſs was paſt ouer in ſilence.

In *Rome* libertie now was ſo forgotten, and the Monarchie ſo ſettled by thy cuſtome of many yeeres continuance, vnder the raigne of OCTAVIANVS, that notwithſtanding that there were Conſuls, Pretors, Tribunes, and other names of dignitie and magiſtracie; yet ther was in a manner no man in *Rome* that did remember and vnderſtand the manner of the old gouernment, which was before that IVLIVS CÆSAR ſuppreſſed the Common-wealth; and the death of OCTAVIAN being knowne, there was no man that durſt name or ſpeake of libertie, but when as TIBERIVS came to *Rome*, they preſently gaue the gouernment and adminiſtration of the Common-wealth vnto him. And he was the firſt Emperor that did quietly and ſpeaceably inherit the Empire, ſo as he was not forced to make a conqueſt thereof, as IVLIVS CÆSAR and OCTAVIAN had done. And notwithſtanding that before he would accept thereof he cauſed himſelfe to be much intreated, and made great ſhew to haue no deſire to the Empire; yet afterwards it appeared plainely that he did but counterfet, to the end he might diſcouer euery mans affection towards him: For to all thoſe which yeelded to accept of his excuſes, and did not importune him, he bare a perpetuall hatred; for although that one way he excuſed himſelfe, yet in many other things he began to vſe the authoritie of an Emperor, taking a guarde, and muſtering the armies, as Emperor.

Hauing accepted the Empire, there were ſome accidents which put him in great feare: the firſt was, that the armies in *Pannonia* or *Hungarie*, mutined, and reuolted from IVLIVS BLESVS their Commander, a captaine called PERCENIVS being principall of this mutinie, and they ſent to require many exceſſiue things: againſt whome TIBERIVS ſent his ſon DRVSVS, whom he had by AGRIPPINA, with whom he was married before he eſpouſed IVLIA. The which was pacified with much danger and difficultie; PERCENIVS and VIBVLENVS, with ſome other ringleaders of this mutinie being put to death.

It happened alſo that the legions which were by the riuer of *Rhine*, as the cuſtome was, did the like, through the abſence of GERMANICVS their Generall before named, adopted ſonne and Nephew to TIBERIVS: And thoſe of *Pannonia* were not onely diſcontented with the paies and exemptions which they required, but they preſumed to chuſe a new Emperor againſt TIBERIVS, nominating their generall GERMANICVS, who (as is before ſaid) was TIBERIVS Nephew and adopted ſonne, and preferred before his naturall ſonne, by the commaundement of OCTAVIAN. But GERMANICVS was ſo loyall, that when theſe newes were brought vnto him, he not onely refuſed their offer, but with great danger and hazard of his life, and with much trouble, pacified thoſe alterations.

TIBERIVS was another way diſquieted, being aduertiſed that LVCIVS SCRIBONIVS an eminent man, and one which bare great ſway in the common-wealth, had ſome ſecret practices againſt him: but he freed himſelfe from all theſe troubles, and they were pacified, though not without great difficultie. For his ſon DRVSVS on the one ſide (after ſome treaties) reduced the legions of *Pannonia* to his obedience, and did iuſtice on PERCENIVS. And GERMANICVS (as I ſaid) after ſome great difficulties (which CORNELIVS TACITVS relateth at large) made thoſe of *Germanie* to obey: and not therewith content, he paſſed the riuer of *Rhine*

Rhine (which commonly was the bounds of the Romane Empire on that part) and made war within the countrie of *Germanie*, with good ſucceſſe. While theſe matters were a-doing, & for ſome ſpace after, TIBERIVS did cloake and conceale his vvicked inclination and vices; and (as I ſayd in the beginning) performed many parts of a good, diſcreet and mild Prince, vvherewith he deceiued the people, eſpecially thoſe vvhich did not inwardly know him; vvhereof (although they be recited before their time) *it ſhall not be amiſſe to ſet downe ſome*, to the end that (as of a venemous Beaſt) that which is profitable and medicinall, may be taken. First, many of the names and titles of Honor which were offered him by the Senate, and other Honors and Ceremonies, he refuſed, and would not conſent that *they ſhould erect or build any Temples* vnto him; and forbad them to ſet vp his Statues and Images without his expreſſe commandement: and if *ſometime he did permit it*, it was vpon condition that they ſhould not place them among the Images of the gods.

What good Tiberius did in the beginning.

He ſeemed alſo to grieve to heare himſelfe praiſed, croſſing and interrupting them in ſpeeches which did it. One in a diſcourſe called him Lord, whom hee commanded to vſe that word no more: but inſolencie and preſumption ſince that time hath ſo encreaſed, as that which in thoſe dayes ſeemed pride in an Emperour, *there is not any now* (bee hee never ſo baſe) but preſumeth he deſerveth the ſame. The like diſcretion did TIBERIVS ſhew in other words, which were alſo proper to the gods, & the things to them appertaining. He fained alſo patience and meekeneſſe: for although that in the Senate there paſſed ſome matters *contrary to his will & opinion*, and that in other affaires they gainſaid him, yet he ſeemed not any way to be diſpleaſed or offended therewith. And underſtanding that ſome ſpake ill of him, and mutmuring, uſed reproachfull ſpeeches againſt him, hee ſhewed no diſcontentment or alteration thereat: but ſaid, that in a free Citie mens tongues ought to bee free, and men might lawfully ſpeake freely. And wheras the Senate would have exhibited an information, and haue proceeded againſt thoſe which had written defamatorie libells againſt him, he would not conſent thereto; ſaying, that he had not ſo little imployment as *to loſe time about ſuch matters*: affirming that hee would doe nothing *againſt them which ſpake ill of him*, but trouble them with keeping account of what hee ſaid and did; and if that were not ſufficient, it ſhould ſatisfie him, to love them as little as they loved him.

At firſt, TIBERIVS ſhewed great reſpect to the Senate, & gave them ſo great authority in all things, as he did nothing without their counſell, willing that all ſhould bee done by their advice and conſent. In execution of juſtice and governement hee made many good beginnings, taking care and order *that there ſhould be no theeves nor robbers by the high wayes ſide in all Italie*, but that men might travell in ſafetie; and that juſtice ſhould bee executed in Townes and Villages. The Enſignes, and pretorian Cohorts, which in *Rome* were the Emperors guard (to eaſe the citizens of their gueſts and other troubles) he made to encampe and lodge without the citie in the fields, where they ſhould continue and abide: which although it then ſeemed profitable, yet afterwards it bred great inconvenience and prejudice. By theſe meanes he not onely diſſembled and covered his crueltie, pride, and ambition; but hee was ſo double and falſe hearted, that even his auarice and covetouſneſſe (which of all other ſeemeth to bee the moſt apparant paſſion) and his incontinencie and looſeneſſe he could ſo maske for a time, as he ſeemed to bee no way touched with thoſe vices. So as when ſome governours of Provinces gave him notice of meanes how to encreaſe his rents and revenues; hee anſwered, that a good ſhepheard ought to ſheare his flocke, but not flay them: & ſo he abated ſome tributes; and ſhewed favours to certaine particular perſons. His looſe life he ſought to cover, by ordaining a publike informer againſt diſhoneſt and adulterous Matrons of *Rome*, which he did (as it afterwards appeared) to the end there ſhould be no other adulterer but himſelfe. He did other things (which for brevitie I omit) which ſeemed to ſpring from a good roote and intent: but it failed in the end; for he fained, to bite, and drew backe, to charge againe with the greater force: As wee will hereafter declare in part, for the whole cannot bee related as it was; nor mentioned for the filthineſſe thereof, which is the occaſion why that order and ſtile cannot be obſerved which is fitting; for certainely, diſordered and obſcure lives cannot bee cleerely and orderly written. And beſides this, he uſed his wife IVLIA cruelly and diſgracefully; forgetting that by her as for her dowrie, he enjoyed the Romane Empire: for hee never lived nor kept company with her after the death of OCTAVIAN.

The pretorian cohorts were the Emperors guard.

The fained vertues of Tiberius.

The ſpeeches of a good paſtor, and the minde of a Wolfe.

One of the firſt ſignes hee ſhewed of an evill Prince and governour, was; that notwithſtanding there came great complaints againſt the Proconſuls, Pretors, and Prefects, ſent into Pro-

vinces; yet he would not remove them: which was contrary to the order and custome of *Rome*, and his predecessor OCTAVIAN: which some attributed to his carelesnesse; others held it to proceed of malice and an ill disposition, to the end that many men should not enjoy the honor and profit which grew in such charges. After this he began to envie and malice GERMANICVS, for that he was preferred before his sonne DRVSVS, and it grieved him to see his good successe in the warres of *Germanie*. Wherefore to finde occasion to remoove him from that charge, hee dissemblingly caused the Triumph to be granted unto him, for the victories which he had obtained, and wrote to him many times to come to tryumph: but GERMANICVS understanding his evill intent, deferred his comming. It happened within a while after, that the King of the Parthians tooke armes and made warre against the Romane Empire, breaking the peace confirmed in the time of OCTAVIAN, entring into the Province of *Armenia*, the King whereof was inuested there by the Romanes: wherewith TIBERIVS was nothing displeased, supposing thereby to haue the better occasion to draw GERMANICVS from his charge and gouernment of *Germanie*, vnder colour to send him to the Parthian Warres, as he did: And so GERMANICVS being sent for, came for this purpose, hauing few daies before wonne a great battaile, & slaine tenne thousand of his enemies, & so he entred into *Rome* in a solemne triumph, and (as CORNELIVS TACITVS reporteth) hee brought thither with him the ensignes which QVINTILIVS VARRO had lost, and presently began to prepare for the warre against the Parthians.

Germanicus *sent against the Parthians.*

A little before GERMANICVS his triumph, there arose a man in *Italie*, called CLEMENS, a bondslaue to AGRIPPA, who named himself AGRIPPA, nephew to OCTAVIAN (whom we haue said to be slaine by TIBERIVS his order) which action seemed of some importance: for much loose and seditious people ioyned with him, which caused a great tumult in *Italie*; this man pretending that he ought of right to be Emperor, and not TIBERIVS: But as hee had a weake foundation, so was he soone ouerthrowne, taken prisoner, brought to TIBERIVS, and finally executed although secretly. And about the same time TIBERIVS committed a fowle and perfidious act of cruelty: for hauing with gracious and kind words allured ARCHELAVS King of *Cappadocia* to come to *Rome* (who was a friend and vassall to the Romane Empire) for fained and vniust causes he made him to be accused and committed, where afterwards this miserable King died in prison, and his countrie was made a tributarie prouince. In the like maner he dealt with many Princes and great men of *Spaine*, *France*, *Gracia*, and other parts. The expedition which TIBERIVS had intended against the Parthians, was much hastned by reason of the death of ANTIOCHVS King of *Comagena*, and of PHILOPATER King of *Cilicia* in *Asia*, vassals to the Empire: by meanes of whose deaths some alterations grew in those prouinces; for some would haue a King, and others would be gouerned by the Empire.

Cappadocia made a prouince.

GERMANICVS being prepared for his Easterne Iorney (as he was commanded) departed from *Rome*, carrying his wife AGRIPPINA and his children with him: betweene whom and LIVIA the mother of TIBERIVS was great emulation. There was also at this time great controuersie and parts-taking, both in words and affections in TIBERIVS his Court; some taking part with GERMANICVS, who (as we haue said) was his adopted sonne and nephew: others adhered to DRVSVS, his sonne legitimate. TIBERIVS and his mother LIVIA euer sought to aduance the reputation of DRVSVS, and in secret to disgrace GERMANICVS: for which occasion he gaue the charge of all the legions of *Illyricum* to his sonne DRVSVS. And to the end, that GERMANICVS should not be too powerfull in the East whither he went, he made GNEVS PISO captaine of the prouince and legions of *Syria* (who was an eminent man, greatly allied in *Rome*, and of a good house) for that he held with DRVSVS; and dispossest CRETICVS SYLLANVS of that charge, being a friend to GERMANICVS. This PISO was married to a Romane Matrone called PLANCINA, of the same condition, but of an hautier spirit then her husband; to the which husband and wife the Emperour TIBERIVS and his mother LIVIA gaue in charge, to procure hatred and dislike against GERMANICVS; yea and his death also: as it after appeared. And with this resolution they departed from *Rome* towards the East: where PISO presently, with gifts and flatterie, began to draw to himselfe the loue and good liking of the armie against GERMANICVS, and to murmure and speake ill of him: who, while as PISO practised these things, tooke so good order in the warre and gouernment, as hee placed a King in the prouince of *Armenia*, who was a friend and subiect to the Romanes; and the kingdomes of *Comagena* and *Cilicia* being voide by the death of their Kings, he reduced into prouinces, and placed in them Pretors and gouernours. In *Comagena* QVINCIVS SERVIVS, and

Piso *animated by Tyberius against Germanicus.*

and in *Cilicia* QVINTVS VERANIVS; moderating in them both the royall subsidies and tributes. And after this he tooke so good order, as he compelled the King of *Parthia* to sue for peace and friendship: which he graunted and concluded, to the honour of the Empire. Being thus busied about these things, PISO and his wife neuer left to murmure against him, and to taxe him openly: the which he dissembled, knowing from whence it did proceed. And hauing made an end of the Parthian warre, hee departed from thence to visit the prouince of *Egypt*: and in his absence (although it were not long) his competitor PISO plotted such matters against him, as when he vnderstood of his return, he departed out of that prouince. But as he had practised his death, he went not far off, but remained some daies in an Iland: during which time, GERMANICVS comming on his way, was poysoned by the practice of PISO, but by the direction and counsell of TIBERIVS (as it was thought) whereof he dyed suddenly, leauing behind him sonnes and daughters; among which was CAIVS CALIGVLA, who was afterwards Emperour. For which cause it hath been very expedient to make such mention of his father GERMANICVS, who if he had liued had been Emperour and successor to TIBERIVS.

Germanicus *poysoned by Piso.*

Before his death he complained much vnto his friends of the leud practices of PISO and PLANCINA his wife, by whose fraud he was brought to an vntimely death, intreating them to prosecute reuenge. And turning to his wife, he conjured her by all the bonds of nuptiall loue, to submit her courage to the frownes of fortune; least at her returne to the Cittie, by emulation of greatnes she should purchase to herselfe two powerfull enemies.

The worthie and valiant Captaine GERMANICVS being dead in this manner, as is said, his wife AGRIPPINA came to *Rome* with her children, and brought with her the ashes of her deceased husband. The Emperour TIBERIVS made shew of great sorrow (though counterfet) for the death of GERMANICVS (the like did LIVIA and her sonne DRVSVS, who *then was come to Rome*) but in truth was very glad therof: for by the death of GERMANICVS he did assuredly hope to succeede in the Empire. But true and vnfained was the sorrow which all the people of *Rome* conceiued for the death of GERMANICVS; and great were the fauours and loue which they shewed to AGRIPPINA and her children: and great was the hatred they bare against PISO, whom they openly charged to haue murdered him; who presuming on TIBERIVS his fauour (being altogether shameless) came to *Rome*: where, in the behalfe of AGRIPPINA and her friends, he was accused before the Senate for hatred to GERMANICVS; that he had corrupted the common soldiers with licentiousnes and done wrong to the Confederats; that he was called father of the Legions by the leudest sort; that hee had beene cruell to all good men, and that he had poysoned GERMANICVS, and borne armes against the State. *To most hee answered weakely, onely the poysoning could not bee well verefied.* Which, TIBERIVS dissembling, (as one who was not to loue him any better then the rest) he was driuen to such an extremitie in the accusation, as before that the cause was determined, hee was found dead in his bed (as it was thought) by his owne hands; although (as CORNELIVS TACITVS saith) it was neuer certainely knowne: but there were many opinions concerning the same. Who also writeth that a powerfull man named TACFARINAS rebelled in *Africa* in the prouince of *Numidia*; and leuying great forces, ouerthrew certaine Romane cohorts, thinking to haue been able to possesse the countrie: against whom went the Proconsul LVCIVS ASTRONICVS with an armie: and comming to a battaile he ouercame him and put him to flight, to his great losse. Which (as it seemeth) happened in the seuenth yeere of the raigne of TIBERIVS; although afterwards the same TACFARINAS was againe ouerthrowne, by the Proconsul BLESVS, in a second rebellion.

The yeere following, the Emperour TIBERIVS made himselfe to be chosen Consul, and his sonne DRVSVS his Companion, as at other times hee had done: and faining that it behooued him for his health, hee vvent forth of *Rome*, to the end hee might settle and establish DRVSVS in the gouernment of the Empire; for of his brother CLAVDIVS vntill then he made small account: but God disposed of all in another manner. In the same yeere many cities in *France* rebelled, being vnable to endure the intolerable tributes and exactions which TIBERIVS imposed vpon them. The captaines and authors of this rebellion, were two hardy men, the one called FLORVS, and the other SACROBIS, which did so much trouble the countrey, as they put *Rome* it selfe in great feare; much more being there reported then was true. But this did nothing trouble TIBERIVS; so much had hee forgotten all vertue and goodnes, giuing himselfe wholly ouer to vice and sensualitie in his old age. But CAIVS

SILIVS, who was Captaine of those parts, did soone suppresse the troubles of *France*, who with his legions came against those which rebelled, put them to flight in a battaile, and slew a great number of them: and so he pacified that countrey, and his sonne DRVSVS did principally employ himselfe in the gouernment. TIBERIVS passing the most part of the time in *Campania*, betweene whom and his mother LIVIA began some secret (which grew to publike) quarrels and dislikes, he being very vnreuerent and vndutifull; and she much discontented with his manner of gouernment, and chiefly for the priuate familiaritie betweene him and ELIVS SEIANVS, whom he fauoured so much as he made him captaine of the Pretorian cohorts, and gaue him many other dignities: and finally made him so great, as he presumed to contend with his sonne DRVSVS: and his presumption was such, as by wicked practices and deuices, he allured to his dishonest lust the wife of the said DRVSVS, daughter in law to TIBERIVS, whose name was LIVIA, the daughter of GERMANICVS. Commitming this adulterie (with a conceit to succeed in the place of DRVSVS) he practised his death, and found meanes by an Eunuch his seruant, to poyson him: which tooke effect, and DRVSVS died thereof, and left one sonne named TIBERIVS, as his grandfather; but it was not then knowne who was the cause of his death. Whereof arose great murmuring in *Rome*, although it little grieued the greatest part: for they deemed that GERMANICVS his three sonnes should haue succeeded in his place, whome they much respected for their fathers sake: whose names were CLAVDIVS NERO, CAIVS CALIGVLA, and DRVSVS. This happened in the ninth yeere of the raigne of TIBERIVS, which was a beginning of his misfortunes: we may say the like of the Common-wealth; for from that time forwards, all his actions and resolutions had ill successe, his detestable vices discouered themselues, and the subiects endured infinite cruelties, robberies, outrages and oppressions: as also in this same yeere, TACFARINAS rebelled againe in *Africa*, who in his last rebellion escaped by flight: and hauing leuied much people, in the end was the third time ouerthrowne in battaile, and wholly defeated by PVBLIVS DOLABELLA the Proconsul.

The insolencies of Seianus.

The death of Drusus, Tiberius sonne.

In *Rome* the wicked SEIANVS (TIBERIVS fauorite) although that in the beginning he made shew publikely to fauour GERMANICVS sonnes, which (as hath been said, and it was thought) should haue been TIBERIVS successors: yet afterwards all his studie and practice was to disgrace and ruine them; and to that end, procured false accusations to be made against all such as tooke their or AGRIPPINA their mothers part. And to bring this and other his wicked deuices to effect, he procured TIBERIVS to depart from *Rome* whither he was come: who following the others counsell, aswell for this, as the more freely to giue himselfe to his detestable vices, went into the Ile of *Capra*, which lieth vpon the coast of *Naples*, where he remained for a time; and being returned into *Italie*, making his progresse into diuers places, neuer came any more to *Rome*: neither in the rest of his life is there any more to be spoken, but of his vices and cruelties, whereof in summe we will make a briefe relation. Before which it is requisit that all men vnderstand, that during this peregrination of the Emperour TIBERIVS in the eighteenth yeere of his raigne, our Lord and Sauiour Iesus Christ true God and man suffered his death and passion, PONTIVS PILATE being president or gouernor of *Ierusalem* in the prouince of *Iudæa*. And to the end that it may be the better knowne and vnderstoode how PILATE came to concur with one of the HERODES, and how many there were of the HERODES, of whom mention is made in the holy Scriptures, (which is a matter whereof some haue made a doubt) in few words I will here set downe: which was in this manner, as the Euangelist testifieth, and as out of Saint IEROM and IOSEPHVS it is gathred. HERODE the great, sonne of ANTIPATER, who was called HERODE ASCALONITA, was placed there by the Romanes: and hauing raigned many yeeres, was the same to whom the three Kings came from the East guided by a Starre, and he who murthered so many innocent children, and some of his owne children also, when Christ was borne; who within short space after died, and by his death, his sonne, whose name was ARCHELAVS, had the kingdomes of *Iudæa*, and *Idumæa*; and to his other two sonnes (for the other three died before their father) were giuen certaine Tetrarchies, whereof to this HERODE ANTIPAS (which was one of them) was allotted the Tetrarchie of *Galile*, and by this meanes he is called Tetrarch; & this was he which put Saint IOHN BAPTIST to death, and he, to whom PILATE sent Christ, who disdained him. And to PHILIP his other sonne was giuen the Tetrarchie of *Thrachonitis*: and the other brother, who (as I said) had the title of a King, was accused to OCTAVIAN, and by him depriued and banished into *France*, to the citie of *Vienna*, by meanes whereof PILATE was sent to goueine

The passion of Christ our redemer.

Iosephus in his antiquities in his 15.16.17. and 18. booke, and in his first and second of the warres of the Iewes.

Saint Ierom vpon the second chapter of S. Matthew.

The Herodes how many they were.

Herodes Ascalonita.

Saint Mathew the second chapter, 1.

goueine that prouince; and by this meanes it happened that Christ died in the time of PILATE and of HERODE ANTIPAS the Tetrarch, from whom the Tetrarchie afterwards was taken by CAIVS CALIGVLA, and he died banished in *Lions* in *France*, and his Nephew the sonne of his brother ARISTOBVLVS, who was one of the three which their father slew in his life time. HERODE AGRIPPA was hee, to whom CAIVS CALIGVLA, restor'd the kingdome of *Iudea*. And afterwards the Emperor CLAVDIVS gaue the Terrarchie of *Galile* to his Vncle: and this was he, who put Saint IAMES to death, who beginning to persecute the Apostles, died striken by an Angell, as Saint LVKE beareth record.

Herodes Antipas. Saint Luke chapter 2.

Herodes Agrippa.

The acts of the Apostles chap. 12.

Christ being put to death by the sentence of PILATE, and he knowing afterwards that Christ was risen againe, by the report of those which he himselfe had set to watch his bodie, being also informed of the many miracles which he did in his life time (notwithstanding that he was an idolater and a wicked iudge, and had adiudged him to die) yet TERTVLLIAN and EVSEBIVS in his ecclesiasticall historie, and PAVLVS OROSIVS in his seuenth booke, most ancient and true authors, doe recorde, that by his letters, he aduertised the Emperor TIBERIVS thereof, to the end that he should aduise and determine, whether Christ should be held for a God or no; and TIBERIVS sent to the Senate to consult thereof, he giuing his opinion that he ought to be so: but the Senators, as the diuels schollers, counselled TIBERIVS that he should not doe it. Which (as these authors affirme) was for that he had not first made the Senate acquainted therewith, which pretended by an ancient law which they had, to haue the superintendence in all matters of religion: yet TIBERIVS notwithstanding that the Senate consented not to his opinion, commaunded that the christians should be free from persecution; but he neither embraced the faith of Christ as he ought, neither left his sinne and vices.

Pilate made relation of the miracles which Christ wrought, to the Emperor Tiberius.

First he gaue himselfe to his old vice of excessiue gluttonie and drunkennes, for which cause from his youth (in steede of TIBERIVS NERO) they called him BIBERIVS MERO, which signifieth a drinker of the best: and euen in this his old age, he hath beene often knowne to sit a whole night, & part of the day, at a bâket, giuing gifts & rewards to such as drank most, and in fauour thereof he instituted a new office and magistracie; as, master of delights and sports. After this, his chiefest time was spent in abominable luxury and incontinencie, which was such and so abominable as christian eares can hardly endure the hearing thereof, nor a christian hand write the same, wherefore I will passe most of thē ouer in silence. Let this suffice, that it was horrible and detestable: and not contented to commit it himselfe, he induced and drew others thereto, and gaue iewels and rewards to those which inuented and committed most filthines.

For during his priuate abode in *Capree*, (as SVETONIVS writes) he deuised a roome with seates in it of purpose for his secret wanton lusts. For the furnishing whereof he drew from all parts a number of young strumpets, and stale Catamites or baudes, and such also as inuented monstrous kindes of libidinous filthines, whome he tearmed Spintrie, who being in three rankes linked together, should pollute one anothers bodie before his face, that by the sight there of he might stirre vp his owne colde courage and fainting lust, with manie other such shamefull deuices, as are not to be mentioned, for the which men did vsually tearme him CAPRINEVS, after the name of the Iland.

This wicked old Emperor, perseuering in his libidinous sinne, forgot not his crueltie and couetousnes, whereto he was no lesse addicted: for hee encreased his subsidies and tributes in such manner, that the prouinces became ruinate and defolate; and committed many other extortions of the like qualitie.

As for his crueltie, all the examples cannot be repeated, they did so exceede: for he condemned the principall and best men in *Rome* to death, and confiscated their goods, for very light causes, and most of them forged. One he put iustly to death, and with great reason caused him to be slaine, which was his great fauorite SEIANVS, for many sinnes which he had learned of him (as DION COCCIVS recordeth:) but for the rest, it is a matter ridiculous, and otherwise lamentable, for what causes they were accused and condemned. One he caused to be slaine, because that commending BRVTVS and CASSIVS, he said, they were the last Romanes: another he caused to be slaine, because that in a tragedie which he had compiled, he spake ill of AGAMEMNON: another Romane Knight he commaunded to be slaine, because that in a garden he had taken vp a Capon: and for other such like matters as these, he put to death sixteene, of twetie ancient noble mē; whome he had chosen for his counsellors. And he forbare not to execute these cruelties vpon his allies and kinsfolkes: for besides that which is alreadie related

related, he commaunded his Nephew GERMANICVS to be slaine, and afterwards the three sonnes which he left, seeing them to growe in estimation; the two elder of them he caused to be accused by false witnesses, and he himselfe wrote such things to *Rome* against them, that in the end they were condemned to death: the one of them desperately killed himselfe, and he caused the other to pine to death with hunger, as SVETONIVS reporteth. It was a maruell that he had not done the like by the third, whose name was CAIVS CALIGVLA, and by their Vncle CLAVDIVS: but it is likely he would haue done it, if he had liued a while longer. These executions hee thus commaunded to be done, to the end that his crueltie might attaine to the highest degree, which were not ordinarie: for before their death, they suffered hunger, torments, and disgraces, to qualifie them. Finally, to conclude, they were so many and so fearefull, that many which were condemned, slew themselues, some with poyson, and some with the sword, for feare; for TIBERIVS did execute his furie with such crueltie, as hee accounted it a deede of charitie, to put them to an ordinarie kinde of death: so as, for that one had killed himselfe before that he could execute his rage vpon him, he cryed out, Oh how hath CORNELIVS escaped me? for so was that mans name: and to another, which entreated him that he would not deferre his death; TIBERIVS answered, I am not so much thy friend, as to hasten it. And imploying himselfe in these diuelish exercises, wherein he continued vntill his death; ARTABANVS King of *Parthia*, breaking the peace and league which he had contracted with GERMANICVS, presumed to enter into *Armenia*, and the limits of the Empire, and also the Sarmates inuaded the prouinces; for which TIBERIVS tooke no care, neither leuied any new armie; but they defended themselues with their ordinarie legions and armies the best they could.

Now, forasmuch as in many places of this historie, mention is made of legions and armies, which the Romanes ordinarily entertained in their prouinces, in time of peace & warre, I hold it fit to declare what they were, for the better vnderstanding of what is alreadie, and shall be said hereafter. Which is a great argument, to proue how great the wealth and power of the Romanes was: and although that some Authors do treate thereof, I will onely set downe what CORNELIVS TACITVS writeth in the fourth book of his histories, an historiographer of great authoritie. He first saith, that in the two seas, of the one and other side of *Italie*, to wit, in the Adriatike sea, now the gulf of *Venice*, and in the Sicilian sea called Mediterranean, they maintained two great nauies of gallies and shippes for their guard and securitie, and for the safe passage of Merchants, and such other necessarie occasions. Another great nauie they maintained vpon the coast of *France*, between *Spaine* and *Italie*; besides those which they had in a readinesse and caused to be built when any occasion of warre was offered. Their armies by land were diuided in manner following: vpon the *Rhines* side on the frontiers of *France*, they maintained eight legions, to keepe those countries which they possessed in *Germanie*, and to resist the Germanes and other northerly nations, and these ordinarily were the most experienced and best souldiers. And although that the number of a legion did increase and diminish vpon diuers occasions, yet the ordinarie in the time of the Emperors was (after VEGECIVS and MODESTVS) that euery legion should containe sixe thousand and one hundred footemen, and seuen hundred twentie and sixe horsemen. Of these they held, in *Spaine*, three ordinarie legions; and in *Africa*, in the prouince of *Carthage*, two; and in *Mauritania* one; and two for the guarde of the kingdome of *Egypt*; and in the prouinces of *Mesopotamia* and *Syria* (to wit) in the countries contained betweene the *Syrian* sea, the furthest end of the *Leuant* sea, and the riuer *Euphrates*, which were (for a long time) the bounds of the Romane Empire, they held foure legions. And heere in *Europe* (besides those which I haue alreadie mentioned) they had other sixe legions, in this manner: in *Austria* and *Hungarie* they had two; in *Seruia* and *Bulgaria*, as many; and other two in *Slauonia*; and neere vnto the citie of *Rome*, were alwayes lodged twelue Cohorts, nine of which were called Pretorian, and the other three Vrbane, which by turne did guarde the Emperors palace. Of all these Cohorts (according to the same authors) the first and chiefe of them contained one thousand, one hundred and fiue footmen, and one hundred thirtie two horse; and the others equally each of them fiue hundred and fiftie footemen, and threescore and six horse. Besides all which, they had in diuers cities and prouinces, companies of horsemen, which were friends and subiects to the Empire; and also other companies of footemen, which were called Auxiliaries, which were not trained after the Romane order and discipline: so as they continually entertayned & paied fiue and twentie legions, besides those which were payed by their friends. And this was in time of peace, for the authoritie and guarde of the Empire

Nauies and fleets maintained by the Romanes in sundrie places and prouinces.

A legion, of how many foote and horse it consisted.

Pretorian and Vrban Cohorts.

Auxiliaris forces.

Empire; for when there happened any warres (according as neede required) they reinforced their armies, and encreased the number of their legions.

With the force of these great garrisons the Romane Empire maintained & defended it selfe, notwithstanding the want of care and diligence in some Emperors, as in TIBERIVS, of whom we now discourse; who (as is said) spent the rest of his life vntill his death, in wicked practices: which being much wished for by all the world, ouertooke him in a house of pleasure neere to *Naples*, hauing raigned twentie and three yeeares Emperor, in the seuentie and eight yeere of his age, and thirtie, and nine yeeres after the birth of Christ. In what manner he died, authors agree not, for some say that hee was poysoned, by his Nephew and successor CAIVS CALIGVLA: others write that being sicke (as it was thought) mortally, and seeing that he made some shew of recouerie; for feare that hee should mend, CALIGVLA smothered him with a pillow, or with the couering of the bed, he hauing ordained him for his successor; Notwithstanding that by reason of a certaine prophecie which hee held, he had resolued to make his Nephew TIBERIVS the sonne of DRVSVS his heire, whom DION COCCEIVS in his histories saith, he would not name, because he was not assured that he was his sonnes sonne, for the suspicion which he held of his mother; and also because that the Mathematicians and Astrologians, to whom he was much affected and gaue credit, had told him, that he should liue but a little while, and that CALIGVLA should kill him: and so vpon a time being very much offended, he said to CALIGVLA, thou wilt kill me, and another shall kill thee. It is also imagined, that TIBERIVS chose CALIGVLA for his successor, for that he knew his euill and wicked inclination, hoping that with his vices, he would deface and blot his wickednes out of remembrance; and also for that he beleeued, that he would extinguish the Romane nobilitie; for he was so wicked and cruell as he desired that all the world might end with his life, and so he was sometimes wont to say, that hee wished, that when hee should die, then the heauen and earth might be dissolued: but he deserued not to see the heauens; and all the earth reioyced and was glad when he died; as all Authors write: and this was the end of TIBERIVS. SVETONIVS writes, that the people rejoyced much at his death: and some running vp and downe, at the newes thereof cryed out Fling TIBERIVS into Tiber. Others besought the mother Earth, and the infernal gods to vouchsafe him no place but among impious wretches. And some threatned to drag his liuelesse carcasse into the Gemoniæ.

THE LIFE OF CAIVS CALIGVLA, ONELY OF THAT NAME, AND FOVRTH ROMAN EMPEROVR.

THE ARGVMENT.

CAligula, *before he was made Emperor, was so pleasing, and in such grace with the people and Senate of Rome, as when he was aduanced, it is vnknowne whether was the greater, the sorrow which was in Rome for the death of* Octavian, *or the ioy which it conceiued for the succession of* Caligula. *But being made Emperour, as if with his dignitie hee had changed his naturall inclination, hee became so wicked and infamous, as I cannot set downe his vicious life without offending the chaste eares of him that shall read the same; nor without a burthen to his modestie that shall write it. Hee made the Bridge at Baias, a worke of no lesse folly then great expense. Hee deflowred three of his owne sisters; and of his Palace (with reuerence be it spoken) he made a brothel of Romane Matrons. Hee was so couetous, as he raysed a tax vpon the Whores, and had a share of their gettings. He vsed to walke vp and downe vpon Crowners; and was so prodigall, that sometimes hee caused most precious iewels to bee dissolued with vinegar and put into his meat: hee was finally in all his actions so contrary to himselfe, that no man knew how to behaue himselfe towardi*

wards him. He wonldbe called and reputed for a God, which name he ſtained with ſuch abominable cruelties, that he was worſe then the diuell: he ſhed ſo much bloud, and made the wilde beaſts which he kept, to deuoure men, and to drinke their bloud; ſo as thoſe which were condemned to be ſlaine by them, rather choſe to kill themſelues, then to endure the torments which he deuiſed in his cruell diſpoſition. He died of thirtie wounds giuen him by certaine which cõſpired againſt him, hauing raigned almoſt foure yeeres: whoſe death was ſo acceptable to the people: as it is hard to ſay whether was the greater ioy, that which was conceiued when he was made Emperour, *or that when he left the* Empire, *together with his moſt ſhameleſſe life.*

Caligula *in the higheſt degree abominable.*

ALIGVLA the ſonne of GERMANICVS ſucceeded TIBERIVS in the Empire, who during the time of his raigne, was in the higheſt degree of all kinde of wickednes moſt abominable: and his words and deedes were ſo odious and deteſtable, as in truth it is a ſhameful & vnworthie thing, hauing written the liues of ſo worthie men, as were IVLIVS, and OCTAVIANVS CÆSARS, & their heroicall acts; now to deſcend to the ſinke of the villanie, crueltie, and ribaudrie of CALIGVLA. For although there wanted not in TIBERIVS cauſe to be abhorred & blamed, yet ſome part of his raigne was good, and he in former times had been an excellent Captaine, and had enlarged the dominions of the Empire, for which cauſe his euil cõditions might be ſomewhat the better tolerated: but this wanting in CAIVS CALIGVLA, who was a man of no ſuch valour (although in the beginning he deceiued the world with an apparance of ſome good deedes) yet it maketh the remembrance of him the more deteſtable, and his hand that ſhall write the ſame, the more heauie. But becauſe I am not to make choiſe of Emperours, of whom I am to treate at my pleaſure, but to continue the courſe of my hiſtorie, wherein my chiefe foundation is, to obſerue the truth, and cleauing thereto, to continue my troubleſome iourney; Let him which ſhall reade it conſider how deteſtable and odious his actions were, and how ſmall time his Empire indured (which attained not to foure yeeres complete) and the end which he made; to the end that he may flie and abhorre them, & may do the like by ſome others which followed, like to him, or worſe.

In Caligula *was nothing that was good.*

After the death of TIBERIVS CÆSAR (as I ſaid) the ioy which the Senate and people of *Rome* conceiued was incredible, and therewith they accepted and approoued the Empire of CAIVS CALIGVLA (whom before his death TIBERIVS had adopted and nominated for his ſucceſſour) for the loue and goodwill which they bare to his father GERMANICVS, *and for the pittie and commiſeration which they conceiued for his death, and the affliction* and wrong done to his houſe. For theſe cauſes was he accepted by all the Prouinces, and prouinciall armies: for his father being Generall in *Germanie*, and in the Eaſt, he was bred vp among them, and this name of CALIGVLA was giuen him for a certaine kinde of hoſe, called *Caliga*, vſed among men of warre, which hee did vſe to weare. Comming from the place where TIBERIVS died, to *Rome*, a great number of the principall men of all eſtates went foorth to entertaine him vpon the way, with exceeding ioy, notwithſtanding that he came mourning with the dead bodie of TIBERIVS, which the ſouldiers brought to be burnt at *Rome*, according to the manner of that time. And comming with great ſolemnity to *Rome*, he was obeyed with vnſpeakeable gladnes and ioy, they giuing him new names and Epithetes, ſhewing great reuerence and loue.

Wherefore he was called Caligula.

Caligula *his geſture and diſpoſition of bodie.*

CALIGVLA was a man tall of ſtature, great boned and corpulent; but his necke and legges were very ſmall and ſlender, deformed and vnſutable to the reſt of his bodie; his countenance was horrible and vgly: being Emperor, he tooke pleaſure to terrifie people with his lookes; and to this effect it is written, that beholding himſelfe in a glaſſe, he would ſtudie what countenance to ſet, to ſeeme more fierce and terrible. His eyes were very hollow, his forehead broad, his complexion yellow, his head very bald, and in thoſe parts of his head where he had any haire, it was very thinne, all the reſt of his bodie being marueilouſly hairy. He was very vnſound and vnhealthy, and in his youth was troubled with falling ſickneſs and other diſeaſes, and afterwards (as we will preſently ſhew) he was ill diſpoſed both in bodie and minde, changing his conditions with the Empire: for before that time, he was euer held for good. Wherefore it is ſaid of him, that he had been the beſt ſeruant, and was the worſt and moſt wicked Lord in the world. The firſt thing he did after he came to be Prince, was to diſannull & make void the teſtament of TIBERIVS, which he had made two yeeres before, wherein he made him & his nephew TIBERIVS

BERIVS his coheirs: whereto the Senate did willingly agree, & euerie man deuiſed & plotted how to gratifie him and doe him ſeruice, with ſuch loue as within few daies after he was confirmed in the Empire. Going foorth of *Rome* to recreate himſelfe vpon the Sea at the Ile of *Capreæ*, and in other Ilands vpon that coaſt, they made vowes and ſacrifices for his health and returne: and writers affirme, that there were ſlaine 170000. beaſts, according to the rites and ceremonies then vſed: And then making ſhew of a man, and not of a beaſt (as his deedes did afterwards make manifeſt) he preſently commaunded the aſhes of his mother and brethren to be brought to *Rome*, and there to be ſumptuouſly buried. He then tooke for his companion in the *Conſulſhip*, which hee would execute, his vncle CLAVDIVS, brother to GERMANICVS, who in the time of TIBERIVS liued priuate and in diſgrace; and young TIBERIVS, (which was nephew to TIBERIVS the Emperour) faining to loue, and affect him: to doe him honour, he made him captaine and prince of all the Romane youth. Seeking by counterfeit goodnes and bountie, to draw to himſelfe the goodwill of the people; he did twice giue vnto euery bodie (excepting none) a certaine donatiue of money, which they called Congiarius; and to all the Senate, and to all thoſe of the order of Knighthood (which was a degree betweene the communaltie and the Nobilitie) he made a moſt ſolemne banquet. And faining alſo that he meant to gouerne with iuſtice, he commaunded OCTAVIANVS CÆSAR his Inſtitutions to be ſought out, which TIBERIVS interrupted and brought out of vſe. He commaunded alſo great playes and feaſts to be made in *Rome* of Sword-plaiers, who were men which to ſhew pleaſure to the beholders, fought and killed one another; and certaine men on horſeback which they called Troians. He alſo appointed certaine huntings, wherein were ſlaine a great number of Lions, Panthers, Boares, Beares, and other wilde beaſts; and beſides this, Comedies and other ſhewes which were made in the Theater, & other kinds of ſports and pleaſures to delight the people, *whoſe loue and grace he then affected. And beſides that which is alreadie ſaid (as* SVETONIVS reciteth) principally in the beginning of his Empire, ARTABANVS King of *Parthia*, who rebelled and was an enemie, came to a conference with the Generall of the Romanes which commaunded the legions in *Syria*, and fearing the new Emperour whom he yet knew not, made a peace with him; and paſſing the riuer *Euphrates*, which was the bound of the Romane Empire, came in perſon to adore and to doe reuerence to the Emperours ſtatue, and to the Imperiall ſtandard and Eagle: ſo as the little, vntill this time, may be reported of CALIGVLA, as of a wiſe and diſcreete prince; and the remainder ſeemeth to be of a ſenſeleſſe man and a brute and ſauage beaſt. The beginning whereof was one of the greateſt fooleries or vanities that euer was ſeene, which was to make ſuch a feaſt as was neuer heard of, to ſhew his greatnes and vanitie, and to be able to walke and treade on the Sea as well as vpon the land. Or (as others ſay) becauſe he would imitate King XERXES, who paſſed his armie out of *Aſia* into *Europe* ouer the ſtreight of *Helleſpont* vpon a wooden bridge, he commaunded to be brought together, and to be new built all the ſhips he could get, which were infinite; & in a bay or a creeke which the Sea maketh neere to the hauen of *Baias* in *Campania*, from one point of the land to the other ſide of the Bay, which is about three miles diſtant, hee commaunded a bridge to be made vpon the ſaid ſhips, ſet in two rankes, faſtned and moared together with anchors, chaines and cables, which made them to ſtand fix and firme: he commanded this bridge to be made of boords, ſo ſtrong and eeuen, and to lay ſo much earth vpon the ſame, as it ſeemed to be firme ground, and one of the ſtreets of *Rome*. And bringing for this worke a great number of Artificers and labourers, with an infinite charge; he alſo cauſed houſes and lodgings to be built vpon the bridge, as writeth DION, who relateth this worke more at large then all the reſt.

Peace with the king of Parthia.

A wonderfull bridge made by Caligula.

This being finiſhed, and hee with all the Court going thither, with an infinite number of people which from all parts came to ſee this worke; hee proudly attired in robes of gold and pearle, with a crowne of Oaken boughes vpon his head (which was called *Civica*) on horſeback, accompanied with men of warre, and all the Nobles and gentlemen of *Rome*, entred at the one end of the bridge and road to the other; and lying one night vpon it, the next day hee returned, riding in a Chairot drawne by moſt excellent faire horſes, in manner of a triumph. DION writeth, that the night when he lay vpon the bridge, he cauſed ſuch an infinite number of Torches, Lant-hornes, and other lights to be lighted and ſet vp, as the cleerenes thereof did exceed the darknes of the night, of all that ſide of the mountaines neere adioyning; CALIGVLA boſting that he had made of the night, day; and of the Sea, land. And ſpending herein two whole daies (in all which time the Sea happened to be ſtill and calme) he ſaid; that *Neptune* (whom they held for the god of the Seas) did it for feare, and to do him reuerence. The fruite

which enſued of this ſtrange follie, was great famine and ſcarcitie of corne, and other neceſſaries, for that the ſhips were ſtaied about this bridge, to make the which there were imployed an incredible number. Such like benefits as this, did euer follow the actions of CALIGVLA. Wherefore before I ſpeake of the reſt, to ſay the truth, it is to be vnderſtood, that many were of opinion, that to this man was giuen a certaine drinke by his wife, whoſe name was CESONIA, wherewith ſhe made him mad and diſtract of his wits; ſhee giuing it him, to the end he ſhould loue her: for hauing been at other times married he had put away his wiues; ſo as his crueltie and riots were by ſom attributed to his fooliſhnes & want of wit. Of this opinion is IOSEPHVS in the 18. booke of his Antiquities, and the Poet IVVENAL with SVETONIVS: and they ſay that after he had taken this drinke, CALIGVLA ſlept not by day nor night aboue three houres; and riſing ſometimes affrighted, it ſeemed to him that he ſaw apparitions and viſions: adding this to his peruerſe condition and nature, hee ſuffered himſelfe to be led by her, and committed outrages without number or meaſure, which I know not how to ſet downe in any order: among which hee ſhewed himſelfe ſo haughtie and vainglorious, as he deſpiſed all men.

Diueliſh pride.

In the end (beſides that hee was the firſt of the Emperours which cauſed himſelfe to be called Lord) he purpoſed to be honoured as a God, or to ſay better, a Diuell; and made himſelfe to be adored, taking firſt vpon him names neuer thought nor heard of, calling himſelfe father of Armies, *Optimus & maximus*, with other epithetes, which they gaue to their god IVPITER only. And certaine Kings in his preſence which came to viſit him, and to doe him honour, being at contention among themſelues about the antiquitie and nobilitie of their houſes and linages, he interrupted, repeating a verſe out of HOMER in the perſon of VLYSSES, which ſaith, That there neither is, nor ought to be, but one King and Lord; and had then taken a Crowne and Diademe of a King, but that he was giuen to vnderſtand, that his owne was a more high eſtate and dignitie. Neuertheleſſe, he determined with his pride and elation to vſurpe the dignitie which he held for diuine, and cauſed to be caried before him the ſtatue of IVPITER, & ſome others, which (as PLINIE recounteth) the Romanes vſed to haue with heads to be taken off and on, to the end they might ſerue for diuers gods; and taking away thoſe heads which they had, he cauſed other heads to be ſet on, to his owne likenes: but in my opinion it had beene better they had cut off his head and ſet it thereon. Beſides this, he cauſed a temple to be built, and tobe dedicated to his name and honor, and made his ſtatue at *Life* to be ſet vp therin, which they called *Iconium*; and he inſtituted Prieſts to ſerue him: and this his image to be euery day clothed in ſuch attire, as himſelfe did weare. Alſo he cauſed Peacocks, Feaſants, and an infinite number of other princely birds to be ſacrificed in this Temple, as in other Temples of the gods of the Gentiles was vſed; with whom he ſought to make himſelfe equall: which truly was no great matter: for they all were dinels, Impoſtures and deceits.

The images of the gods, with heads to be taken off and on.

A ridiculous follie ſuch as the like was neuer heard of.

But conſidering the opinion and conceit which they then held, it was a preſumption neuer heard nor thought of, which came to bee accounted a ridiculous fooliſhneſſe: for preſuming much vpon his deitie, hee came foorth one night by Moone light (ſhee being then at the full) and wooed and made loue to her, as if ſhee had beene a faire Ladie. Sometimes hee would alſo goe to the Temple of IVPITER; and ioyning himſelfe cloſe to the Image, hee made ſhew as though hee had ſpoken in his eare: and ſometimes hee layd his eare to the Image, as though it ſhould ſpeake to him: and ſometimes hee made as though hee were very angrie, chiding, and threatning to ſend it into *Gracia*: and afterwards hee would faine himſelfe to bee pacified, and that he was contented that they two ſhould dwell together: and in this manner hee proceeded to a thouſand idle fooleries, although they were diueliſh. And on the other ſide, this man which preſumed to diſplace the gods and to make himſelf one of them, ſhewed his enuie to men; grieuing to ſee their ſtatues and memories honored, commaunding many of them to be ouerthrowne, and defaced. He practiſed and was deſirous to diſgrace the poems of HOMER and of VIRGIL, and in like manner the hiſtories of the excellent hiſtoriographer TITVS LIVIVS, and commaunded his image to be taken out of the Libraries in *Rome*, where they vſed to keepe the Images and pictures of great and excellent learned men. Of VIRGIL he ſaid, that he was a man without any wit, and leſſe learning; and TITVS LIVIVS he reprooued for a man of many words, and negligent; of SENECA (who in that time was much eſteemed, and with great reaſon) he ſayd that hee was ſand without lime, and a vvorke made without mixture: and ſo did he taxe the moſt ſublime and excellent wittes. Beſides vvhich, hee tooke from many Patricij and Noblemen of *Rome* the Armes and Ornaments which they bare of their Linages and Families: and his enuy yet deſcended

ſcended to lighter and meaner matters then theſe, ſo as there was no man (were he neuer ſo baſe) whom he enuied not for any proſperity or good ſucceſſe that might happen vnto him, as to make men to be ſhauen, if he ſaw they had yellow or faire coloured haire.

Now for matters of laſciuiouſneſſe and diſhoneſtie, truly there is ſo much to be ſayd, as a man may not, neither ought to make the whole relation thereof, to the end that his filthineſſe doe not ſoyle and corrupt our Hiſtorie: for it is certaine that he was as filthy and abominable, as his predeceſſor TIBERIVS, if not more. Hee was ſo ſhameleſſe in his incontinencie and luſt, as he reſpected neither perſons nor place. He abuſed all his Siſters; of which (it is thought) he deflowred DRVSILLA being a Virgine, himſelfe but a very boy. Shee being afterwards maried to LVCIVS CASSIVS LONGINVS, a man of Conſular degree, he tooke her from him and kept her openly, as if ſhe had been his lawfull wife, and being ſicke he made her heire of all his goods, and his ſucceſſor in the Empire: but ſhe dying, he ſorrowed with impatiencie. His other Siſters LIVIA and AGRIPPINA, he neither loued nor reſpected, but would often proſtitute them to his owne ſtale Catamits. And in the end he condemned them to exile with ÆMILIVS LEPIDVS, as Adultreſſes and priuy to treaſons againſt his perſon. Neither was any Roman Matron (how honorable or vertuous ſoeuer) free from his pollution. He would vſually inuite them with their husbands to ſupper: and if any one liked him, he would riſe from the table, and call her to him into an other roome, and there abuſe her, and then preſently returne againe and bragge of his fowle fact.

Caligula.

The abominable vices of Caligula.

In other vices he was beyond all meaſure paſſionate, being extreame in extremities, the one againſt the other: for he was greedie and couetous in extreame manner, and of the other ſide, prodigall and a ſpender aboue all meaſure. To glut his greedy couetouſnes he inuented meanes to gather wealth, and to rob the land and the people: ſo as there was no kinde of tribute or impoſition to be deuiſed which he put not in practice, euen amongſt common & diſhoneſt women; and of all ſuites in law, hee had the fortith part of any ſum that was recouered; and if the parties agreed before ſentence giuen, he had a certaine portion: and ſo in all matters wherein any thing was to be gotten, he tooke a ſhare, euen of thoſe which were porters and got money by carrying of burthens vpon their ſhoulders. And hauing amaſſed together an infinite ſum, by direct and indirect meanes, he would lie downe and tumble vpon it, recreating himſelfe in his couetouſnes: wherein he ſhewed great ſimplicitie, ſeeing how little he did otherwaies eſteeme it, and his lauiſh expences, as the moſt prodigall man that euer was, which a man may eaſily iudge by theſe few examples following. Into the bathes wherein they did vſe to to bathe, he cauſed moſt precious and ſweete ſmelling oyntments to be caſt which were of exceeding great price, that they might bathe in them, hot and cold, as in other water. In the feaſts and bankets which he made, he commaunded moſt pretious pearles and iewels to be diſſolued in moſt ſtrong vinegar, and to be put into their meate, becauſe the coſt ſhould be ineſtimable: and he commaunded that all the ſeruices in ſteede of meat, bread, fleſh, fiſh, and fruites, ſhould be of fine golde for his gueſts. Beſides this, he ſometimes caſt among the people great ſummes of money: whereby it ſeemeth they had reaſon, which attribute the doings of this man to fooliſhnes, aſwell as to his ill diſpoſition. There was ſo great varietie in his actions, affections and deſires, as may be gathred by that which is alreadie ſaid, and the reſt which we will declare; as on the one ſide he contemned the gods, and preſumed himſelfe to be one of them, and yet he was ſo afeard of a thunderclap that he ranne and hid himſelfe vnder a bed. Sometimes he was very familiar, and called men to conuerſe with him, ſeeming to be much delighted with their companie and conuerſation: at other times he ſhunned them, and retired himſelfe to his workes. He ſometimes diſpatched matters with ſuch expedition and diligence, as he ſeemed to be the moſt quicke and actiue man in the world, and at other times, with ſuch ſlacknes and leaſure, as he ſeemed not to be the man which he was before. Many which committed hainous crimes, he puniſhed not: and others he commaunded to be ſlaine, which had done no offence. He would this day praiſe one thing: and the next day, he would peraduenture cauſe him to be ſlaine which ſpake well thereof. Finally, he was ſo variable that (as DION reporteth) men knew not what to doe, nor ſay, his conditions were ſo doubtfull. The like he did in his apparell, in his exerciſes, and in all his other actions: for procuring one thing, he would doe cleane contrarie; as we ſaid in robbing and heaping treaſure together, he would ſpend ſo prodigally that thoſe treaſures ſhould not ſuffice for his expences. Beſides what is already ſaid, authors affirme that he cõmaunded certaine ſhips to be built, which were the greateſt and moſt coſtly that euer were ſeene, of which all the timber was of Cedar, and the poupes and ſternes of Iuorie ſet with gold and precious ſtones, and all the ſailes and tackling were

Caligula his prodigalities.

The inconſtancie and variety in his doings and behauior.

Ships of meruailous coſt and greatnes.

were of silke of diuers colours : they were so great, as they had in them halles and gardens, wherein were many trees and flowers : in one of these shippes, he sailed along the coast of *Naples* one whole day, to disport himselfe. He also began certaine buildings and workes against all reason and humane discretion, and such as seemed impossible. For in the sea he commanded huge pillers and towers to be built, and by land he raised certaine valleyes, & made them equall *with the mountaines, heaping vp rockes and earth in them, vntill they were euen therewith.* And in other places, he began to digge downe mountaines to make them leuell with the meadowes, presuming to correct the workes of nature.

Proud buildings.

As CAIVS CALIGVLA was so variable and inconstant, as we haue said; so in crueltie onely he was constant, vsing it indifferently to all without respect of parentage or friendship: in the like manner he vsed his grandmother ANTONIA daughter to GERMANICVS, so as she being in despaire, tooke poison whereof she died. And the yong TIBERIVS Nephew to the Emperor TIBERIVS, and sonne to DRVSVS (as I haue said) he making shew to loue him, liuing secure and without feare, he sent to kill him by the hands of a Tribune, for no other cause, but for that he vsed a certaine kinde of confection of sweete sauours for his delight: CALIGVLA *saying, that he did it, for feare to be poisoned. And* SILLANVS, *(who had beene his father in law,)* he forced to kill himselfe, onely for that he went not one day to sea, with him. Which SILANVS did forbeare, because the sea made him sicke. And PTOLOMIE the sonne of IVBA King of *Mauritania*, to whom he was neere allied, and MARCO which had holpen him to get the Empire, and others with whom he was in great league and friendship, in requitall of their deserts he caused them to be cruelly put to death. To all men generally, both in word & deede he vsed such crueltie, as it would seeme incredible, had not so many and such authors written the same: for he commaunded wild beasts which hee kept for feasts and triumphs, to be fatted with the bodies of liuing men, condemned to death. And sometimes causing some to be executed, he commaunded their parents and kinred to be present at their execution, and then inuited them to eate *with him, and compelled them to discourse of pleasant matters. He* also qualified his cruelties, with sundrie kindes of deaths which he inflicted; prolonging it, to the end that the torment should be the greater: So as they stoode in so great feare of this man, that many (if they had oportunitie) slew themselues rather then they would stay for his sentence : among which the accursed PONTIVS PILATE, who condemned to death the giuer of life IESVS CHRIST our Redeemer, was one; who being accused and banished, slew himselfe with his owne hands.

The crueltie of Caligula.

This wretched CALIGVLA was so nusled in bloud, as he much desired and wished that all the Romane people had had but one head, to the end that he might cut off that heade at one blowe. He also held the time of his raigne infortunate, & complained of the infelicitie thereof, for that in his daies there was no pestilence, famine, earthquakes, deluges, spoiles by fire or other misfortunes.

There came by chance one day into his presence, a man who had been banished by the Emperor TIBERIVS, of whom hee asked what life hee led in his exile? the other to flatter him, answered, that he spent his time in praying for the death of TIBERIVS, to the end he should be Emperor: *which when* CALIGVLA *heard (as he had banished a great number of men)* he beleeued that they all made the like prayer for him, & therefore commaunded so many of them as could be found, to be sought out and slaine. Vsing these crueltries and such like, or greater, he made himselfe *within few dayes so hatefull, as his death was generally desired, and practised by* some: but the conspiracies against him being discouered, it deferred his death, although but for a small time, which was as he deserued, as we will presently declare. But first we will speake of the warrs & conquests which he made, wherin he shewed no lesse vanitie then in all the rest. For vpon a sodaine at the end of the third yeere of his raigne, he caused a great number of men of warre to be leuied, wherewith he departed from *Rome*, giuing it out that he went to make warre in *Germanie* whither he tooke his iourney: whereto he added the ordinarie legions, which were in those parts, and with a shew and appearance to doe some great exploite with his armie, he passed the riuer of *Rhine*: and he began to make warre at such time as it seemed to all men (considering his great number of men, and the resolution wherewith he came) that he would haue ouerrunne the world, and haue made some great conquest; but he contented himselfe with this, that the Kings son of *Batauia* (which is now called *Holland*) being in disgrace with his father, came to his seruice, and herewith hauing done some small harme in that countrie, he returned, and passed the riuer: And after he had giuen some alarmes, he tooke his way with his armie towards the

The conquests and vaine war of Caligula.

Batauia, Holland.

the sea; and in memorie of his victorie, he there commaunded a tower to be built, and all his souldiers to gather abundance of cockle shelles, as the spoyles of his enemies: and then calling his armie together, in such manner as captaines vse to doe after some notable victorie, he made a long oration vnto them, and commended them all; and afterwards he commaunded a great some of money to be distributed amongst them, ouer and aboue their pay.

Returning to Rome, he sent before, to commaund that there should be prepared a most solemne triumph; carrying with him to that effect, certaine Barbarians his enemies, such as he could get; but afterwards he altered his determinatiō, deferring the triumph vntil another time, and entred into *Rome* in ouacian triumph, and there began againe to execute some of his accustomed cruelties, purposing to haue done greater. Which the world being vnable to endure, many conspired against him: he which did most therein, and the first that began to practise, was a Tribune of the Pretorian Cohorts, whose name was CHEREA: he died of thirtie wounds which they gaue him, in a vault or secret gallerie, wherein he vsed to passe vnseene, from his palace to certaine bathes, hauing most vnworthily raigned three yeeres and ten moneths, in the nine and twentith yeere of his age.

Caligula *murthered, and in what manner.*

The *manner of his death*, besides SVETONIVS, DION and others, is written by the true Historiographer IOSEPHVS: to whom I referre the curious reader to make an end of so brutish a monster, as was CAIVS CALIGVLA.

This happened in the three and fortith yeere of CHRIST our Lord. After that he was dead, there died the same day CESONIA his wife, and one only daughter which he had: and notwithstanding that the Almaines which were of his guarde fell to armes, & would haue slaine the conspirators, and did kill some of them, yet in the end all was pacified, and his death was generally approued, *as of a Tyrant and most cruel Prince; in like maner as the death of such Kings* and Princes is vsually approued & pleasing, whose liues haue been detestable and odious. It is certainely knowne, that when CALIGVLA was slain, he had purposed to haue put many to *death: for in his closet or priuy chamber*, were found two bookes; whereof the one was called the poiniard, and the other the sword, wherein were written the names of a great number of Senators and Knights of *Rome* whom he had condemned to death.

There was also found a chest full of diuers kindes of poysons, such were the relickes and iewels of this wicked man. In this short time wherein CAIVS CALIGVLA raigned, the name and faith of CHRIST was published and preached in a great part of the world, the holy Apostles Saint PETER and Saint PAVL preaching the same; and particularly in *Iudea* Saint MATTHEVV, who first of all wrote the Gospell.

THE LIFE OF CLAVDIVS, THE FIRST OF THAT NAME, AND FIFT ROMANE EMPEROVR.

(***)

THE ARGVMENT.

CLaudius *the sonne of* Drusus, *and Vncle to* Caligula, *obtained the Empire more through the temeritie of the souldiers, then for any worthie acts done for his country: for* Caligula *being dead the Senate resolued to extirpate the race of the* Cæsars, *and to restore Rome to her auncient libertie, and with many armed men had seised vpon the Capitoll. Whereupon he standing in great feare, seeing so great a tumult (as commonly it happeneth vpon innouation in States) and being by nature fearefull, and a coward, he hid himselfe in a secret place of the palace, where being found by a souldier which by chance came to seeke for pillage, he was by him reuerenced, and hailed Emperor. This souldier beeing seconded by others who together with the people desired a prince, in the end maugre the Senate they made him Emperor; in which dignitie he carried himselfe in the beginning with such modestie*

and humanitie, as all men began to assure themselues of an excellent gouernement: but he continued not long in that good disposition: for through his little care, the naturall vices of his minde encreasing, he desrauded the world of the hope conceiued of him, and in short space became both luxurious, cruell, a drunkeard, and a glutton. He had many wiues, but aboue all the rest Messalina *was so incontinent and so infamous, as her filthines cannot be written without vndecent and immodest words. This Emperor was so forgetfull, as he remembred not in the euening what he had done in the morning; by reason whereof, he did oftentimes cause those to be called to eate, or play with him, whome he had commaunded to be slaine; and among st others, he asked where fore his wife* Messalina *came not to dinner hauing but a little before caused her to be put to death. He caused with excessiue charge the lake Fucinus to be dried up, wherein before that it was dreined, he made an infinite number of men (condemned to die) to fight a nauale battaile. He subdued* Mauritania *which rebelled against him: and in his old age tooke to wife* Agrippina *the mother of* Nero: *who perceiuing that he was not greatly affected to her sonne, as a woman desirous to make him to succeede in the Empire, poysoned him in certaine Mushrumps which he loued to eate, alleaging that they were meate for the gods, for that they grew of their owne accord, whose death was concealed by* Agrippina, *vntill she had confirmed her sonne for his successor in the Empire. He liued sixtie and foure yeeres, and raigned fourteene; his death was not greatly lamented, for that his life was not much beloued.*

BY the death of CAIVS CALIGVLA, his Vncle CLAVDIVS, and brother to his father the good GERMANICVS sonne of DRVSVS and sonne in law to OCTAVIANVS, had the Empire. But the manner how hee attained thereto was very strange, and therefore worthie to be related. The sodaine death of CALIGVLA caused great alteration and confusion in the cittie of *Rome*, as soone as it was published. Some would not beleeue it, seeing it was done in a secret place, imagining that it was a matter fained by him, thereby to discouer euery mans affection towards him. The conspirators, as they did not practice his death to the end that any of them should aspire to the Empire, neither for any other man, but onely to free the common-wealth from so cruell a Tyrant, had more care for their owne safeties then to make choise of a new Emperor. The Consuls as soone as they were certified of his death, assembled the Senate; and being terrified with the miseries past, resolued to reduce the cittie of *Rome* to her auncient libertie, and to extinguish the name of CÆSARS and the Monarchie; and perseuering in this determination, they seised on the Capitoll, with some of the Cohorts of the citie, which had the guarde of the palace, who were also of their opinion. But herein were diuers opinions in the citie: for the common people would haue a head and an Emperor, for the hatred which they euer bare to the Senate, and for that the least part of the euills and cruelties committed by the Emperors, fell vpon them; and also for that they enioyed and tasted of the feasts and largesses which the Emperors vsed to make. The men of war of the pretorian Cohorts which were lodged hard by *Rome*, desired there should be an Emperor; because they were in hope to make choyse of him at their pleasure; and in regard of the rewards and priuileges which they inioyed from the Emperors. But the matter remaining in this cõfusiõ, neither the one nor the other knew whõ to nominate.

The Senat sought to reduce the cittie to her auncient libertie.

The common people and men of warre would haue an Emperor.

It happened that CALIGVLA being dead, CLAVDIVS was in so great feare of his life, as he dared not goe foorth of the Imperiall palace, neither openly to shew himselfe. But being amazed and in this feare, he went to hide himselfe in the most secret place he could finde; but certaine souldiers running vp and downe to take what they could finde, it chaunced that one of them found him, seeing his feete: who to the end hee might know who he was, vncouered him, and knew him. And CLAVDIVS imagining himselfe to bee sought for to bee slaine, cast himselfe at the souldiers feete, desiring him to saue his life: whereof the souldier assured him, & presently resolued to name him Emperor: who gathring together those which came with him, they all did the like: and taking him vpon their shoulders, they carried him in a litter to their Campe; where (trembling in great feare) he knew not to what issue this would come. But he was well intreated in the Camp, & the souldiers agreed to make him Emperour. The Cõsuls and Senate hearing he was carried to the Campe, in such manner as aforesaid, sent to him, requiring him by a tribune of the people, to come to the Senate, and there to treate of such matters as should bee for the common good. Whereto he answered, that hee was there detained by force and could not come. It chanced that at this time, HERODE AGRIPPA King of *Iudea*, was in *Rome*: whom (as is aboue said) CAIVS CALIGVLA had restored to the Kingdome, which in right had belonged to his vncle ARCHELAVS, & to his grandfather HERODE, which slew the Innocents.

This

This HERODE shewing himselfe a newter, began to mediate an agreement betweene CLAVDIVS and the Senate; although that secretly he fauored CLAVDIVS, counselling him to be resolute, and not to submit himselfe to the Senate. One whole day and a night was spent without any resolution, during which time CLAVDIVS wauered betweene hope and feare: the next day the people began openly to demande an Emperor, and many abandoned the Senate and Consuls; so as there followed much trouble (which IOSEPHVS noteth.) But at length, seeing that the succession in the Empire more rightly appertained to CLAVDIVS, then to any other, they all agreed to make him Emperour: and the Senate went vnto him, and the Cohorts tooke the oath, and did their accustomed homage, hee making many large promises; and so the Senate accepted and confirmed him. And thus he obtained the Empire of the world, who but a day before knew not where to find a place to hide himselfe, for the safety of his life.

Claudius assisted by Herode Agrippa.

Lib. 19. c. 3.

When CLAVDIVS attained to the Empire, he was fiftie yeeres old; hauing euer liued poorely and little esteemed, notwithstanding that hee was neer of kinne to the Emperours, and had passed great daungers and perils, without any office or dignitie; sauing some few moneths the Consulship, wherein by CAIVS CALIGVLA he was admitted for his companion. He was a man of a tall stature, neither fat nor leane, of a faire and pleasing countenance; and whether he sate or stood, he euer shewed a greatnes, representing maiestie: whereto his faire gray haires were a great ornament. He had so little strength in his knees as he went weakly, and as though he were careleese. And when he was angrie, he was so much altred therewith, as the teares would fall from his eyes, and he stammered in his speech; besides all which, his head did euer shake. He was a sickly man: but being once Emperor, he was cured of his infirmities, except the paine of the stomacke, which sometimes troubled him very much. He was learned both in the Greek and Latin tongues, and wrote bookes and histories. He also tooke vpon him to adde three letters to the Latin Alpabet: but as a matter superfluous they continued not.

Claudius his gesture and bodily disposition.

Claudius was learned in the Greeke and Latin tongues.

CLAVDIVS is numbred among the bad Emperours, for his vices and the great cruelties which he committed, suffering himselfe to be gouerned by certaine enfranchised men which were his fauorites: yet he did many things befitting a worthie Prince, which were profitable, so as PAVLVS OROSIVS in some sort seemeth to defend his actions.

Beginning to take the gouernment vpon him, notwithstanding that there were diuers opinions, & many both attempted and spake much against him; The first thing he did, was to giue a generall pardon, and to commaund all things past to be buried in perpetuall silence and oblion: yet for example, and to feare others to attempt the like, he commaunded iustice to be done on CHEREA the captaine of the cõspirators & vpon some of the rest; who suffered death with great courage, and resolution, making mention of BRVTVS and CASSIVS, who slew IVLIVS CÆSAR; CHEREA desiring that he might be slaine with the same sword wherewith he had slaine CALIGVLA. CLAVDIVS shewed himselfe mercifull to all which had offended him, and were opposites in his election: and disannulled all the cruel edicts made by CALIGVLA. He also commaunded to be deliuered out of prison, & to be released from banishment, all those which vniustly, or for small causes did endure the same: among which he released from banishment CALIGVLA's sisters and neeces. And to HERODE AGRIPPA King of *Iudea* (in requitall of the m eanes he vsed to aduance him to the Empire) he gaue the Tetrarchie of *Galile*, which CAIVS CALIGVLA had taken from his vncle HERODE ANTIPAS, who had put S. IOHN BAPTIST to death, and was an actor in the death of our Sauiour. This HERODE AGRIPPA was of great state, and honoured in *Ierusalem*: where putting S. IAMES to death, and persecuting the Apostles and Primitiue Church, he was striken by the Angell of God, and died as S. LVKE reciteth in the Acts of the Apostles. And so these three HERODS died an euill death. Of this AGRIPPA, & his vncle HERODE Tetrarcha, called ANTIPAS (who put Saint IOHN to death, and in whose time our Sauiour died; and the other HERODE the great, who slew the Innocents, in whose time CHRIST was borne) I haue twice made mention, because these HERODES commonly breed a confusion in reading of the Scriptures, not distinguishing the one from the other.

Cherea died courageously.

Herode Antipas which put S. Iohn Baptist to death, died miserably in exile at Lions in France.

Herode Agrippa a great persecutor of the Gospell, was striken by the Angell of God. Chap. 12.

Three Herodes.

Herode Ascalonita was he which murdered the Innocents, died of death naturall.

Returning to the Emperor CLAVDIVS (I say) that touching the ceremonies, names and titles, which for honour the Romanes were wont to giue to their Emperours, he shewed himselfe very discreet and temperate, & would not accept of many of them: and forbad vpon great penalties, that none should do sacrifice to him, as they had done to CAIVS CALIGVLA: and so in the beginning of his Empire, he did these and such like as a good Prince. Among which, one was, that he had an especiall care that *Rome* should be continually well prouided of

wheat and graine, warranting the Merchants againſt all daungers and pirats by Sea: and herein (although afterwards he committed many errours) he was euer diligent and carefull during his life. CLAVDIVS was alſo a great louer of ſumptuous buildings: among which there were three ſo proud and ſtately, that it ſeemeth they excelled the moſt of all that euer were in the world; and for ſuch, PLINIE, SVETONIVS, and moſt authors doe account them. The one was a marueilous Conduit or Aqueduct of water, which after his name was called *Claudia*, with which none of the Conduits in *Rome* could compare, either for abundance of water, or for coſt and excellencie of the workmanſhip: for it was brought fortie miles from *Rome*, by mines and paſſages thorough mountaines; and in low valleys, by erecting moſt high Arches of a wonderful charge; and ſo was it caried & mounted to the top of the higheſt hils in *Rome*. The other worke was a Hauen of the Sea made by hand, in the citie of *Oſtia*, the which was capable of a great number of ſhips, made in the firm land; and afterwards he let the Sea into it (as DION reporteth) hauing firſt fortified and made firme the bottome thereof: *in truth a marueilous* worke, and ſuch as his poſteritie and thoſe which ſucceeded him were not able to maintaine. His third worke (although leſſe profitable, yet moſt coſtly of all the reſt;) was to drein and laie drie a great Lake called *Fucinus*, in the countrey of the *Marſi*, a people neere to *Rome*, which was the greateſt Lake in all *Italie*: the which he did (as ſome ſay) to bring that water into the Riuer of *Tiber*, to make it greater with the current thereof, and to drie vp and lay open the fields, which that water couered, to the end they might be tilled. Which to effect, among other difficulties and infinit toile, he mined through a very high mountaine of flint, three miles in length; a worke which ſeemed impoſſible, being (as I ſaid) a mine thorough a rock. Finally, how great and admirable this worke was, may appeare by the time which it continued, and the labourers which wrought therein, which (as ſom authors affirme) were 30000. men, which laboured eleuen yeeres without ceaſing; a matter which ſeemeth incredible: ſo as beſides the reſt, if EVSEBIVS (a moſt Chriſtian and true author) had not written it, I durſt not report nor beleeue it. What end this worke and labour had, ſhall be related in his place: for (as I ſayd) although it began in the beginning of his raigne, it was ended eleuen yeeres after. I alſo forbeare to ſpeake of other his buildings, which although they were excellent, yet not comparable to the aboue named.

The wonderfull buildings of Claudius.

Plin. lib. 36. cap. 15.

A wonderfull worke.

Hauing begun and continued theſe workes, he was not careleſſe for the reformation of euill cuſtomes and abuſes within *Rome*, and abroad, and in ſome other matters: wherein if he had perſeuered, he had bin worthily held for an excellent Prince. But afterwards by reaſon of his great *liberty, and wickednes of his fauorites and ſuch as were inward with him,* (by whom he was much ouerruled) he became ſo diſſolute, that it defaced and ſtained all his former actions, as hereafter ſhall be declared. Beſides that which is already ſpoken, this made the beginning of his raigne the more famous, that in the firſt, ſecond or third yeeres thereof (as EVSEBIVS, PAVLVS OROSIVS, BEDA, and S. ISIDORE report) S. PETER the Apoſtle came to *Rome*, and there ſeated himſelfe, after he had preached in diuers parts, but principally had remained in *Antioch* eleuen yeeres: and being come thither, remained there twentie fiue yeeres, *vntill the end of the Emperour Nero*, as ſhall be ſpecified: they alſo affirme, that with S. PETER came the Euangeliſt S. MARKE, and being by him informed, and enſpired with the holie Ghoſt, he wrote the Goſpell, by whoſe direction he returned to preach CHRIST in *Alexandria*; of whom, and of the other holie Apoſtles and Diſciples of CHRIST, *of their miracles*, martyrdomes, & what ſucceſſe they had, I make little mention, becauſe (as I haue ſaid) in a prophane hiſtorie, as this is, I hold it not fit to inſert diuine and holy matters, although that in briefe there ſhall be mention made of that which ſhall be moſt conuenient for the light of this hiſtorie and the generall good.

To returne to our diſcourſe of CLAVDIVS, it paſſed in this manner, that in the fourth yeer of his raigne, notwithſtanding that the Emperors power was then ſo great and ſo much redoubted, as no Nation of the world durſt beare armes againſt him: yet the inhabitants of the Iland of *Britaine*, which IVLIVS CÆSAR had ſubdued, did boldly riſe in armies, and denie their obedience and vaſſalage: which the Emperour CLAVDIVS tooke ſo ill, as he reſolued *in perſon to vndertake the enterpriſe to ſubdue and pacifie them.* For which action (beſides the ordinarie legions) he aſſembled a great Nauie by Sea, and a great armie by land; and purpoſing to goe by Sea, he embarked the ſame in the Port of *Oſtia*, notwithſtanding that the paſſage was farre about: but in the beginning of his voyage he was ſo ouertaken with a tempeſt, as he was in daunger to haue been caſt away. Wherefore he diſembarked his forces in the citie of *Marſelles* in

The Emperour Claudius his comming into England.

France, and altering his determination, croſſed through *France*, & ſhipping himſelf againe right ouer againſt *England*, he paſſed into the Iland with ſo great a power, that he eaſily pacified all: yet (as DION teſtifieth) he came to a battaile with the Britains, wherin he ouercame them. But the common opinion is as I ſay, and ſo doth GILDAS, an ancient true Engliſh Hiſtoriographer of 960. yeeres continuance, record. The iourney into *Britannie* being ended to his content, he ſent his Nauy into the Ilands called *Orcades*, which lie to the North of *Scotland*, & are now ſubiect to the King of great *Britanny*, which within few daies he ſubdued & made ſubiect to the Empire: which vntill that time were vnknowne to the Romanes, as EVSEBIVS and OROSIVS record. Hauing performed all theſe things in the ſpace of ſixe months, he returned towards *Rome*, where he entred triumphing with the greateſt ſolemnitie that could be, & to him was giuen the name of BRITANNICVS, for ſubduing the Ile of *Britanny*. To the ſolemnity of this triuſph, SVETONIVS TRANQVILLVS reporteth, that he not only ſuffered the Gouernours & Prefects of prouinces to come to *Rome*, but alſo he releaſt many others who liued in exile, from their baniſhment.

The Britaines rebelled againſt Claudius.

For this victorie, he cauſed a crowne nauall to be made, which was vſed to be giuen for victories by ſea, which crowne was of gold wrought with the prowes of gallies and ſhips, and placed ouer the gate of the *imperiall* palace, hard by that *which ordinarily did ſtand* there made of oken boughs, called *Ciuica*; and for the ſame reaſon he commaunded that a ſonne of his, which hee had by his wife MESSALINA, whoſe name was GERMANICVS, ſhould be called BRITANNICVS: And in this triumph he began to honor with armes & other fauours ſome of his libertines, which had been ſlaues, and were enfranchiſed and ſet at libertie, and did them ſo great honor, as men began to murmure againſt him, and thereby he made himſelfe ill beloued. For they committed many inſolencies and wrongs, by meanes of their great riches and authoritie: of which the chiefeſt and moſt ſpoken of, were ſixe or ſeauen, one named DIODONES, to whom he gaue for his armes, the triumph aforeſaid: another, whoſe name was FELIX, he made gouernour and prefect of *Iudea*, *Samaria*, and *Galile*, by meanes of the death of HERODE AGRIPPA, before which FELIX we reade in the acts of the Apoſtles that Saint PAVL was brought priſoner. Another called CALIXTVS, of whom PLINY, SENECA, and CONELIVS TACITVS make mention. Another was POLYBIVS, who was a learned man, whom CLAVDIVS himſelfe held for his companion, and as it were maiſter of his ſtudies; to whom SENECA wrote a conſolatorie epiſtle for the death of his brother. Another named NARCISSVS, whom hee made his Secretarie, whom SVETONIVS preferreth before all the reſt. Another was PALANTE, a man alſo very famous: to all which he did ſuch fauours and gaue ſo exceſſiue gifts, as they attained to ſuch riches, that CLAVDIVS vpon a time complaining that his treaſurie & exchequer was poore, he was anſwered, That it would be rich enough, if his freed men NARCISSVS and PALANTE would accompany him, and ſhare with him in their trade and ſtocke. Within ſhort ſpace he made himſelfe ſo ſubiect, and was ſo much ouerruled by theſe Libertines, and his adulterous and diſhoneſt wife MESSALINA, to whom he was now married (after other wiues which he had had) that by their directions and counſels he committed many diſorders, follies and wrongs, more like their ſlaue and ſubiect, then their Prince and Soueraigne, and ſuffered others to commit the like; pardoning ſuch grieuous offences and committing *ſuch cruelties, as it would be long and diſpleaſing to right them all.* But by that which he committed againſt his owne bloud, which I will declare, the reſt may be conſectured which I paſſe in ſilence. One of the firſt and moſt notable, was the death of APPIVS SILANVS a worthie noble Romane, who ſometimes had been gouernour of *Spaine*, and married with his owne mother in law, whoſe death was plotted by his wife MESSALINA, and his enfranchiſed NARCISSVS. DION writeth, that hauing no cauſe whereof to accuſe him, it ſufficed to cõmaund him to be ſlaine, for that NARCISSVS in a morning came into CLAVDIVS chamber before he was vp, faining great haſte and feare, perſwading him to ſtand vpon his guard, and to take heed of APPIVS SILANVS: for he dreamt that night he was ſlaine, and that SILANVS onely had killed him. The Emperor well pleaſed with the matter, went to the Senate, acquainting the Senators therewith; much commending & extolling the loyaltie of NARCISSVS, that he euen ſleeping had care of his life and health. After SILANVS, he alſo put to death his two ſonnes in law, LVCIVS SILANVS and POMPEY, and two of his owne neeces called LIVIÆ, one of which was the daughter of DRVSVS, and the other of GERMANICVS; no man knowing any cauſe wherefore he did it, nor admitting their defence. And ſo were a great number of others put to death, all by the counſell and practice of MESSALINA and his freed men; who bare ſuch ſway in the gouernment and counſel of eſtate, as they ſold

A Crowne nauall.

The ſtrange cruelties of Claudius.

sold offices, Captainships & dignities; and that which was worse, tooke money for absolutions, penalties, punishments and banishments: finally, all was to be sold for money. And the most part hereof was put in practice, (as some authors affirme) without the priuitie of CLAVDIVS, or being acquainted therewith; so great was their power and authoritie. And in the like manner did hee put some to death, being abused, to please and content these his fauorites; so subiect was he to be gouerned by them.

By meanes of the great disorders, murders, and grieuances, which CLAVDIVS by the counsel and practice of his libertines and his wife MESSALINA committed, he made himselfe to be hated of many, and principally of the better sort; so as some practised his death, and conspired against him: although that for his other good deeds, before repeated, hee was beloved and much esteemed of others. But as those which hated him were more, and boulder in courage: so they feared not to practise his death which they wished him; chiefly two Romane Knights resolued to kill him, and STACIVS CORVINVS and GALLVS ASINIVS, two principal Romanes conspired against him. But the one and the other being discouered, it was brought to light, and he prevented the danger by executing new cruelties upon the said parties, and upon such as had consented & participated with them: and seeing himselfe freed from this danger, he continued in his evill purposes and cruell courses. In like manner the hatred encreasing against him, it happened that FVRIVS CAMILLVS SCRIBONIANVS, who was Lieutenant, and Governor of *Dalmatia* (incited by many principal men of *Rome*) openly rebelled against him: and the legions of that Province consenting with him, he called himselfe Emperour. This put CLAVDIVS into such a feare and amazement, as hee was much dejected and base minded: and as sinne and an evill conscience is one of the chiefest causes that maketh men cowardly and fearefull, hee was so daunted, that CAMILLVS (who rebelled) writing vnto him, and perswading him to leaue the Empire and to liue priuate, he remained doubtfull what to do, and caused certaine principall men to consult thereof: So as if the matter had gone forwards, it seemeth that he would haue had small courage to haue defended the Empire. But as CAMILLVS had no more right thereto then he, & as his purpose was not to redresse the Empire and reforme the euils committed by CLAVDIVS, but to make himselfe lord & tyrant, and peraduenture do as ill or worse, God would not suffer it to take effect according to his desire: for it happened that the same legions which had raised & chosen him, repenting of what they had done, the fift day after slue him. Some Authors, (among which are SVETONIVS, and PAVLVS OROSIVS) report, that herein hapned a strange accident: for the Ensigne-bearers coming to giue their oath and obedience to the new Emperour by his commaundement, were not able to remoue the Ensignes with the Eagles from the place where they were set; so as moued by this prodigious spectacle, they all concluded to submit themselues to CLAVDIVS deuotion, and to slay CAMILLVS. And so was CLAVDIVS deliuered from this danger, but not from feare and iealousie, but lined euer after in continuall disquiet and feare; insomuch as being one day in the temple offering his sacrifices (as then was the custome) and by chance finding a sword, which some man peraduenture without any ill intent had brought thither, and there forgotten it, he as a man which knew that he had deserued death, fearing all men, thinking that it was brought thither to effect some treason against him, was in such a perplexitie and feare, as presently in great haste he commanded the Senate to be assembled; and with teares in his eyes, he complained vnto them, publishing himselfe to be a man of most miserable condition and vnhappie, and that he was at no time nor in any place assured, but in danger; and so held himselfe many dayes retyred, and came not abroad.

Furius Camillus rebelled against Claudius.

Furius Camillus slaine by the Legions.

The wickednes of Messalina.

By meanes of these things which were attempted against CLAVDIVS, MESSALINA his wife and her fauourites and confederates, tooke occasion to put many men to death, and to confiscate their goodes, vsing other cruelties to all manner of people, alleadging that they were guilty of the conspiracies aforesayd, or of some of them; and this in a most wicked manner: for many vpon suspicion without any tryall or proofe, were condemned and put to death; and to the contrarie, others which were guiltie, by bribes and gifts were freed: wherein although that for the most part CLAVDIVS was abused by those he most trusted, yet the blame was layd vpon him, and the world hated him for it. For besides the remisse forgetfulnes which he had of all things, and the trust which he reposed in such wicked people, he shewed himselfe cruell and bloudie; for oftentimes he would be present when torments were inflicted, and at the execution of these cruelties: a thing vnworthie of the state & dignitie which he held. He would sometimes also so dainely be in such a rage, as hee seemed to be out of his wits: and so SVETONIVS

NIVS accounteth his furie for follie and madnes; notwithstanding that CORNELIVS TACITVS writeth of him, that he was naturallie inclined to pitie and clemencie: so as in truth it is a strange thing to consider of the contrarietie of this mans minde. After all this (as IOSEPHVS, EVSEBIVS, and SVETONIVS affirme) in the ninth yeare of his raigne, he commaunded all the Iewes to be cast out of *Rome*, whereof Saint Luke maketh mention in the Acts of the Apostles: and PAVLVS OROSIVS writing the same, maketh a doubt whether they were cast out for their discord with the Christians, or whether the Christians were expelled in the like manner: for SVETONIVS saith, that they were cast out for that there was some tumult about the Christian religion. The next yeare following there was a most grieuous famine in *Rome*, and almost generally in all the world; whereof besides other Authors, Saint Luke maketh mention in the Acts of the Apostles.

A generall famine.

CLAVDIVS hauing now raigned nine or tenne yeares, & matters passing there in such manner, as I haue said; yet the state and greatnes of the Romane Empire was not empaired in his dayes (for hereof it seemeth both he and those which gouerned were carefull) but it defended, and in part enlarged it selfe: For besides the pacifying of the Ile of *Bruttanny*, *Mauritania* also in his time rebelling (which is a Prouince in *Africa*, where there raigned Kings, friends and confederates with the people of *Rome*,) he made warres there by his Captaines SVETONIVS PAVLINVS, & GNEVS SIDIVS GETA, as DION witnesseth. Those countries were subdued and diuided into two tributarie Prouinces: the one was called *Mauritania Cæsariensis*, which for the most part is this day the kingdome of *Fez*, but it extended it selfe so farre as *Argiers*, *Tunes*, and *Oran*; and the other *Mauritania Tingitana*, which is much of that which we call *Marocco*, and *Barbaria*, and the coast of *Zale* and *Azamor*, euen vnto *Arzil* and *Tanzar*. At that time the Prouince of *Numidia* was infested by certaine barbarous Africans, which were ouercome by the ordinarie legions. In like manner the Imperiall authoritie was vpheld in the Prouinces of the East. CLAVDIVS placing therin Kings & Tetrarches at his pleasure, as DION recordeth. But besides all this, in all parts (as well as in *Rome*) they indured great vexations and oppressions, and the disorders which his fauorites and libertines committed, and commanded to be committed were very great: of the greatest part whereof his wife was the chiefe instrument, who was so incontinent and dishoneſt, as she was not only a common adultresse, but she also procured and brought many others to be so: and she her selfe would pray, and euen enforce men, and was of such credit with her husband the Emperour, and had such power ouer him, as no man durst make it knowne, or giue him intelligence thereof.

The two Mauritanies made tributarie Prouinces.

Mauritania Cæsariensis, the kingdom of Fez.

Mauritania Tingitana, the kingdome of Marocco.

The dishonestie of this woman mounted to so high a pitch, that iudging (as it seemed) open adulterie to be but a light sinne, she deuised a wickednes neuer heard nor thought of before in such manner as she did it, which was to be married with another, euen as she was to the Emperor; and putting it in effect, CLAVDIVS being gone forth of *Rome* to *Ostia* to doe certaine sacrifices, she married in forme and with the solemnities accustomed, with a Romane, whose name was CAIVS SILIVS; whom they affirme to haue been the faireſt and properest yong man of his time.

Messalina marrieth with Caius Silius *during the life of* Claudius.

The loue which CLAVDIVS bare to MESSALINA was so great, and the power she had ouer him such, as she thought that this might also passe in silence, or that he should dissemble it as he had done many other great abuses. But it now pleased God that she should receiue punishment for al her misdeedes; as he oftentimes permitteth wicked men after some great sinnes, to commit other greater, to the end at once to be punished for all. And it was so, that his great friend and fauorite NARCISSVS, a libertine before named, discouered this infamous act to CLAVDIVS, with a multitude of other villanies committed by her: who awaking in some sort out of his drousie slumber and forgetfulnes, notwithstanding that this action had put him in great feare; yet after that he was well enformed of the truth, he came to *Rome*, sending first before him LVCIVS GETA, who was captaine of the pretorian Cohorts, to confirme them in his seruice; and being arriued, he caused his wife MESSALINA to be apprehended, and many others which were guiltie of this action: and by the diligent industrie of NARCISSVS iustice was done both vpon her and them. And so they were put to death by his direction before that CLAVDIVS commaunded the same, notwithstanding that he had so resolued; He fearing that she with her counterfeit flatterings would so mollifie the heart of CLAVDIVS, as she might obtaine pardon, or that of himselfe he would alter his resolution, whereof he made some shew, as CORNELIVS TACITVS reporteth. It is a marueilous thing to thinke of the neglect and forgetfulnes of this CLAVDIVS: for although they came and told him that MESSALINA

The death of Messalina.

Claudius his monstrous forgetfulnes.

LINA was dead, he neuer spake word, neither asked by whom, nor how she died; neither then nor after that time seemed he to reioyce or to be sorrowfull for it; neither spake word good nor bad. SVETONIVS TRANQVILLVS addeth another thing to this forgetfulnes, which seemeth incredible (but he and others of great authoritiy affirme the same) vvhich is, that the next day after that MESSALINA was put to death, sitting downe at the table to eate, he asked how it chanced that MESSALINA came not to dinner? The like hapned at other times concerning those which he had condemned and commanded to be slaine, that hauing put them to death one day, the next day he vvas so forgetfull, as he hath sent for them and called them to his counsell, and others to come to play with him, as they had vsed to doe.

The Emperor CLAVDIVS remaining a widdower after the death of his wife MESSALINA, by whom he had one son cald first GERMANICVS, & afterward BRITANNICVS, and one daughter whose name was OCTAVIA; hee resolved and gave it out that he would marry no more, for that hee had beene very infortunate in his wives: and therefore now in his old age hee would not try any more hazards; wherein hee spake the truth: for in his youth he had beene twice married, first with EMILIA LEPIDA, who was great grandchild to the Emperor OCTAVIANVS AVGVSTVS; and the second time, with LIVIA MEDVLLINA CAMILLA, of the ancient linage of the CAMILLI: the first wife, before his marriage tooke effect, hee put away; and the second died of an infirmitie the same day which was appointed for their wedding: and afterwards he married with PLAVTINA HERCVLANA, whom, after that he had by her one sonne named DRVSVS (who died a child) hee forsooke, as dishoneſt and an adultresse: and married the fourth time with ELIA PETINA, of the familie of the TVBERONES, from whom, for some causes and discontents he was also divorced, notwithstanding that he had by her one daughter called ANTONIA. All these marriages he had before hee was Emperour; and when hee tooke upon him the Empire, hee was married to MESSALINA, whose death wee now made an end to relate: and although (as I said) that hee remained a widdower, and had protested that he would marry no more, adding thereto that if he did, he gave them leave to kill him: yet afterwards forgetting himselfe (as in former time, of other matters) by the counsell of his libertine and favourite PALANTE, hee lastly married with IVLIA AGRIPPINA, who was exceeding beautifull, being his Neece, and daughter to his brother GERMANICVS, who was the widdow of DOMICIVS NERO ENOBARBVS, by whom she had a sonne named DOMICIVS NERO, as his father. And for that the marriage with his Neece within this degree of consanguinitie was prohibited and detestable among the Romanes, he procured that a law should be made whereby it should be lawfull: and his new wife tooke such order with her old husband and uncle, that within few daies after that she was married, she obtained of him that he should marrie his daughter OCTAVIA, with her sonne DOMICIVS NERO; and that he should adopt him and make him his sonne, preferring him before his owne sonne BRITANNICVS; and that in stead of DOMICIVS NERO he should be called CLAVDIVS NERO, which was performed accordingly. And not content herewith, she procured the death of certaine Romane Ladies, which had beene her rivalls for her marriage with CLAVDIVS (notwithstanding that they were favoured by NARCISSVS and CALIXTVS, his freed men) the better to maintaine her greatnes.

Claudius marries his daughter Octavia to Domicius Nero his sonne in Law.

Having in this time finished that great worke of undermining the mountaines, & making those great Caves and Mines to draw the water out of the lake *Fucinus*, wherein (as I said) thirtie thousand men had wrought eleven yeares; the Emperor CLAVDIVS decreed, that in memorie thereof, there should be in the same Lake a Naval battaile before that the water should bee let out, which did so much resemble a battaile in earnest, as therein were 24 Galleys, which were built there hard by for that purpose (DION writes there were fifty) which is not very unlikely; considering, the number therein, which, as CORNELIVS TACITVS reporteth, were 19000 men; many of which were slaves, or men condemned to death or banishment; the Emperour promising those which should prevaile and vanquish, life and liberty, and so they vvere commanded to fight to the vttermost: and to that purpose the Gallies and men were diuided into equall battailions, and their apparell, ensignes, banners, flagges and streamers were of diuers colours: the one part of them were called Sicilians, and the other Rhodians, as though the warres had been between *Sicilia* and *Rhodes*. To see this spectacle, there came an infinite number of people from all parts of *Italy*, and from out of *Italy*, which couered all the hils and mountaines neere to the sayd Lake, and the bankes thereof. CLAVDIVS with his wife AGRIPPINA, and NERO CLAVDIVS his adopted sonne and Nephew were most richly attired in

in gold, stone and pearle: and so the battaile began, and was maintained betweene them most cruel and bloudie, the poore men endeuoring of either part to haue the victorie, thereby to win life, libertie and honour: and so it was obstinately fought & continued a great part of the day, the one killing and wounding the other; and most miserably, vntill at last the one part ouercame the other; and so was ended that most cruell and horrible sport. Which being ended, presently the next day CLAVDIVS commaunded the passage of the Lake to be opened: and the water beginning to issue out, it brake foorth with so great force and vehemencie, as it seemed that the earth would haue sunk; & it was so violent, as it did much harme in all the borders thereabout; and in like manner great was the feare and amazement of CLAVDIVS and his wife AGRIPPINA, who were there by, notwithstanding that they were vpon sure ground & in safetie. This was the end of this costly vanitie.

A wonderfull pastime, but cruell.

A new Iland in the Sea.

These things being past in such sort as we haue written, AGRIPPINA seeing her selfe much made of, & beloued by the Emperour CLAVDIVS, being growne prowd of the power and fauour wherein she saw her selfe (which are two things which few men can enioy and vse moderately) she became so proud, hauty & ambitious (following the foorsteps of MESSALINA) as she would commaund alone and beare all the sway in euery thing: whereupon she presently grew to be hated and enuied by some of CLAVDIVS his fauourites, yea and by himselfe; so as he began to be sorrie that euer he married her, or that euer he adopted his sonne in law NERO. Which AGRIPPINA soone discouered, as well for that he began to make much of his yong son BRITANNICVS, as for words which he spake to the same effect: for vpon a day he said, That it was true he had euer been infortunate in his wiues; but none of them had escaped vnpunished: with other speeches to the same effect. Whereat AGRIPPINA grew into such feare and suspicion, as to assure her owne life, and the succession to her sonne, she determined to procure her husbands death by poyson, and there wanted no ministers nor meanes to accomplish the same. For although that Historiographers agree not herein, yet they all concurre that poyson was giuen him, such as killed him: & the most part write, that it was in a Mushrump, which was a meate he vsed to eat with great appetite.

The Emperour Claudius poysoned by his wife Agrippina.

It was the iust iudgement of God that CLAVDIVS should die by eating: for he was so gluttonous and insatiable in eating and drinking (among his other vices) as hee thought no time nor place sufficient thereto, and did euer eate so immoderately, that most cómonly surfetting, he vsed vomits to discharge his stomacke, putting a feather into his throate, a remedy which some gluttonous men doe vse, eating vpon assurance thereof, and carrying themselues more filthily, then if they fell sicke. In which feather some authors affirme that the poyson was giuen him. He died in the sixt & fiftith yeer after the birth of CHRIST our Sauiour, in the 14. yeere of his raigne, and the 74. of his age, the 13. day of October about the breake of day, and his wife AGRIPPINA concealed his death the most part of that day: and pretending that he mended, she caused certaine vowes to be made for his health, vntill she had confirmed the Empire to her sonne NERO, according to his adoption, which (seeing they then thought CLAVDIVS to be liuing) was no hard matter to be effected.

In the time of this Emperour CLAVDIVS the Christian faith was preached, and did much preuaile in the world, the Apostle S. PETER then preaching in *Rome* from the beginning of his raigne, although with great contradiction and difficultie. There happened also in his time a thing which all authors affirme, and chiefly EVSEBIVS, to be very straunge and wonderfull; which was, that betweene the Ile *Thera* and *Therasia* in the *Egean* Sea, there was discouered a

THE LIFE AND ACTS OF THE EMPEROVR NERO, ONLY OF THAT NAME, AND SIXT ROMAN EMPEROVR.

THE ARGVMENT.



Laudius *being dead and his death published, the Senate and people of Rome sware fealtie to* Nero: *who by the practises and cunning of his mother* Agrippina, *was made Emperour. This man for the first fiue yeeres carried himselfe so well, as all men sayd that a God was sent from heauen to gouerne Rome, notwithstanding that his mother vsed much crueltie, who ruled the Empire a long time.* Nero *afterwards growing in yeeres, and beginning to bee disobedient to his mother, grew also in vices, and began to walke abroad by night alone, and to hurt such as hee met, whereby he was in some danger, and escaped not vnwounded. In his youth he dearely loued an enfranchised woman called* Aeta, *and loued* Poppea Sabina, *wife to his great friend* Otho, *whom in the end he obtained, and enioyed. And for that his mother shewed her selfe very contrarie to his humors, she became odious to her sonne: but to recouer his former fauour againe, shee made great semblance to bee in loue with him; so as it was thought that he had the vse of her bodie: but she growing euery day more odious, in the end (supposing certaine apparant signes of treason) he caused her to be slaine. After her death, he wholly let slip the reines to all shame and licentiousnes, by which example the people of Rome were also corrupted, and openly practiced the like dissonestie. He ouercame the* Parthians, *and subdued the* Britaines: *after which victories, giuing his minde to crueltie, amongst many others, he put his master* Seneca *to death, hauing (besides his wife* Octauia) *married* Poppea Sabina, *which he before held for his wife: in the end he made the one to be slaine, and the other he killed himselfe. He caused a young youth named* Sporus *to be gelded, and publikly married him: And amongst his other infamous practices, in the end he set Rome on fire, and stood with great pleasure to behold it burne. He built so huge a Palace, as it contained a very great part of the citie of Rome, and tooke vpon him to alter the name of the citie, and called it Neroniana. He so cruelly persecuted the Christians, that besides S. Peter and S. Paul, he put an infinite number of others to death. Vnder this Emperour, began the warres against the Iewes. Finally growing intolerable, and odious to God & man, first he vnderstood of the rebellion of many nations: & perceiuing the enemie to draw neere, and the sentence of the* Senate *pronounced against him to be apprehended, he was in such feare, that flying secretly from Rome, he was constrained miserably to kill himselfe. He liued 32. yeeres, and was Emperour 14: whose death was so gratefull to his country, to Rome, and to the whole world, as they clad themselues in ioyfull garments in steed of mourning: and in him ended the line of the Cæsars.*



SVch a successor had the Emperour Claudivs, as hee deserued and made choise of, and this was Nero, the most famous man for crueltie that euer was: for although that otherwise he he was very wicked, yet in crueltie he so exceeded all measure, as you shall neuer heare any man pronounce Nero, but you shall also heare an addition thereto of Cruell; notwithstanding that he had the most wise and vertuous Schoolmaster of his time, which was Seneca, of whom in his youth he learned the liberall Sciences, wanting no capacitie; whose counsell & precepts were of force, for a time, to suppresse his bad inclination, and were the occasion that in the beginning of his raigne, he performed many parts of a good Prince, in such sort as Traiane (as many write of him) afterwards said, that for the first fiue yeeres, Nero was peereleesse. But after that time, setting all shame aside, occasions vvith

Nero in his first fiue yeeres was a good Emperour.

with his power and libertie encreasing, he did things which did so much staine and blemish his good deeds past, as there remained no signe or spark of any goodnes in him. Yet there wanted not some authors, who in part to excuse his actions affirme, that of enuie and malice writers made his vices and faults seeme so odious, among which was Iosephvs in his booke of Antiquities; after that he himselfe had laid open many of his cruelties and parricides. I will write what I shall finde written by most approued authors, & in the order and progresse of things and time will follow Cornelivs Tacitvs, who in my opinion excelleth the rest. Claudivs being dead, through the treason of his wife Agrippina, as wee haue mentioned, after that she had by her authoritie and cunning gotten the peoples good will, and taken away all occasions that might hinder her sonne in attaining to the Empire, she published his death, which vntill then she had commaunded to be concealed. At which time Nero came foorth of the Imperiall Palace, accompanied with Byrrvs the Prefect of the Pretorian Cohorts, who was very priuate with Agrippina, and also had the commaund of that Cohort which had the ordinarie guard of the Palace; and proclaiming him Emperour, they carried him to the Campe, where by all the Cohorts, he was ioyfully receiued: and hauing made a speech, and promising great donatiues to the souldiers, he was by them presently carried backe to the Senat, where all the Senators, conforming themselues to the will of the men of warre, obeyed and receiued him for Emperour with the ordinarie and accustomed solemnities, giuing him names and titles of great maiestie: among which, he refused the name of *Pater patriæ*, because he was of opinion that that title agreed not with his yong yeeres, being then but seuenteene yeeres old. And so Nero obtained the Empire, which he ought not to haue had; and there wanted not some which murmured, that an adopted son should be preferred before a legitimate and naturall son, and would haue had Germanicvs called also Britannicvs, and not him: But these men were not of power to withstand him: for as he was obeied in *Rome*, so was he in like manner in all the prouinces of the Empire. He then presently commanded the obsequies of Claudivs to be solemnized, (as the custome was) with great pompe; and according to the superstitions of that time, they canonized him among the gods.

Burrus the Prefect of the Pretorian Cohorts.

Nero was Emperour at seuenteene yeeres of age.

Great was the ioy wherewith Nero began his raigne, aswell for the discontentment of the gouernment past, as for that change and innouations are euer pleasing, and desire commonly bringeth good hopes, which were confirmed by his outward shew and apparances in the beginning. First he promised to gouerne according to the rules and institutions of Avgvstvs Cæsar, and began both in word and deede to shew himselfe, or (to say better) to faine himselfe, to be liberall, pitifull, iust, milde, and tractable; doing fauours, and moderating the impositions and tributes of the prouinces, diuiding amongst the people of *Rome*, and the pretorian souldiers, a huge sum of money and corne, bestowing other donatiues vpon them: and to the Senators which were poore, he assigned pensions out of his eschequer; vsing all men with such humanitie and courtesie, as it seemed there was no reason to feare any thing of that which afterwards ensued. He likewise shewed great clemencie & pitie, in the execution of iustice and punishments; so as one day, a warrant being brought to him to signe, for the putting of one to death; he making shew to be verie sorrie for it, said, I would to God that I could not write: which words as though they had proceeded from a pittifull inclination; his maister Seneca doth highly praise and extol. He entertained in like manner all men louingly and friendly, and in his disports and exercises, he permitted any to be present: so as it seemed that God had sent them such a prince as they desired. And aboue all in the beginning of his raigne, he honored & bare great respect to his mother, and gaue her greater power and command in the gouernment, then indeede he ought or was fit: for the truth is, she was a cruell woman, proude and hautie: who through the counsell of Palante (one of Claudivs enfranchised men before named) without the consent of Nero, she caused Ivnivs Silanvs Proconsul in *Asia*, to be slaine, I for the hatred she bare him; the like she did by Narcissvs another famous Libertine, whom she also greatly hated. And her crueltie had extended further, but that Seneca and the Prefect Byrrvs, and another eminent man whose name was Afranivs (by whom Nero in the beginning of his raigne was much ruled) did oppose & crosse Agrippina in her wicked practices, as farre as in them lay: but she had such authoritie in all causes, and ouer them which had the managing thereof, as it could hardly be done, as long as she continued in good grace with her sonne.

Tee countersein versions of Nero.

In his second booke of clemencie.

Agrippina caused Silanus and Narcissus to be slaine throughout the course of all Palestine & Lacrime.

The state standing in these tearms, newes came to *Rome*, that Vologesvs King of the Parthians leuied forces to make war against the Empire, practising to make his brother King of *Armenia*,

Warres with the King of the Parthians.

Armenia, in which prouince from the time of AVGVSTVS CÆSAR, the Romans had authoritie to place Kings at their pleasure: so as vpon this occasion the warres began in the second yeere of the raigne of the Emperor NERO; who sent VINIDIVS with new legions thither, beside the ordinarie legions which were in *Asia*, vnder the commaund of DOMICIVS CORBVLVS. But the war as then continued but a while; for a peace was concluded, VOLOGESVS desisting from his attempts & giuing certaine principall men in pledge for the keeping thereof, which we commonly cal hostages. About this time began NERO to shew himselfe somwhat alienated from his mother, and desirous to abate her great power and authoritie, beginning to shew her lesse obedience then formerly he had done: for he then fell in loue with a base enfranchised woman (but she was very faire) whose name was ACTA; notwithstanding that his wife OCTAVIA was verie faire and a vertuous ladie. And herein to haue his will, against the will and liking of his mother (who sought to crosse him in his loue, to the end that he should not be free from her power) he began to take into his fauor OTHO a Noble man, of whose family there had bin Consuls, and CLAVDIVS PHRENICIVS, the sonne of one of the most powerfull enfranchised men in *Rome*; and these wrought means for him to obtaine his beloued ACTA, which opened a passage to many other accidents which followed, whereby he began to be disobedient to his mother, who had had so great power ouer him and all others. And he commaunded the enfranchised PALANTE, (who was a great fauorite of hers) to be deposed from all gouernment in the Emperiall estate.

Peace with the Parthians.

Otho and Claudius Phenicius, Nero his fauourites.

AGRIPPINA seeing this, she attempted by al meanes possible, to recouer the grace which she had lost with her son: sometimes by giuing him counsell; at other times by entreaties and flatteries, accompanied with threatnings and feares: among which one was to do great honor, and to bestow many fauours vpon BRITANNICVS, who was the Emperor CLAVDIVS his son, and then about 14. yeeres old: imagining that through feare and suspicion of this man, NERO would returne to her obedience: but his wicked minde freed him not from that danger, by those meanes which she conceiued, for he deliuered himselfe thereof, by giuing him poison; whereof the poore BRITANNICVS died. Whereat AGRIPPINA was much amazed: but being either vnable or vnwilling to suppresse her pride, she perseuerd in this controuersie with her son, and presumed to contend with him (although vpon vnequall tearmes). Whereupon NERO setting all shame and respect apart, commaunded her guard of Germanes to be taken from her, and she to be lodged out of the palace, doing her other open disgraces, forbidding certaine persons to haue recourse vnto her, or to visit her: and he himselfe went very seldome to see her, and that very coldly, and with little respect. And being thus out of fauour (as few keepe true friendship with such as are dejected and in disgrace) the most of her friends forsook her: and one, a great Matrone whose name was IVLIA SILLANA, vpon a priuate grudge (producing false witnesses) wrongfully accused her to haue conspir'd against her son the Emperor, and that she practiced to haue made RVBELLIVS PLAVTVS, Emperor; who by his mother descended from the Emperor AVGVSTVS CÆSAR. And the matter was so handled, that AGRIPPINA was in some danger, vntill the accusation was found to be forged and the witnesses suborned, and this IVLIA the twister of this web, escaped with light punishment which was but banishment. This gaue encouragement to a wicked fellow called PETVS, to accuse PALANTE also falsely (a libertine many times before named) and BVRRVS the Prefect, who were seruants and fauorites to AGRIPPINA, alledging that they practised to depose NERO, and to make CORNELIVS SILLA Emperor: but this also was discouered to be forged and false, and for this offence PETVS and his false witnesses were only banished. All which passed in the third yeere of NERO his raigne, Saint PAVL the Apostle being then prisoner in *Rome*, who alittle before was sent thither by the commaundement of FESTVS, gouernour of *Iudea*, who succeeded FELIX aforenamed: In which imprisonment (although he went abroad at libertie) he was detained two yeeres.

The death of Britannicus.

Open contention betweene Nero and his mother Agrippina.

As the Emperor NERO grew in yeeres, so began he to waxe more vaine and vicious, and to discouer his bad inclination: for by night he would goe disguised vp and downe the streetes in *Rome*, and would hurt and abuse such as he met, comming out of their houses; wherein he committed many notable insolencies, and offended many: and he himselfe being vpon a time vnknowne, was in danger to haue been slaine, being sore wounded. And as the vices and defects of Princes, although that in their absence thy are condemned and men murmur at them; yet in their presence they are most commonly excused, and sometimes applauded: So NERO his fauourites did not seeke to withdraw him from this dangerous vice and insolencie: but they aduised him to goe no more abroade without a guard; whereby they were the occasion of farre greater riots and disorders; then before: And some dissolute yong men (faining themselues to be the Emperor) tooke occasion to doe the like, so as there were infinite violences committed by him and them, by meanes whereof there was no small feare and all & tumult in the cittie, although that in the rest, vntill then there was indifferent good order in all things; and iustice was administred orderly in *Rome* and in the prouinces; and the people did dissemble or had patience with the lightnes & insolencies of NERO, by reason of the distribution of money and other things, which he made generally to all; and for certaine taxes and impositions which he commaunded to be abolished.

The fift yeere of his raigne being come, which as it seemed would haue prooued prosperous and peaceable both in particular and generall; VOLOGESVS King of the Parthians began anew to arme against the Empire, for the same reason and cause concerning the kingdome of *Armenia* before spoken of. And CORBVLVS, who was Proconsul in *Asia*, sent to intreate the Emperor that the ordinarie armie which he had, might be reinforced and increased, for that by reason of the long peace, his legions were growne more slothfull & lesse seruiceable then was needfull for so dangerous a warre; and were also diminished, some by death, and many souldiers were waxen old: for which NERO tooke order, that new companies should be leuied, and sent vnto him, and with them one of the legions of *Germanie*, which were euer held for the best and most experienced, as those which lay on the frontiers against the most fierce and valiant enemies. And so began the warres with the Parthians, wherein after some great encounters, and skirmishes which passed, fortune and victorie being variable, and winter being come, CORBVLVS sent a captaine whose name was PACTIVS ORPHITVS, who with a good part of the armie had the guarde of certaine straights and passages, whereby the enemie might enter the countrie, whom he cõmaunded that in any case he should not giue them battaile: and he lodged himselfe in the Plaines with the rest of the armie. But ORPHITVS, quite contrarie to that which was commaunded him, by the enemies prouocation ioyned battaile with them, and was therein ouercome with great losse to the Romanes: for which, CORNELIVS was exceeding sorrowfull, and it was no lesse grieued at in *Rome*. Whereupon CORBVLVS, reinforcing his legions, tooke the field before the ordinarie time, & very resolutely followed that warre: wherein passed many things which CORNELIVS TACITVS reciteth, and I for breuitie omit, to returne to NERO, of whom from henceforth there is no good to be spoken. I say then that while as his captaines made warre against the Parthians, he gaue himselfe ouer to sensualitie without contradiction in *Rome*, falling in loue with the wife of his great fauorite OTHO, who in time came to be Emperor, called POPPÆA SABINA, and by some POPPEIA, a most beautifull woman & of high parentage, endowed with many graces & good parts; but dishonest and incontinent; and to the end that NERO without any obstacle might haue her wholly to himselfe, giuing to her husband OTHO this reward in requitall of all his good seruices, he sent him into *Spaine* to be gouernor of *Lusitania* now called *Portugall*, and he freely gaue himselfe ouer vnto this POPPÆA, forgetting and abhorring his owne wife OCTAVIA, and his other aboue named friend, ACTA a Libertine whom he had much loued. Wherewith this POPPÆA became so proude, that she taking scorne to be his friend, very instantly entreated and desired the Emperor, that diuorcing himselfe from OCTAVIA, he should marrie her: and seeing that AGRIPPINA NERO's mother, who supported and defended OCTAVIA, was a great let hereto, she endeuoured all she might; to encrease the discord begun betweene the mother and the sonne. Against which, AGRIPPINA vsed all the meanes that she possibly could deuise to recouer the good will of her sonne, as to procure him to commit most detestable incest with her owne selfe, from which he was withdrawne by the meanes of SENECA, as CORNELIVS TACITVS reporteth: yet SVETONIVS saith, that the onely feare of his mothers power and presumptuous boldnes withheld him from it, although other authors doe not wholy cleere him from this sinne. Howsoeuer it was, by POPPÆAS great practices and his owne wickednes, he so much abhorred his mother, as he determined to kill her: but as it was a matter most odious, so he would haue it done couertly: and first he attempted & practised it with poison thrise: which taking no effect and perceiuing that she was defended by Antidotes and preseruatiues; he prouided a bedchamber for her with such an arched roofe, as being easily vnioynted, the frame might fall in peeces in the night vpon her being asleep. When this deuise could not be kept close, but was reuealed by some priuie thereunto; she then deuised a ship so artificially made as it should sodenly split in sunder, that either by the wracke or the fall of the fore-deck

Warres with the Parthians.

Poppea Sabina Nero but friend.

she might perish: This was contriued by the direction and counsell of one of his sea captaines whose name was NICETVS: and the plot was laid that shee should bee drowned in the sea on the coast of *Calabria*: whither NERO (fayning a reconciliation with her) caused her to goe; and vnder color to doe certaine sacrifices, he himselfe went thither also. But this plot taking no effect, wherein certaine of her company were drowned, and she with great daunger escaping, he seeing that secret practices availed not, he resolued to put her to death openly: and to that end (through the counsell of the said NICETVS) he caused it to be bruted abroade that one by whom she had sent him word of the shipwracke and daunger wherein she had been at sea, would haue killed him; & for this purpose there was a poiniard let fall at his feete, he which brought it fayning that by his mothers commaundement he came to haue slaine him. Vnder this false pretext onely, he commaunded certaine Tribunes, of which this NICETVS was chiefe, to kill her; who being come where AGRIPPINA was, she presently vnderstoode the cause of their comming: and seeing them vnsheath their swords, authors write, that shewing them her belly, she said, Strike me here first; for this part hath deserued it, seeing it conceiued and brought forth such a monster as NERO: and so she died soone of the many wounds which were giuen her. And NERO who was in a place there by, came to see his dead mother, and stood beholding her naked body as if it had been the body of a beast; praising and dispraising her parts and members. And thus did the wicked sonne murther his wicked mother, who cannot be excused, but that she for her wickednes deserued the death which she died: And it cannot be denied, but that herein NERO shewed most abominable crueltie; for nature doth abhor that a sonne should punish & be executioner to his owne mother, moued thereto by his owne wicked & euill disposition.

Nicetus tooke vpon him the charge to kill Agrippina.

Nero put his mother to death by the hand of Anicetus.

The horrible crueltie of the sonne, and diuelish ambition of the mother.

Doubtlesse, it is a strange thing to thinke of the loue vvhich this woman bare to her sonne: for it is written of her, that before he vvas Emperour, it was foretold her by an Astrologer, that he should be Emperour, and that he should kill his owne mother: whereto she answered; Let him haue the Empire, and then kill her and spare not. So great was her pride and ambition, that to the end she might be mother to the Emperour, she would put it in hazard to be slaine by her owne sonne: and so both the one and the other were accomplished. Notwithstanding that the Souldiers, Senate and people, applauded him for this foule and odious Matricide, yet was he euer after terrified with the sting of Conscience for so foule a fact; and as he often confessed, was haunted with the apparition of his Mothers Ghost, and tormented by the Furies. To this of his Mother, he added the murther of DOMITIA, his Aunt by the fathers side: who being an aged vvoman, and lying sicke of a costiuenesse, comming to visit her, and she vsing louing speeches vnto him; he commanded the Physicians to plie her still with stronger purgatiues: so he before she was fully dead, seized vpon her goods, and suppreſt her last will, that he might enioy the whole.

The Emperour NERO having performed so great an exploit as the murdering of his mother (so much are Princes blinded with flattery & adulation, that notwithstanding all the world did see and understand the matter, and how all had passed; yet most men in his presence approued and applauded the same: and there were many vowes and sacrifices made to their gods, for that he had escaped such a treason, and for the discovery thereof, making him beleeve that they held it for truth) cloaking his wickednes under this colour, he cam to *Rome*: where seeing himselfe at liberty, and free from the controulement of his mother (whose authority was ever great) he began to abandon all shame, giving the reins to his beastly appetite, and to all kinde of filthinesse and most abominable luxurie; which was such and so horrible, that, to keep such honest *decorum* in our History as is requisite, and not to offend the ears of chaste Readers, I purpose to passe it over in silence. Wherein he spending great part of the time, all the rest he employed in lascivious Comedies and other libidinous exercises, and oftentimes in banquets and feasting, which lasted all the day and the night also. He was prodigall in all things, especially in his rich and sumptuous attire. The ornaments of his Palace, and his expenses and prodigalities were such, as the like had never been seen. In Comedies and publike Shewes (most of which were most vile and dishonest) hee acted a Part in Person; and would that the Noble young men of *Rome*, and some of the principall yong Ladies, should be present to hear and see the same. And, above all, he was so inclined to Musick, and so much affected it, as, besides that hee was skilfull in that Art, he gloried so much in singing, as many times he refused to eat for hurting his voice; and to cleer it and make it better, he purged himselfe, and used other remedies and medicines. Some write of him, that to that effect he wore a plaister or sheet of lead upon his breast.

Princes are euer abused by flatterers.

Finally,

Finally, NERO forgetting the dignitie and maiesty of his estate, gaue himselfe ouer to base and vile exercises and vices, the which for that they were so filthy, are not at all described, and which afterwards brought him to the sinke of all sinne and cruelty, as we will declare. And as the Subiects, for the most part, do imitate the fashions and behauiour of their Princes & Lords; so presently in *Rome* and out of it, they began to practise and follow their vices and follies, wherein the Emperour spent his time; and the Lawes, good customes, Arts and Sciences began to be corrupted and forgotten. Wherefore, he made himselfe an enemy, and odious to all good men, although then there were but few, as if it often happeneth.

While-as hee busied himselfe in these base actions, the warres which his Generall CORBVLVS beganne with the Parthians, about the Title of the Kingdome of *Armenia*, never ceased. In which, after sundry exploits of war, the Romans prevailing, the Parthians were wholly driven out of the Province of *Armenia*: and NERO nominated and sent thither for King thereof (as a Subiect to the Empire) TIGRANES, who was nephew to ARCHELAVS sometime King of *Cappadocia*, having a long time continued in *Rome* in base and poor estate. This man was by some of the countrey received and entertained with good approbation; and others, which held for the King of *Parthia*, repined thereat, as commonly it useth to happen in such cases. Wherefore there was given unto him an ordinary guard of foot and horsemen, and some of the Roman Cohorts to aid him to defend that Kingdome. CORBVLVS beeing victorious came with his legions into *Syria*: which hapned in the seventh yeer of the Raign of NERO. About this time there was so great an Earthquake in many parts of the world, as many great Buildings fell; and the City of *Laodicea* was therewith wholly ruined and laid waste.

Warre with the Parthians.

Within fewe daies after, the Ile of *England* and *Scotland*, then called *Britannie*, rebelled against the Roman Empire, being unable to endure the insolencies and oppressions of the Roman Legions lying there in garrison, PAVLINVS SVETONIVS being their Generall: for, from the diseases and vices of the Head, *Rome*, did flowe disorder and corruption through all the Provinces which were members thereof. The cause of the insurrection in this Iland proceeded from hence: PAVLINVS being desirous to win honour, and envying the fame which CORBVLVS had gotten in the East, who was daily victorious in the war against the Parthians, hee wanting neither courage nor discretion to doo the like, but matter and occasion; and seeing, that in the Ile of *Britannie* there was neither time nor hope for his purpose, leaving such troops and garrisons there as hee thought sufficient, he went from thence with a great Fleet to make warre in an Iland neer to *England*, then called *Mona*, and now *Man*, which was inhabited by a fierce Nation. And notwithstanding that all succeeded well in that journey, yet, during his imploiment there, the Britains, chusing among themselves a Captain, a man of great account and reputation, called PHRASVRATVS or PRASVTAGVS, with the Title of a King, as they ordinarily had in that Iland, although it were subiect; they rebelled for their liberty, killing all the Roman souldiers they could finde, who had shut themselves up in a Temple: and, afterwards overthrowing a Legion which came to their aid, they slue the greatest part thereof, and compelled PETVS, who had the command in the absence of PAVLINVS SVETONIVS, to flee to their Camp: where they presently besieged him, and so were Masters of the Field. CALPVS (who, for the Emperour, was then Governer of the Iland) seeing himself unable to defend the same, with the greatest speed that possibly he could fled into *France*, and abandoned the Iland. And the Britains took such order, and used such expedition in this warre against the Romans and their Adherents, as within fewe daies in diverse places there were slain 70000 men. PAVLINVS, being advertised of this great disaster, having effected that which hee had attempted of his own authority, with all speed possible returned into the Iland with his troops; where he assembled together those which had continued constant in the Emperor's service; and the remainder of the Roman souldiers which were left; and, reprehending some, and encouraging others, without any longer delay hee went to seek his enemies, and their Captain PRASVTAGVS; who were now growne so hardy, as they cam to seek him; and did so assure themselves of the victory, as they brought their wives in Wagons and Cars, to see the battell which they meant to fight. Which, PAVLINVS SVETONIVS refused not; but, like an expert captain, took such advantage of the ground, and marshalled his men in such sort, and in the battell fought so valiantly, as hee obtained the victory; yet was it one of the most fierce battels, and fought with the greatest obstinacy, that ever was seen: for, of the Conquerers there died a great number; but of the conquered (as CORNELIVS TACITVS reports) there were slain fewe lesse than foureſcore thousand men. But GILDAS, an antient Historian born in the

Rebellion in Britanny.

The Ile of Man.

The Romans cut in peeces by the Britains.

A great battell.

same Iland, sets down a far lesse number; who saith, that there were slain but thirty thousand. With this great victory, and with the new supply which NERO sent, the Romans prevailed in that Ile; so as from thenceforth it remained in peace.

While these things were in action, NERO daily increased in his vices and wickednes: and besides the above-named he began to put in practice many new cruelties, commanding many to be slain upon light occasions, and some without any; notwithstanding that his School-master SENECA, and BVRRVS the Prefect of the Pretorian Cohorts, did hinder and mitigate the same all they might. But in the ninth yeer of his Raign BVRRVS died; and SENECA, being brought into suspicion with NERO (besides that vertue is ever hatefull to the wicked) began to withdraw himself from intermeddling with the affairs of the government: and as the Physician leaveth to apply medicines to the Patient, of whose recovery there is no hope; so did he forbear to converse with NERO, or give him any counsell, faining his old age and want of health to be the cause thereof. And in like manner (as saith CORNELIVS TACITVS) others, which had any spark of antient Romans in them, withdrew themselves; being unable to endure the sight of what passed, and NERO committed. At this time NERO commanded PVBLIVS SYLLA to be slain in *France*, who was one of the most famous men of his time; and another whose name was RABELLIVS PLAVTVS, a worthy and eminent man; in whom was found no other fault, or cause wherefore he should be slain, but that hee was vertuous, and therefore beloved of all men: and, being such, upon a time when NERO was so sick as it was thought he would have died, the people of *Rome* fixt their eies upon this man, naming him for NERO's Successor. Vpon which occasion, NERO banished him from *Rome*, and then resolved to release him from banishment by causing him to be slain. And after this maner he slue in those daies a great number of other Romans, which these Authors doo name, and I leave out as a matter odious; putting them to death through cruelty and envy, without any other cause.

A little after this, growing impudent through his customarie sinning, he divorced himselfe from his wife OCTAVIA; and not content to put her away, he took another mans wife, & presently married POPPEA, whom (as we said) he held for his friend, having first taken her from OTHO who was her husband: and not contented to put away his good and vertuous wife, he caused her to be falsely accused of adulterie, having plotted with NICETVS, his Sea-captain (who murdered his mother AGRIPPINA, who as it should seeme was a man fit for such services) that he should confesse himselfe to be the man which had committed adulterie with her. And notwithstading that this was plainely discovered to be a fiction, he for a colour banished NICETVS, and OCTAVIA was also banished, and afterwards slaine by his commaundement: so as to the innocent was given an vniust punishment, and to the traitor a fained correction. At that time he also commaunded the famous Libertine PALANTE to be slaine, for the desire he had to his estate: for in the time of NERO it was more daungerous to be rich, then to commit offences; and many were slaine because they were rich, and few were punished for their euill deeds.

Nero put away his wife, and maried another mans.

NERO committing these and many other such like enormities; VOLOGESVS King of *Parthia*, taking it in scorn that his Brother TYRIDATES should be dispossest of the Kingdom of *Armenia*, and that it should by the Romans be given to TIGRANES, beganne to levie his Forces; and, determining to renew the warre, he sent his Brother to recover that Kingdome; the which he soon effected, and seized upon many countries and parts thereof. Against whom, CORBVLVS, (who was Lieutenant in the East, and had made the last warre) with all expedition sent two Legions for a supply to King TIGRANES: and, the warre beginning very hotly on either side, the Emperour, at the earnest sute of CORBVLVS, sent new Troops to reinforce the Armie against the Parthians, and CESONIVS PETVS for their Leader; who, with the greatest speed he could, with many companies and great preparation for the warres, departed *Italie*; and, following his journey, came where CORBVLVS attended his coming: who dividing his Troops with CORBVLVS, each of them by himself followed the warre apart. In processe whereof, CORBVLVS governed so valiantly and with such discretion, as he not onely defended the limits of the Empire in that part which fell to his lot, but passed the River *Euphrates*, and surprized some houlds in his enemies Country. And SESONIVS PETVS with lesse judgement or experience, but more vain-glory, promising great matters of himself, began the warre. In the beginning whereof, with appearance of good successe, he entred *Armenia*; and, extending his power farther then he ought to have done, passed the Mountain *Tau-*

New war with the Parthians.

rus, taking some townes without consideration whether he were able to hold the same or no; and sent of his troupes into diuers places with a desire to get and to doe more then he was able to accomplish, or was fit to be done: So that (as CORNELIVS TACITVS writeth) he gouerned himselfe so ill, that when as VOLOGESVS came against him, there fell so many disgraces vpon him, and he so vnadui sedly encamped himselfe, as he was besieged by VOLOGESVS in his camp; in such sort as being vnable to stay for the succours which came from CORBVLVS vnto him, wanting both courage and discretion to defend himselfe, hee came to a shamefull and dishonorable composition for the Romane reputation, with the King of Parthia: which was, That the King giuing him leaue to depart out of the countrie with his armie, he should abandon the prouince of *Armenia*, & deliuer vp all such holds as he had taken: all which was performed accordingly, and he very shamefully went out of *Armenia*, in great disgrace, and with no small losse of his Armie. The Emperor being aduertised hereof, sent for him to come to *Rome*, and to leaue his legions with CORBVLVS: and when hee was come, he inflicted no other punishment, but in a word or two called him dastard and coward; adding, that he would speedily pardon him, least the feare of punishment should kill him.

Peace with the Parthians.

CORBVLVS remaining Generall alone (notwithstanding that the Parthians were growne proud by reason of their late victorie) prosecuted the warre in such manner, as they motioned treaties of peace, and sent Ambassadors to *Rome*, where after sundrie Embassies and some truce taken, in the end a peace was concluded, profitable to the Parthians, although in shew and ceremonies honorable to the Romanes: which was, That TYRIDATES should remaine in possession of *Armenia*, but should giue ouer the title and royall ensignes, vntill he had been at *Rome*, and there personally receiue the same at the hands of the Emperor NERO. To confirme this agreement, he came into the Romanes campe, and in presence of all the armie, humbled, and prostrated himselfe vpon the earth before NERO his image, and taking the crowne from his head, he set it at NEROES feete: and afterwards being solemnly entertained and feasted, appointing a time for his comming to *Rome*, he left a daughter which he had, for assurance thereof; and so departed to visit his brothers, VOLOGESVS King of the Parthians, and PACORVS King of the *Medes*, and to prepare all things necessarie for his iourney. Which although it were not so soone performed as it was appointed, and that there passed some things in the meane season, as we will presently specifie, yet to the end that we leaue not this matter vnperfect, it shall be fit (although somewhat afore the time) to speak of TYRIDATES his comming to *Rome*, for it was a solemne matter and worthy to be remembred: which was thus.

Tyridates crowned in Rome by the Emperour Nero, with great solemnity.

As NERO was a man desirous of fame and vaine glory, so by Letters and great promises he inuited TYRIDATES to come to *Rome*; which he performed, being greatly accompanied, and was most honorably entertained: NERO attended his comming with sumptuous prouision made by the Senate and people, set vpon a high throne, with all the shew of maiestie and greatnes that could be deuised; at one end whereof, were all the Pretorian Cohorts and men of warre, armed with faire and rich armor. TYRIDATES comming to the place where the Emperour NERO was, being alighted from his horse, he mounted vp the staires to the scaffold where he sate, and comming neere him, fell at his feet; but NERO taking him by the right hand, raised him, and tooke from his head an ornament which he ware, and did put thereon a diadem or crown of a King, vsing herein other stately ceremonies. TYRIDATES being crowned with this solemnitie, after certaine feasts which were made in *Rome*, having remained there some dayes, departed towards his countrie, carrying with him, an incredible masse of money, which the Emperour gaue him for his Iourney. A peace with the Parthians being confirmed in this manner, NERO gaue himselfe more to his old vices then he did before, and to doe the same more freely, and to be at more liberty and farther off from the authority of the Senate, he departed from *Rome*, with the most solemne and magnificent court and attendance that euer was seene; although the greatest number were conformable to his conditions. The report of this iourney was, that he went into *Gracia*, to cut the necke of a land in *Achaia*, which is a narrow passage betweene the *Egean* and *Ionian* Seas, which makes *Peloponesus*, now called *Morea* to be as it were an Iland. And in his iourney, in *Naples* and in other parts, without shame, he shewed himselfe on the Theaters and Stages, and acted a part in Comedies, as one of the Actors or Players, and sung Tragedies and Fables, and wanne many prises and crownes, which were rewards giuen in those controuersies. Being come into *Gracia*, in this great action for which he came, he did no more but appoint a day to begin his vvork: and hauing made a speech to his people, he tooke a toole in his hand vvherewith he began to digge the earth, and making

Nero his iourney into Gracia.

this

this beginning, he suddenly (no man knowing any cause) left off what hee had begun, without order for doing any more; and presently returned to *Rome*. Wherein he entred in triumph, as if he had wonne some great battell, demanding it for the victory above-written: wherein hee came mounted upon the same chariot wherein OCTAVIVS AVGVSTVS had triumphed, compassed about with Musicians and Plaiers, such as represented fables and tragedies upon stages, being brought from all parts of the world for that purpose. And within fewe daies after this, he pretended another journey into the Kingdome of *Egypt*; and, all things beeing in a readinesse for that purpose, through a certain divination he gave over his journey. NERO, beeing come to the beginning of the eleventh yeer of his Raign, became so impudent, giving himself wholly over to sensuality, that he did any thing without blushing or changing colour, and gave leave to an infinit number of others to doo the like: and his wickednes mounted to so high a degree, that SVETONIVS testifieth of him thus;

Super ingeniorum paragogia, & nuptarum concubinatus, vestali virgini Rubriæ vim intulit. Acten libertam paulùm absuit, quin iusto matrimonio sibi coniungeret, summissis consularibus viris, qui regio genere ortam peierarent. Puer ii Sporij, exsecti is testibus etiam in mulierē naturam transfigurare conatus est, cum dote & flammeo per solennia nuptiarum celebritatis officio deductum ad se, pro uxore habuit. Extat etiq; cuiusdam non inscitus iocus, bene agi potuisse cum rebus humanis, si Domitius Neronis pater talem habuisset uxorem. Hunc Sporum Augustarum ornamentis excultum, lecticaque vectum, & circa conventus mercatusque Græcia, ac mox Romæ circa Sigillaria comitatus est, identidem exosculans. Nam matri is concubitum appetisse, & ab obtrectatoribus eius, ne ferox atque impotens mulier, & hoc gratiæ genere prævaleret, deterritum nemo dubitavit. utique post quam meretricem, quam fama erat Agrippinæ simillimam, inter concubinas recepit. Olim etiam, quoties lectica cum matre vehereetur, libidinatum incestē ac maculis vestis prodituum affirmant. That is to say,

Besides his unnaturall abusing of boies free-born, and the keeping of mens wives as his concubines, he deflowred RVBRIA a Vestall Virgin. Hee would have married ACTE or ÆTA, a fleed woman; suborning some, who had been Consuls, to swear, that she was roially descended. There was a Boy called SPORVS, whose genitories he cut off, trying to transforme him into the nature of woman. Him he caused to be brought unto him as a Bride, with a Dowry and a yellow Vail, after the solemn manner of marriage, and a goodly Train attending on him; whom he maintained as his wife: whereupon one said pleasantly, that it had been happy for mankinde if DOMITIVS his father had wedded such a wife. This SPORVS, adorned with the ornaments of an Empresse, hee accompanied in a Litter through all the Cities and Towns of *Greece*, and afterwards at *Rome*, up and down the streets; SIGILLARIA killing him often. He had a desire to lie with his owne mother; but was terrified from it by some which hated her, lest that proud and insolent woman should by this favour growe too mighty, wherof no man ever made doubt; and the rather, for that afterwards he entertained a harlot among his concubines, very like (as it was reported) to AGRIPPINA. It is also said, that in former times, as often as he rode in a Litter with his Mother, he used her incestuously: the which did appear by the spots upon her garment.

Amongst all his dishonest and filthy pollutions, hee never forgat the fiercenes and cruelty of his minde, shedding bloud, and killing an infinite number of men; and made boast and vaunted thereof, saying, that none of his Predecessors in the Empire, did ever knowe their owne power, but he. And when One in his presence said, as a by-word, When I am dead let the world bee burned: Nay, quoth he, let it be before I die. Of so ill and envious an inclination was this man to all mankinde: which did fully appear by that which he did within a little while after, which was, to set the City of *Rome* on fire; as SVETONIVS, EVSEBIVS, EVTROPIVS, PAVLVS OROSIVS, and ISIDORE, affirm: yet CORNELIVS TACITVS maketh some doubt thereof, whether it were done by chance, or by his commandement; and yet himself saith, that no man durst quench the fire for fear of him: and all affirm, that it lasted six daies and seven nights, and that NERO went up to the top of a high Tower to behould this spectacle, which was very pleasing to his sight: where he stood singing certain verses of HOMER, which contained the burning of the City of *Troy*. And the fire did consume so much in the City of *Rome*, as TACITVS writeth, that of foureteen great quarters which were in the City, onely foure escaped free; and of the ten, three were wholly consumed and burnt to the ground; and in the seven there was never a house whereof the greatest part was not burnt, and many wholly consumed. Finally, they were innumerable, and not to bee imagined, the houses, tempes, riches, the spoils of victories, the clothes and merchandizes, and other things, which this fire con-

Rome set on fire by Nero.

consumed. And to the end that the Reader may the better understand it, he shall consider that *Rome* was then the greatest and most populous citie in the world, much frequented by strange Nations, and the mostrich and bestuitoll that ever was; the which in that time did draw vnto it and swallow vp all the mony and riches of all the prouinces subiect vnto it, by taxes, tributes, impositions, briberie, and tyrannies.

This lamentable desolation being ended, there was not left in him any stitch, but all men held him to be the author thereof, although they durst not say so; and that he desired to haue the ruines, for the stones, pillars, and other things which escaped the fire, he would not suffer to be carried away by the owners, but took them for the building of his owne palace and houses, which some daies before he had built: and part therof being burned with this fire, he afterwards reedified and made without comparison fairer & greater then before; so as it seemeth in incredible matter, what PLINY, SVETONIVS, and CORNELIVS TACITVS write of the greatnes thereof; to whom I refer the Reader for the particular description of that Palace, because it is a matter wonderfull, and which onely was sufficient to shew the riches of *Rome*. For it stretched from Mount *Palatine* to Mount *Esquiline*, which, as it seemeth, were distant a good deale more then a mile in breadth; it contained in it ponds of water so great, as they seemed to bee gulfes of the Sea, compassed round about with buildings and lodgings; it had in it also, besides gardens and orchards, excellent hils and woods, wherein were all manner of wild beasts. Moreouer the halles and dining chambers, besides being built of Marble, Alablaster, Iaspers, Topaces, and other excellent stones; the timber-workes thereof and the seelings were inlaid with gold and Iuorie, and mother of Pearle, and some stones of price. And some of these high places and chambers were round, and made with such art, as the floore remaining firme & fixt, the roofe & vaults thereof went continually round like the skie, in such sort as some bind-vaues are made; and some of these roomes were wrought with such art, as there were in them certaine ventals and alimbiques of gold and Iuorie, which at certaine times did cast out sweete flowers, waters, and precious oyles. This house likewise had bathes of sundry waters hot and cold, and other ornaments and excellencies, such and so many as vvould be tedious to recite; wherein, and in other buildings vvhich he made, he spent an inestimable treasure, and in other vvhich he began, which were strange and marueilous, the vvhich for breuity I omit. And although (as is sayd) he had commanded the Citie of *Rome* to be set on fire, yet being thus burnt, he vsed all diligence to reedifie it againe, in better forme then it was before, and had determined to alter the name thereof, and to call it *Neroniana*, after his owne name. But this his care sufficed not to cleere him of the infamy vvhich he had purchased among the people, for commanding it to be set on fire.

A description of Nero his Palace.

After all this, the Emperour NERO by the instigation of the diuell, in whose power remained his sinnes (the number of Christians in *Rome* then encreasing, through the preaching of the Apostles, S. PETER and S. PAVL, who then were there) he and his like being grieued with the holines and purenes of the Primitiue Church, resolued to persecute the same: and putting it in execution a great number of Christians, both within and without it, were put to death by his cōmandement. And this was the first generall persecution which the Church suffered. And although that after the death of CHRIST there wanted no persecutors (yet was it neuer persecuted by the Emperours publike edict vntill this time. Wherein, how great the constancie of the Martyrs was, & what sundrie kindes of martyrdome they endured, CORNELIVS TACITVS an infidel Historiographer, and an enemie to Christians, yet true in his historie, besides other Christian authors, shall beare witnes: who (like a Gentile murmuring at them) recites the persecution of the Emperour NERO: whereof SVETONIVS also making mention, saith, that a verie great number of Christian men and women were put to death: And among other cruelties, burnings, crosses and other kindes of death, he reporteth that they were throwne to the dogges, to be torne in pieces: and to the end that dogges should be the more eager against them, they couered them with the skinnes of Beares and other wild beasts. This persecution of the church SVETONIVS and CORNELIVS TACITVS set downe in this place after the burning of *Rome*, in the eleuenth yeere of the Emperour NEROES raigne, yet EVSEBIVS and other authors note it to bee in the last yeere of his Empire, wherein died the blessed Apostles S. PETER and S. PAVL by his commandement. But it may be, & so I beleeue, that this persecution lasted till then, which was little more then three yeeres; or whether i. were only at this time, it pleased God to preserue his holie Apostles vntill the time aboue said.

The first persecution of the primitiue Church.

After that the Emperour NERO had executed this crueltie against the Christians, which

was

was the greatest that he ever vsed, there followed in *Rome*, and in the marches thereof, one of the greatest plagues of pestilence that ever was in the world, by the permission of God; as it is to be helieued, for his cruelty vsed against the Christians. But there was no amendment in him, neither any repentance of that or of his other villanies: but waxing worse, he again began his intolerable extortions in all the Provinces, which were such and so many, *as they* became unpeopled, and many places were wholly ruinated and desolate. For the ordinary Rents (though the summe were incredible) being insufficient to maintain his prodigalities and immense expenses, because they cannot be related at large, it shall suffice to make some brief mention thereof, the better to conjecture of the rest. Besides what, without measure, hee consumed in his Buildings and vaine works, and in the curious workmanship of his famous house, which was a matter inestimable, in all the rest, his disorder and excesse was incredible. Firstly he apparelled himself with most rich attire, and ordinarily consumed at dice and at other games great summs of money: When he went a-fishing (wherein he was much affected) and for his pleasure went to the sea or any river, he commanded the nets to be made of gold-thread, and the cords of most excellent fine silk. In his progresses which he made out of *Rome* (which were many) besides an infinite number of people of his Court which followed him, he never had lesse than a thousand Wagons drawne with Mules for his Wardrobe, excellently wrought and garnished; and those which led and governed them were apparelled in rich attire, of gold, silver, cloth of gold and silk; even unto the Mules shoos, which were of silver. Then the games and plaies which hee presented were such and so many, as it cannot bee valued what they might cost: for, besides those which in *Rome* were ordinary, as, the Sword-plaiers, combats, huntings of Lions, Elephants, Bears, Panthers, Tigers, and other beasts; the Comedies and Tragedies which in the Theaters and Amphitheaters were represented, and the sports on horseback, and with chariots of diverse forms, in the circuits and places of *Rome*, which were many and more frequent, and with greater magnificence than ever theretofore; *he invented new sports with chariots* drawn with Camels, and Elephants with Castles on their backs, with other new inventions & strange devices; which to bring to passe, it behooved a man to compasse the world: as was his *Naumachie*, a fight with Gallies upon the water; making a Lake for that purpose by hand, which they also called *Naumachia*, drawing water from the Sea to fill the same; and therewith fishes to swim therein, because it should be more naturall and at life. Then, in the donatives which hee threw to the people, for him which could first catch them (which they call'd *Missilia*) he would not give such as were ordinary, as other Emperours did, of money, birds, and other things of small value; but therewith he commanded rich apparell, gold, silver, rich stones and pearls to be given; and, to increase this in all superfluity, of things which could not be throwne abroad in their kinde, he *caused certain Tables to be cast*, wherein was set down what hee should have into whose hands they came, in wheat, heards, or slaves; which extended so far as to give heritages, fields, houses, ilands, and other matters of great price. By all that which hath bin said, he that will may see his prodigality, and may imagine what his expenses might amount to in other matters. So as this accursed man had no vice wherein hee would not bee extreme; and so would he be in spending and wasting, as he was in robbing and spoiling the people: Which his prodigality as it was gratefull and pleasing to the vulgar sort, so I presume it was the cause why they so long endured his tyrannie and wicked disposition.

The excessive prodigality of Nero.

Gifts given by Nero.

But, as these things were intolerable, after the eleventh yeer of his Raign many of the prime Noble men of *Rome* conspired against him: the head and chief whereof was CAIVS PISO (the most Noble man by birth, parentage and vertue, which at that time was in *Rome*) and, according to his name, this conspiracy was called *Pisoniana*. But it was discovered before it took effect; and, in stead of the remedy which was hoped for, it opened the way to the Emperours cruelty: for, upon this occasion he put to death so many, and of all sorts, noble and ignoble, as well those which were guilty, as those which he would hould for suspected, as they were without number: among whom, *died the witty and excellent Poet* LVCAN, and his *Master* SENECA; albeit he had sworn to him very devoutly (when-as he often made sute for leave to depart the Court, and yeelded therewithall his goods into NERO's hands) that he had no cause to suspect him, and that he would rather lose his owne life, than do him any harm. And fear and flattery were of such power (which things commonly concurre) that the Senate determined to doo sacrifice, and to give solemn thanks unto the gods, for the health and safety of NERO, and his delivery from this conspiracy; and they ordained feasts to be made therefore, and that the Moneth of April should lose his name, and be called NERO; and that there should be a new temple

Piso conspired against Nero.

The Senate did sacrifice for the health of Nero.

temple erected to the God of health, and other such like things. After this there was another conspiracie, the captain whereof was a Romane Knight, whose name was VINDEX or VINICIVS: but as the diuel would help and support his seruant NERO, so it was also discouered, & the confederats were by him brought to their death; and many other vpon that occasion, The Conspirators had their tryall, and pleaded bound in chaines; some freely confessed it; and others added that he was beholding vnto them for it, being impossible to cure him by any other meanes (infected as he was and dishonored with all kinde of impieties) but by death. The children of the condemned were expelled the Citie, and afterward poisoned or starued. After which he grew so fearefull, and therewith so cruell, as from thence forth his greatest studie and practice was to put men to death, vpon any occasion whether forged or true, according to his phantasie. And so he slew a great number of noble men (as SVETONIVS, and more at large CORNELIVS TACITVS reports.) Being nusled in these cruelties, he forgat not his other vices and lewd exercises; among which one was to come personally into the Theater, and there to contend and striue for the prizes which were giuen to him that best could recite or sing *verses and tragedies, and for other rewards of Musicke* which were giuen in that time, as if hee had been the poorest Musition or singing man in *Rome*. And comming one day very merry for a victorie which he had obtained in these Theatrall Iusts and contentions, he took some displeasure against his beloued wife POPPEA: and as he was very proude and ill conditioned, he gaue her a spurne on the bellie, whereof being with childe she fell so sicke as she died; and he, who was the cause of her death, was exceeding sorry for it. There was no kinde of Alliance or Consanguinitie, how neere soeuer, but it felt the waight of his bloudie hand. ANTONIA the daughter of CLAVDIVS, refusing after the death of POPPEA to be his wife, hee slue, vnder colour that she went about to conspire against him; and to alter the state. Hee also murthered all others that were in any sort allied vnto him: Among the which, A. PLANCIVS was one: *whose bodie hauing by force filthily abused against kinde before his death*, Let my mother now, said he, kisse my successours sweete lips; giuing it out that hee was her deere darling, and that she incouraged him to aspire to the Empire. His sonne in law RVFINVS CRISPINVS, sonne of POPPEA, being yet very yong; for that it was reported of him, that in game he would play for great places of commande and dukedomes; he gaue charge to drowne him in the Sea, when he should be there fishing. After all this, in the thirteenth yeere of his raigne, the prouinces being no longer able to endure his tyranny, and much lesse the armies which were in them, they began to mutine and to thinke vpon meanes how they might rebell against him; as within short space some of them did, which was in the 13. yeere of his raigne. Moued vpon the like occasion, the Iewes rebelled against the Empire, God permitting that they should be the first, and should continue in their rebellion, for a publike and euident punishment which should be inflicted vpon them, for the putting of our Sauior CHRIST to death. For this warre which was begun against the Iewes, VESPASIAN was appointed Generall, a man very famous both in peace and warre, and who afterwards was made Emperor: he had for his lieutenant (which is the second place after the Generall) his sonne TITVS, who *in processe of time was also Emperor*. VESPASIAN began this war very resolutely, and it was afterwards one of the most famous that euer was in the world; wherein as shall be declared, the citie of *Ierusalem* was wholly destroyed. This historie is excellently well written by IOSEPHVS a Iewish historiographer, who serued in that warre, and was taken prisoner by VESPASIAN: and by EGESIPPVS a Iew by birth, but a christian by profession; besides many other authors which treate and write thereof.

Nero killed his wife Poppea.

The Iewes rebelled against Nero.

VESPASIAN hauing taken some Cities in *Iudea*; the enuie and hatred daily encreasing against NERO, with the causes which he gaue of the same, all Nations conspiring to rebell against him; the prouinces of *France*, and the legions which were there, began, first chusing IVLIVS VINDEX for their captain. The newes hereof came to NERO being then in the citie of *Naples*, whither he went for his vertuous recreations, such as he *was accustomed to vse*: whereat he seemed not to be much moued, and (as it was surmised) it offended him not, because that thereby he might haue occasion to rob and spoile all the prouinces of *France*. But the newes still encreasing, he began to stand in some doubt, and came to *Rome*, where he was certified that a part of *Spaine* called *Tarragona*, was also risen against him, vvith SERGIVS GALBA proclaiming himselfe Emperour; vvho vvas a man very famous for his noble linage, charges and dignities vvhich he had vvorthily executed. Which he did, as some vvrite, being perfvvaded thereto by letters from IVLIVS VINDEX vvho (as I novv said) vvas in armes in *France*.

Insurrection against Nero.

With these newes of *Spaine*, the Emperor NERO was so much troubled, as after that hee had lien a good while (as though he had been dead) without speaking any one word, he rose vp as a man desperate; and tearing his clothes, he knocked his head against the walles, not demanding, nor receiuing counsell or comfort from those which would haue giuen it him. And this furie being past, he began to take order for the leuying of forces, and to require succors and aides: but he was so much hated of all the world, as no man came very willingly to his seruice; rather perswading one another to the contrarie: Things standing in this state, as NERO busied himselfe about leuying an army, discoursing in himselfe what cruelties and punishments hee might inflict, there came certaine newes vnto him, that the legions which lay vpon the frontiers of high *Germanie* whose captaine was RVFVS VIRGINIVS, were also in armes against him, as well as those of *France* and *Spaine*. With this newes NERO lost all courage and hope to defend himselfe: and the Senate and people of *Rome* were therewith so much troubled, as without any leader, but only of their own meere motion by common consent, they determined to abandon NERO, and refuse to yeeld him any obedience: whereof ensued his death which was shamefull and vile, as he deserued; which was in this manner.

Nero despaires of himselfe.

SVETONIVS writeth, that when the newes came of the insurrection of the legions, NERO was at dinner; and that presently when he heard it, he threw the table to the ground, and in despair to defend himselfe, taking certaine poison in a boxe of gold, he withdrew himselfe to certain gardens which he had, where he deuised sundrie waies and meanes to escape this present calamitie; sometime thinking to flie out of *Italie* to the King of *Parthia*, with whom he was in a great league of friendship euer since the coronation of his brother TIRIDATES King of *Armenia*; otherwhiles he thought to yeeld himselfe to SERGIVS GALBA, and to craue mercy at his hands: but finding no helpe nor remedie in either (for few were they which repaired vnto him, or came at his calling) he was of opinion to goe forth into the publike places of assembly in *Rome*, clad in mourning attire, and there to craue pardon for his ill forepassed life; and if they should not grant him to continue in the Empire, yet at the least that they would bestow vpon him the gouernment of the kingdome of *Egypt*; and to this effect, were found certain orations already drawne in his closet; but he durst not put this deuice in practise, fearing to be slaine by the people; so great already was the tumult in the Citie. Passing that day and part of the night in these doubts and feares, he laid himselfe vpon his bed, although hee tooke little rest, determining with himselfe the next day to put in execution that counsell which should seeme most profitable. And hauing slept a little, he awoke about midnight, and was giuen to vnderstand that the Cohorts which had the guard of the palace were gone, and had forsaken him. Amazed at so great an alteration, he sent for certaine of his best and most confident friends to their houses: but as betweene wicked men there is no true friendship, neither was there any due to him, neither had he deserued any, so from none of them hee receiued any good answere: wherfore with some of his seruants, and those very few (protected by the darkenes of the night) he went forth of his palace, and in person went to many of their houses, at none of which they would open the doores, neither giue him any answere: so as hee who within few daies before was feared and adored of all the world; returned sorrowfull, despised, and in feare of all men. And returning to the lodging from whence he came, he found it ransackt and spoil'd euen to the very boxe of poison which he had reserued for his last refuge. Which when he saw, in despair of his life, and desiring to die, he began in great hast to call for a certain sword player which serued him, whose name was SPICILLVS MIRMILON, and commanded him to kill him. And as neither this man, neither any other would doe it, he cried out with a loud voice, saying, Now I perceiue that I haue neither friend nor enemie. And in this furie, he went with a determination to drowne himself in the Riuer *Tiber*: and making a stand, he asked of those which were with him, where he might hide himself, vntill that he had bethought him what to doe. Presently an enfranchised man of his, named FAON, offered to keepe him secretly hidden in a farme which he had 4 miles from *Rome*. And so NERO taking this for his last refuge, mounting on horsback, being barefooted and in his shirt and wastcoate, with an old sullied ouerworne cloake cast vpon him, and so holding a handkercheif before his face, in the darke of the night hee went out of *Rome* with foure men only, which did beare him company, in the most couert and disguised manner that possibly he could: And with great feare and trouble came to the village vvhither they carried him; and leauing his horse hidden among certaine trees, he vvent couertly through certaine Canes and Reedes; and before that hee came to the house vvhither hee vvas to goe, the same FAON vvhich brought him, counselled him to goe into a Caue vvhich

Nero brought into extreame miserie.

which was there, where they vsed to dig sand: whereto he answered, that hee would not burie himselfe alive; in the end he went into the house, creeping in on all foure at a hole which they made through the wall; and coming into a chamber, he cast himselfe vpon a poore bed which was there, and being both hungrie and thirstie, he desired to haue something to eate: but there was nothing to be had but a peece of browne bread and a little water; the bread he would not eate, but he dranke of the water with wonderfull feare and sorrow to see himselfe in that place.

As these things passed with NERO (as I haue said) as soone as it was day, his flight was presently discouered, and the Senate assembled, and by their common consent hee was adiudged an enemy vnto his countrie; and being condemned to die, was commanded to be sought for euery where: to the execution whereof, the men of war of the Pretorian and Vrban Cohorts, consented by perswasions and promises which were made vnto them. With which newes, the determination of the Senate being published, a seruant to the said FAON which brought NERO to his farme, went out of *Rome*, to giue him to vnderstand thereof: for he knew the secret way. And being come where the Emperour was, hee found him making preparation to kill himself, through the perswasion of those which came with him, seeing that there was no other meanes for him to escape. He hearing the sorrowfull newes of his doome giuen by the Senate, To be an enemy to the State, and that he should be punished *More Maiorum*, hereupon he demanded what kinde of punishment that *More Maiorum* was? And when hee vnderstood that a man so condemned was to be stript naked, his head set fast in the stocks, and his bodie scourged with rods to death: He was so terrified therewith, as hee took the poiniards which he had brought thither, and feeling their points and edges, hee made shew to doe that which they had counselled him: but growing fearefull and a coward, hee put them againe into their sheaths, fayning that his fatall houre was not yet come. And sometimes he prayed and intreated some one of those which were with him, to kill himself, to the end that he might follow his example: At other times he would reprone himself for his base minde and want of courage, vntill at last hearing the noise of certain horsemen, which by the commandement of the Senate came to seeke him, he set a poinyard to his throate, wherewith, with the helpe of one of his seruants, he wounded himselfe, of which wound within a little while after, hee died; making such gestures and countenances, as made all those which were present amazed thereat. And so ended the enemy of mankinde, the venom and poison of the earth (for so PLINY calleth him) after that he had ruled the Empire fourteene yeeres, and being of the age of two and thirtie yeeres, in the seuentith yeere after the birth of IESVS CHRIST. This NERO was a man of a goodly constitution, neither high nor low, of a faire countenance though somewhat wanton; his eyes greenish, a round visage, reddish haire, with a thick and full neck, he had a great belly and little legges, and was of a sound complexion: for notwithstanding that he was giuen to all vice and excesse, yet in fourteene yeeres that hee raigned, he was neuer but three sick.

The Senate send to seeke out Nero.

Nero slew himselfe.

His death being known in *Rome*, the ioy which the Senate & people conceiued, was incredible; and all came forth into the streetes to congratulate one with another, with bonnets vpon their heads, which was a signe of libertie; for so did slaues vse to weare vvhen their masters made them free. But vvith all this (as NERO had been a great feaster, a spender, a giuer, and vvas subiect to other vices, vvhich many men loued more then other mens vertues) yet there vvere some vvhich for a long time honored his sepulchre and did ordinarily set flovvers vpon it. And the King of *Parthia* sent his Ambassadours afterwards to *Rome* to confirme the peace and amitie: vvho vvith great instance, earnestly desired that the remembrance of NERO might be held in honour and reuerence. And as vaine and idle people vse to sovve false reports; many beleeued that NERO vvas not dead, but that he lay hidden and should returne againe to the Empire, as though he had been enchaunted. Saint AVGVSTINE also in his booke *de ciuitate Dei* saith, that some vvere of opinion that NERO vvas antichrist: vvhich vanity gaue occasion that tvventy yeeres after there rose a man in *Asia*, naming himselfe NERO, vvhich caused great trouble and alteration, being assisted by the Parthians: although that in truth there remained no house of NERO, neither son nor daughter, adopted or naturall, and he vvas the last Emperor of the house and familie of the CÆSARS, founders of the Empire; so in him ended his linage, notvvithstanding that the name continueth vnto this day.

In Nero was ended and extinguished the linage of the Cæsars.

SVETONIVS writes, that there were many signes fore-shewing the fall and end of CÆSARS house in NERO, but among the rest there were two most euident: As LIVIA soone after

after her marriage with AVGVSTVS went to see a farme house of hers, an Eagle soaring ouer her head, let fall a white Hen into her lap, holding in her bill a Laurel branch. And thinking it fit to haue both the fowle kept, and the Laurel set in the ground, behold; of the one there came many chickens all white which multiplied daily; so as the verie house was called *Ad Gallinas*: And of the other there sprang so faire a row of Bay-trees, as all the CÆSARS when they did ride in triumph, gathered from thence their Garlands: and the manner was, when they had triumphed, presently to prick downe others in the same place; and it was obserued, that a little before the death of euery one, the tree, by him planted, did also die. But in the last yeere of NERO both bay-trees withered at the roote, and all the Hens died. And soone after the Temple of the CÆSARS being strooken with lightning, the heads of all their statues fell downe at once, and AVGVSTVS sceptre was shaken out of his hand.

THE LIFE OF SERGIVS GALBA, ONELY OF THAT NAME, AND SEVENTH EMPEROVR *of* ROME.

THE ARGVMENT.

SErgius Galba *succeeded* Nero, *and in his old age was aduanced to the Empire. This man was of the Noble Family of the* Sulpitij, *very intemperate in his diet, and of no great good fame concerning Sodomie, and gouerned the Empire by the counsell of three of his familiars. Before his comming to the Empire he subdued many Prouinces, and was very seuere in the execution of martiall discipline. He was learned in the liberall sciences, but chiefly very expert in the lawes. He was infortunate in his children: for those which he had dyed before him; and he whom he adopted, whose name was* Piso Licinianus, *was slaine a little after him. This old man dyed through the iudgment of* Otho, *who sent certaine Souldiers to cut off his head in the publike market place, whither he came armed to represse the tumults. His bodie was left to the mercie of the people; yet in the end it was buried by one of his bondmen. He liued seuenty and three yeeres, and gouerned the Empire seauen monethes and seauen dayes. His death seemed to be verie acceptable to the people, as to those which are euer desirous to see alterations.*

NERO being dead in such manner as we haue declared, to the great ioy (and with a generall consent) of all men, SERGIVS GALBA was created Emperour; who in the time of NERO was nominated and proclaimed by the Armie which was in *Spaine*; and hee was the first that receiued the Empire from the hands of the Armie, the Senate consenting thereto and approouing the same; hauing no Affinitie or Alliance with the House and Family of the CÆSARS, neither by Blood, nor yet by Adoption: For, alwaies vntill this time the Empire succeeded by inheritance and succession from one to another, being either kinsmen by Nature, or else by Adoption. Now to declare the life and fortunes of SER-

SERGIVS GALBA before he was Emperour, would require a large discourse; for he came to it at the age of 72. yeers, and enioyed it not one whole yeer: so as seeing that I write an Imperiall historie, I will not for so short a discourse (as was his raigne) make so long a preamble. Let it suffice for him, and so much as shall appertaine to our historie, to know, that SERGIVS GALBA was of a most noble familie in *Rome*, descended from the SVLPITII, by surname GALBÆ, and from other noble and ancient families; wherof, although men speake diuersly, yet he was wont to boast, that by his father he was descended from IVPITER, and by his mother from PASIPHAE, wife to MINOS king of *Creta*; of whom is reported that notable fable of a Bull. And you shall also know that in his life time he had obtained many Magistracies and dignities in *Rome* and abroad, whereby he wonne great credit both in peace and warre: for being borne about the 40. yeer of the raign of OCTAVIANVS AVGVSTVS, or within little more or lesse, he liued after in the times of TIBERIVS, CALIGVLA, CLAVDIVS and NERO; and was well knowne and honoured by them all; which could not be, without great wisedome and valour, to support and increase his honour in times of such confusion, and vnder so tyrannous Princes; although imitating them, he eschued not some of their vices, for which hee was noted and defamed. So as speaking indifferently of this Emperour, we may say, that hee was betweene good and bad, and so it seemeth that CORNELIVS TACITVS noteth him; yet PLVTARCH, who writeth his life grauely and at large, amongst other defects in his raign, laieth the fault vpon the time, and the euill conditions of men in that age, and of GALBA hee treateth as of a good Emperour. And he and others write, that he was learned in the liberall Sciences, and much inclined and giuen to learning and knowledge, particularly in the lawes and customes. He was but once married, and then with a Gentle-woman, whose name was LEPIDA: who being dead, and two sons which he had by her, he would neuer marrie any more. And this shall suffice for the notice of the person and qualities of GALBA. Now let vs speake of his raigne, which although it were short, yet it was not so in the accidents which happened.

The linage of Sergius Galba.

Galba, learned in the liberall Arts.

After that GALBA had rebelled in *Spaine*, in such manner as is said, and that the title of Emperour was giuen him, and by him accepted; in the meane space vntill NERO died, and a little before he knew of his death, he was in great trouble and danger: for although that presently in the beginning all went well with him, and he tooke a house and held the state of an Emperour, taking a guard, and chusing for his councell, with whom he might conferre and consult of matters of importance, certaine of the principall and wisest men of the legion whereof hee had the charge, and had giuen offices and dignities, and the inhabitants of the prouince made their repaire to him to doe him seruice: yet vpon a sodain all was in combustion; for part of the Cohorts began to repent them of what they had done, and were ready to haue abandoned him. And it also happened that a certaine seruant to one of NERO his enfranchised men, hauing been procured thereto, resolued, and mist but a little to haue slaine him, in a passage as he was going to certaine bathes. And aboue all, the death of IVLIVS VINDEX, which then ensued, troubled him most; who, as we said, rebelled in *France*, and had induced him to make himselfe Emperor, which VINDEX slew himself, for that his troupes had fought with RVFVS VIRGINIVS his forces, who was captain of the legions in *Germany* which also rebelled; which battaile was against the will of both the commanders, and IVLIVS VINDEX his forces being ouercome, and of them 22000 slaine, he therfore killed himselfe.

Newes which put Galba into despaire.

These newes, being added to the former, did so trouble GALBA, as he was in despair both of the Empire, and of his life. But about this time (for, it was in a manner all at one instant) newes came from *Rome* of the death of NERO, with certain notice, that the Senate and Pretorian Cohorts had chosen and accepted of GALBA for Emperor. Which news one ICELVS a Libertine brought him; for which he afterwards did him many fauours: and, messengers increasing, much people with these tidings repairing to his service, he took his way toward *Rome*, accompanied with men of warre. And vpon the way VIRGINIVS RVFVS, Captain of the Legions in *Germanie*, sent to yeeld him his obedience; who vntill then had shewed himself neutrall, attending the will of the Senate, notwithstanding that he had declared himself against NERO. This old (although new) Emperour, travelling towards *Rome* (as it commonly hapneth in things that are done with little consideration) his coming to *Rome* was nothing so pleasing as his election: for, before him there came certain newes, which gaue occasion of discontentment, that he was not onely cruell, but also couetous; as Princes are much noted both in their doings and sayings. And it was also reported, that such Cities of *Spain* and *France* as had not in time repaired vnto him to offer their service and obedience, hee had condemned

in great summes of money, and had charged them with great tributes; and that of some of them hee had commanded the wals to bee throwne down, and the Governours to bee put to death. Which reports of his cruelty and covetousnes were confirmed and augmented at his first entrance into *Rome*: for, when he would have forced the mariners and sea-men (whom NERO had inrouled in a Legion, and made lawfull souldiers) to return again to their former estate and condition, and they (making refusall) called insolently for their Eagle, and other military Ensignes; he not onely sent a troop of horsemen among them, who trod them under their feet, but also executed every tenth man. *In like manner the Cohort of the Germans, which in former* times had been ordained for the guard of CÆSAR's person, and had been alwaies found very trusty and faithfull, he discharged, and sent them home into their Country, without any recompense for their service; pretending that they were better affected to CNEIVS DOLABELLA, than to him.

Being in *Rome*, with this secret discontentment, although with publike joy and solemnity, he began to take upon him the administration and government of the Empire, and did some things as a wise and worthy Prince, and took good order to assure himself against those which had rebelled: for, in *Africa* he caused CLODIVS MACER to be slain, because hee practised to make a combustion in that Country, by the means of TREBONIVS GRATIANVS; and for the same cause he commanded to be slain, in the Frontiers of *Germanie*, FONTEIVS a captain, whom VALENS FABIVS and CORNELIVS AQVINVS, Lieutenants to the Legions in *Germanie*, slue. And in *Rome* NEVFIDVS SABINVS, a Prefect, was put to death: who, after NERO was dead, practised to make himself Emperour. Which executions although they were not to be blamed, yet they did discontent and grieve many. Also the common people, being affected to the feasts and dissolute sports of NERO, and being accustomed thereto, loved better those his vices, than the antient vertues of GALBA.

The Pretorian and Vrbane Cohorts, seeing that the Emperor GALBA did not performe the promises which were made vnto them, began likewise to murmure; yea and to repent them to haue yeelded him their obedience. They were also much discontented, for that he had brought with him a legion of Spaniards, and lodged them certaine daies in the cittie; wherewith they held themselues wronged. But that which made him to be hated and abhorred of all men, were his fauorites, which principally were three, vnequall in conditions and behauiour, but equall in power and credit with him; the one of them was called TITVS IVNIVS, and had bin his Lieutenant in *Spaine*, and then was Consul; the other was CORNELIVS LACVS, an infamous man and ill beloued, whom he made Pretorian Prefect, which was the greatest dignitie and authoritie next to the Emperours; the third was ICELLVS MARCIANVS, who had brought the newes into *Spaine* of the death of NERO. By the counsell of these men he was gouerned, the short time that his raigne endured. And this was such, as without any constancie or resolute staiednes (as became a Prince) he did things many times one contrarie to the other, according to the will of some of them: so as sometimes he shewed himselfe seuere and rigorous; and at other times slow, remisse and negligent, condemning some vnheard, and pardoning others without any reason, at the instance of those men. And as they for their deserts were ill beloued; so commonly with the Prince which is gouerned, all those which haue not the like authoritie with him, are discontented; by this reason he made himselfe ill beloued. Whereto this was a helpe, *that hee sought to moderate and diminish the excessiue gifts and rewards* which NERO was wont to giue without measure or reason, seeking to applie it to his owne benefit, allowing but a tenth part out of it; and with this strict condition, That if any actors vpon the stage, wrestlers or other Champions had sold any such donations formerly giuen vnto them, the same should be taken from the buiers, seeing that the parties who had sold the same, had spent the money, and were not able to repaie it. And to encrease the peoples hatred and discontent, when as they called on him for Iustice, and to haue HALOTVS and TIGELLINVS executed, the onely men of al NEROS Instruments who wrought most mischief, he saued them from danger, aduancing HALOTVS to a Procuratorship, and rebuking the people for their crueltie against TIGELLINVS.

Galba *hated, and the reason.*

And besides what is alreadie said, his vnwieldie old age began to be had in contempt, so as euery man durst presume to murmure at him, and to doe any thing against his authoritie. Matters standing vpon these tearms in *Rome*, those abroade were in as little rest: for seeing that the Armie and prouince of *Spaine* had made an Insurrection and chosen an Emperour either of enuie or discontentment, there were in most parts mutinies, factions and desire of alteration, and princi-

principally in the Romane armie which was in high *Germanie*, the captaine whereof was RVFVS VIRGINIVS before named: for these legions waxing proud, by reason of the victorie which they had obtained against the armie of IVLIVS VINDEX, and making no account of ORDEONIVS FLACCVS, who was their Commaunder, and Lieutenant to VIRGINIVS; holding themselues for suspected, and in disgrace with the Emperour GALBA, *because they were the last that came to his seruice*, they determined to bee the first that should leaue the same. And the first day of Ianuarie being come, wherein they did vse to sweare, and to doe homage of fidelitie to the Emperour, they refused to doe it to him, but to the Senate; and sent to the Pretorian Cohorts at *Rome*, to let them vnderstand, that they would not obey that Emperor who was created in *Spain*; & that the Senat should chuse such a one whom they thoght fit; whereto they remitted them selues: Yet SVETONIVS saith, they referer this choise to the same Cohorts. The legions in *Germanie* standing vpon these tearmes, those in low *Germanie* were as little obedient, whose captaine was VITELLIVS: who hauing founded the good wil of the souldiers (notwithstanding that hee was sent thither by GALBA, & had receiued that charge from him) through a desire to raigne violating his faith (as IVLIVS CÆSAR was wont to say, *that for rule it was lawfull to breake any faith*) he practised to get the Empire to himselfe. And for as much as he afterwards came to be Emperour, it shall not not be amisse to giue the reader to vnderstand what hee was. This VITELLIVS was a man of great reputation and authoritie; which hee had gotten in the offices and Magistracies which he had held in *Rome*, and abroad, in the time of the Emperours CAIVS CALIGVLA, CLAVDIVS and NERO, with all which he had been very priuate, more for his vices, and some abilities of his person, then for any vertues. With CALIGVLA he was in grace, for that he was a great *Auriga*; for so were they called which had the charge and rule of chariots and waggons: with CLAVDIVS, for that he was a great gamester: with NERO, for the same, and such like qualities. And besides this, as he was very subtill and cunning, so hee obtained in those times great dignities and offices, of Prefect, of priesthood, and also to be Viceconsul in *Africa*, which hee wisely executed: and in the end GALBA gaue him this command in *Germanie*; where succeeded that which we will declare. His principall descent was from the familie of the VITELLII; whereof because there are sundrie opinions, some making it very ancient, and others to be of later time, I will make no question thereof: the same happened to his fathers and ancestors; for some said that he was of meane degree. SVETONIVS in his life treateth thereof more at large, to whom I referre the curious reader: for, what is spoken, sufficeth for my purpose, thereby to vnderstand what shall be said hereafter.

The legions in Germany refused to doe homage to Galba.

The Emperour GALBA being aduertised of all that had passed in the armies of *Germanie*; and knowing that besides his age, he was not respected, for that he had neuer a sonne that might succeed him, hee resolued to put in execution what he sometimes before had proiected, which was to adopt and chuse for his sonne, some personage of such age & authoritie, as might be sufficient and capable of the Empire, & who in his life time might protect him, & after his decease succeede him. His fauorites, & such as were priuate with him, vnderstanding this his determination, each of them apart pretended to giue him a sonne of his chusing, so as there arose strife and contention amongst them vpon this occasion. OTHO gaped after it and thought to haue obtained this adoption (it was he, from whom we said, that NERO tooke his wife POPPEA and sent him into *Spaine*) alleaging for his desert, that presently after GALBA's rebellion against NERO, *he was the first that came to his seruice*. A great part also of the Pretorian and Vrban Cohorts fauoured him (which Historiographers indifferently call the Armie which lay neere to *Rome*) and most of all TITVS IVNIVS assisted him, who was one of GALBA his fauourits, and was Consul with him that yeere: so as OTHO did assure himselfe that no other should be adopted but hee. But GALBA being fully resolued to that which was most expedient for the good of the common-wealth, without any other respect; and likewise disliking the disposition of OTHO (which sented of NERO's conditions) he took no regard of what was said vnto him; but vpon a day when no man thought of any such matter, being in the Senate, hee tooke PISO LVCINIANVS by the hand, who was a man both wise and vertuous, and in whom did concurre all the qualities and good conditions that might seeme fit and requisite for an Emperour: and calling him sonne he adopted him, after the manner then accustomed; and with a great traine, in great pompe, he went with him to the Campe, and made the Armie to sweare obedience vnto him, and to receiue him for CÆSAR: which hee did without giuing any rewards to the souldiers, or promising them ought, whereto they were accustomed; but

Galba *resolues to adopt one to succeede him.*

Piso *adopted by* Galba *for his sonne and successor.*

onely made a grave oration with great majesty, after the antient manner: and so it was coldly accepted among them, they performing more with silence, than with any signe of gladnes eyther in countenance or in speeches; and with the like coldnes he was accepted by the Senate: for, now *Rome* was not capable of equity, or the antient integrity. GALBA, having made this adoption, conceived that it would have been the mean to haue preserved and protected his life: but it proved in effect to be the occasion of his confusion and utter ruine. For, OTHO, seeing himself deceived in his hope of adoption, and finding the souldiers well-affected towards him, for the hatred they had conceived against GALBA, resolved to effect his purposes by force and treason: which hee presently practised by all means possible with the Pretorian souldiers, by great gifts, and greater promises which he made unto them. And he so cunningly handled the matter (for, so little faith and loyalty was used in those daies) that in lesse than eight daies hee had plotted his treason; and it was concluded, that they should rebell, and create him Emperor (as they did) with the death of poor old GALBA, which was performed in this manner:

Otho incites the pretorian Bands against Galba.

GALBA being with certaine his priuate friends in his palace doing sacrifice; this OTHO being there with him, he stole secretly away from him to a place appointed, where a number of souldiers of the Pretorian Cohorts attended his comming; who took him vpon their shoulders, calling him Emperour, and drawing their swords (to giue the greater terror to the people) went with him towards their campe. This being related vnto GALBA, who doubted not any such matter, it extreamely perplexed him; and as his counsels were sudden, so were they inconstant & variable. For some were of opinion that his best course was to put himselfe in arms, and to go publikely abroad; for with his presence he might haue staid the tumult from proceeding any further; others, that it were best for him to fortifie himself in the Capitoll, and there to stay till he should see to what issue the matter would grow. The poor old man wavered, and was doubtfull what resolution to take, the messages which were brought him were so diverse: for, some made the matter nothing; and others, very dangerous. In the end, deceived by a false report which they brought him (that the Army had not only refused to receive OTHO for Emperour, but had slain him) he rode armed with his guard, and some others which repaired unto him, even unto the principall place in *Rome*; where all the people were assembled to see what would be the end of so great a combustion. At that Instant there entred on the other side a great troop of horsemen which OTHO had sent from the Camp (where he was chosen Emperour) against GALBA, to kill him: who although they cam with that resolution and charge, yet coming within his sight, and knowing him, they stood amazed a pretty while, as doubting what they should doo. At this time was GALBA most perplexed, not knowing whereon to resolve; and the multitude and preasse of people was so great about him, as they swaid him sometime to one side, and sometime to the other: and, as it commonly hapneth in such accidents and tumults, that then the counsell is praised and approved when the time is past wherein it might have been put in execution; and, standing irresolute whether he should return to the Palace, or shut himselfe up in the Capitoll, having had sufficient time for either; now, when he would have done the one or the other, hee could not: For, beeing abandoned by the greatest part of those which did accompany him, they who were sent by OTHO, set upon him, after they had stood a good space doubtfull (as I said) and there slue him. PLVTARCH writes (although some others report it after another manner) that when as those which came to kill him drew neer unto him, he thrust out his head, to the end they should cut it off; willing them to doo it, if so it were expedient for the Good of the Common-wealth, and of the Roman people. And so it was stricken off, and set on the point of a Lance, and presented to OTHO, and from him was caried up and down the Camp; and his body remained in the place without a head, for any man to tread upon, untill at last it was buried by a bondman of his. And the same day, by OTHO his commandement, was PISO LVCINIANVS put to death, whom GALBA (as I said) had adopted for his sonne and successor: and so was TITVS VINIVS also, who was Consul; and others of his Favourites, whose heads were all carried to the Camp to OTHO, whom all men now obeyed for Emperor: and, being laid together with GALBA's head, every one gloried to haue embrued his hands in their bloud. No mans death did OTHO so much rejoyce at, no mans head did hee view and review so unsatiably, as PISO's; whether hee thought himself then freed from fear and care, PISO being his enemie & concurrent; or that the remembrance of Majesty in GALBA, or acquaintance with VINIVS, had moved him to compassion.

Galba was slain by the direction of Otho, and his head presented unto him upon the point of a Lance.

And so ended the life of the Emperor GALBA, having held the Empire onely seven months. His death was in the yeer of our Saviour IESVS CHRIST 71, and 73 of his age. Hee was a man of a good constitution of body, greenish eyed, hauke nosed, very balde: and by reason of the great paine of the gowt wherewith he was afflicted, his fingers and toes were weake and crooked; he was a great feeder, very incontinent, and giuen to women.

THE LIFE OF MARCVS SILVIVS OTHO, *FIRST OF THAT NAME*, AND EIGHT ROMANE EMPEROVR.

THE ARGVMENT.

OTHO *borne of a Noble Family, tooke the Empire after* Galba, *although his euill fortune would not suffer him to enioy the same long: for at the same time that* Otho *was made Emperour in Rome,* Vitellius *was proclaimed Emperour in Germanie. And for as much as the one would not giue place to the other, in the end they came to blowes: and after sundrie battailes,* Otho *being the losser, not knowing what other course to take in his aduersitie, slue himselfe; which act he med not answerable to the life which he had led, which was more like to the effeminacie of a woman, then the courage of a man. This man gouerned the Empire foure monethes, and dyed in the xxx. yeare of his age. He was so deere to his owne souldiers, that whilst his bodie was burning after the manner then of the Romanes, many of them slew themselues with their owne hands.*

THE Raigne of GALBA (of whom we haue now ended our discourse) of OTHO, and VITELLIVS his successors, of which we are to treate, were so short, so turbulent, so confused, & gotten by such wicked and vnlawfull means, as more properly they might be called Tyrants, then Empercurs, and so some writers tearme them: neither do they put them in the catalogue of Emperours; of which are Saint ISIDORE and BEDA. And the great Magician APOLLONIVS THIANEVS, who liued in that time vsed to say, that GALBA, OTHO and VITELLIVS were *Thebane* Emperours: and the reason was, for that the *Thebanes* held the Empire a verie small time, and so did these as little the Empire of *Rome*. PLVTARCH in the life of GALBA, compareth them to Kings in a Tragedie, which last no longer then the time that they are represented vpon the Stage. But howsoeuer it was, they obtained the names of Emperours; whether the Senate gaue it them for feare or flattery, I will not decide: But passing on with PLVTARCH, CORNELIVS TACITVS, and the rest which write of them, I say that the same day wherein GALBA was slaine, there was no man of any account which went not to the Campe where OTHO was, to yeeld him obedience and to flatter him, as their soueraigne Lord and Emperour, commending the Cohorts and Army for that which they had done, in putting GALBA to death, and for the election of OTHO.

Galba, Otho, and Vitellius, called Thebane Emperours, and compared to Kings vpon a stage in a Tragedie.

OTHO was a man very valiant and witty, and was the sonne of LVCIVS OTHO who had bin Consul, of an ancient and honorable familie; and was so like vnto TIBERIVS in his gesture and countenance, that some held him for his sonne. His mother also was of a noble house, and so were her progenitors and auncestors. Hereof writeth SVETONIVS, and PLVTARCH in the life of him: by which and by CORNELIVS TACITVS may be vnderstood what was the course of his life before he came to the Empire, or had the name of Emperour; which in briefe I haue before declared, & therefore hold it needlesse to make repetition thereof. OTHO besides the occasions which he had to rise against GALBA, they write that he had this for one, which

Otho his descent.

which was, that an Astrologer which he carried with him when he was sent by NERO into *Spaine*, did foretell and assure him that he should be Emperour of *Rome*. Being in the Camp in such manner as before is recited, compassed about with Senators & the principall men of *Rome*, he came to the Senate; hauing first commanded the Pretorian Prefect of the cittie to assemble the same: where besides the ordinarie blessings and applauses, they gaue him the name of AVGVSTVS, and all the other titles and preheminences which the other Emperours desired to haue. And hauing there made a briefe Oration, wherein he set them vnderstand that he was compelled and forced to take vpon him the charge of the Empire, promising to gouerne the same by the counsell and aduise of the Senate, he went from thence through the middest of the place (which was all bloudie and full of dead bodies) to IVPITERS Capitoll, and thence to the Imperiall Palace: and so was OTHO aduanced to the Empire; who was the first that by the Cohorts (which were the Army lodged too neer the City of *Rome*) was chosen and made Emperour, and from whom came the custome to create Emperors, after they had forsaken GALBA: before which time they were ever the Emperours ordinary guard. This was an accursed and most pernicious introduction for the Roman Empire, and for the Emperours themselves, as experience did afterwards make manifest.

Otho was the first that was made Emperour by the Pretorian Cohorts.

OTHO, to perform his promises, and to make a good beginning and shew of a good Prince, hee commanded much confiscated goods to bee restored to their owners, and to such men as NERO had banished; and did other things in like manner, which were exceeding pleasing to all the people, in such sort, as they took such love and liking to him, that they continued evermore faithfull unto him untill his dying day, although in truth his life continued but a short time after. While these matters passed in *Rome*, the Legions and Army, which both in high & lowe *Germanie* (as I have said) were disobedient to GALBA, their Captain VITELLIVS having by gifts and promises purchased their favour and good will, after some treaties (which TACITVS and PLVTARCH describe at large) concluded to create him Emperour, and (without attending the will and pleasure of the Senate) they made him so: so as in a manner, at one instant, OTHO was advertised thereof, and VITELLIVS knew what passed in *Rome*.

Vitellius made Emperour by the Legions in Germany.

The German Legions, presuming that VITELLIVS (whom they had chosen) should continue Emperour, pretending that they had as great authority to create an Emperour as the Legions in *Spaine*; the Senate in like manner, the Cohorts, and army at *Rome* pretended to haue the supreme power, & that in them rested the absolute authoritie to choose and create the Emperour, which was OTHO only. And although that OTHO by this meanes seemed to haue the greatest interest and best title: yet whether his guiltie conscience did put him in feare, or that it grieued him to thinke of the euils which were likely to ensue (as he afterwards shewed) he sought meanes by letters & messengers to come to a composition and agreement with VITELLIVS; but nothing was concluded: and the dissension daily increasing betweene them, either partie made preparation for the warres. And certaine tidings being brought that VITELLIVS his forces came marching towards *Italy*, vnder the conduct of two Captaines, whose names were VALENS and CECINNA (VITELLIVS remaining behind them attending more aid) OTHO departed from *Rome* with a faire and well ordered army, of all the Romane Nobilitie, the Pretorian Cohorts, and the Legions which were in the Navies by sea vpon the coast of *Italy*, which he sent for to that effect, and such others as he then could leuie: and in this maner he marched from *Rome* verie mightie in number of men, though not much accustom'd or train'd vp to the warres, leauing FLAVIVS SABINVS, brother to VESPASIAN, for gouernour, who (as is said) followed the warres against the Iewes, and so he continued his iourney against VITELLIVS, whose forces were alreadie come to the Alpes, to the number of 70000 men, whereof fortie thousand were commanded by VALENS, and the rest by CECINNA, VITELLIVS remaining in *France* expecting the remainder of those in *Germany*, and the Legions of *Britanny* which also came to do him service. These two Armies drawing neere the one to the other, the ciuill war began betweene them, and was very cruell in many parts: or to say better, that warre was prosecuted which was begun betweene GALBA and NERO. *Rome* for a good space had not bin infested with any ciuill dissensions, although it escaped not free from sundrie calamities, by reason of the wicked Princes which raigned there; by which meanes the present miseries which were very great, brought the battailes fought betweene MARIVS and SILLA, IVLIVS CÆSAR and POMPEY, AVGVSTVS and MARCVS ANTONIVS, and others which depended thereon, into remembrance; with which these whereof we now treate may well make comparison, both for alteration in estates, for number of men, and effusion of bloud;

Warre betweene Otho and Vitellius.

I cannot say whether for continuance of time, in countries and prouinces, or no: for after these warres began, there died by the sword foure Emperours (as it hath bin, and shall be declared) which were NERO, GALBA, OTHO and VITELLIVS, besides VINDEX, and other Noble-men which were slain; and besides VINDEX Legions, which (as we said) were ouerthrowne in *France*, there were great encounters and battels fought, and extreme cruelties committed. And these warres lasted untill VESPASIAN came to bee Emperour, no part of the Empire remaining free from this fury; whereof I can set down but the summe and most notable accidents which hapned therein.

Foure Emperors slain in the ciuill warr.

OTHO, coming to the City of *Brixellum*, upon the side of the River *Po*, remained there, sending his Forces before him, under the conduct of good Captains; who were ill obeyed by their souldiers, being growne proud for that they had made an Emperour; imagining, that no man ought to haue the command of them. The like want of obedience was in VITELLIVS Army, and for the same reason: and, the warres waxing cruell betweene these two Commanders and their Armies, they made such haste, as leaving apart the great skirmishes and other encounters, *there were within fewe daies space two or three notable battels fought betwixt them:* one of which was neer to the City of *Placentia*; the other, neer to *Cremona*; and the third neer to a place called *Castor*, in which were slain a very great number of men: and in all these three battels OTHO his Captains and the Romans had the better, although that of either side the word was, *Rome* and the Empire.

Battels betwixt Otho and Vitellius.

After which, VALENS and CECINNA, who were VITELLIVS Lieutenants (which untill then had made warres apart) joined their Forces together, reinforcing their Armies with new souldiers and supplies; determining to set up their whole rest in one battell, if the enemie would give it them. At that time (as PLVTARCH reporteth) OTHO, very joyfull for the victories obtained by his Captains, came to his Army at *Bebriacum* (where then it lay) neer unto *Cremona*; and, seeing that his enemies (notwithstanding they had been put to the worse, and were routed) made shew to desire to fight again, took counsel whether that of his part he should doo the like or no. The greatest part, and wisest men, were of opinion, that he should prosecute the warres without hazarding any battell; for that his enemy endured want of many things, and with their losses past had likewise lost much reputation; and many Countries were revolted from VITELLIVS, and held for OTHO: besides that, VITELLIVS could send them little relief; and, on the contrary, his Army was well provided of all things necessary, and *Rome* and all *Italie* were wholly at his devotion. And, besides all this, the Provinces of the East stood firm for him; and the Legions in *Servia*, *Bulgaria*, *Hungarie*, and *Austria*, were upon the way coming to his aid: so as he had no reason so often to tempt his fortune, and therefore hee ought to weary his enemy by delaies, or else to stay for greater power; wherein there was no doubt of victory. But those which were haughty, and desirous to fight, alleaged many reasons to the contrary; that he ought not to lose the occasion, and the good successe of fortune, neither to suffer VITELLIVS to come to his Army, and to free it from the fear wherein it was; with many other reasons, to the end a battell might be given. And OTHO, being inclined thereto, approved it, and commanded the same to be put in execution: for, in truth, hee did so much abhorre the war, as he held it for a lesse evill to lose the victory, than long to stand in suspense. And being resolved upon this counsell, he returned to *Brixelle*: for, it was agreed, that hee should not personally bee in the battell; and so his Army went to seek VITELLIVS his Forces, which were not farre off. And, as of either party they were desirous to fight, so they came to a battell; where, in the beginning, OTHO his Army was deceived by a shew of peace which his enemies made: whereupon they gave the charge very slowely, and Authors report the manner thereof very diversly, as it useth to happen in the like accidents: but all affirm, that both the one and the other fought valiantly, saving the Pretorian Cohorts, which were those in whom OTHO reposed his chiefest trust; through whose default and cowardise, OTHO lost the battell, and VITELLIVS was Victor, and (with great slaughter of his aduersaries) became Master of the Field.

OTHO his Captaines with such others as by flight escaped from the battaile, retired themselues to their campe, and fortified the same, in hope to haue been relieued by their Emperour; notwithstanding that many fled to sundry parts: but he, hearing the newes of the ouerthrow of his Armie, brought by those which fled vnto him: And among the first that brought this disastrous newes was a common Souldier, who when he reported the ouerthrow of the Army, and could purchase no credit, but was taxed with vntruth, and that he had runne away through feat

feare and cowardise, he fell vpon his owne sword, at OTHOES feete: at which sight he cried out: That he would no more draw such valiant souldiers, and so well deserving, into danger. Notwithstanding he knew that in the campe there were sufficient forces, and that he had oportunitie to temporize, and to stay for the legions which came out of *Mysia, Hungary, Austria* and *Dalmatia* to his aid, and were neere at hand: yet he regarded not any of those helps, but with his owne hand resolued to end the ciuill warres, which as it passed (for that it is a notable action, although I shall be somwhat tedious) I will declare as PLVTARCH and TACITVS write it, and SVETONIVS TRANQVILLVS also after the report of his owne father, who was then present, which was thus: The heauie tidings of this ouerthrow being published, all those which were in the citie) which were many and very good men, and the greatest part of the Senate of *Rome*) came to OTHO his lodging; fearing and suspecting that which afterwards ensued, by reason of that which they had vnderstood by him before: all which with shew of great courage offered to die for his seruice, and endeuoured to animate and comfort him: but all this (notwithstanding that he knew a great part of his armie yet remained, and that more forces were comming vnto him, and that there wanted neither courage in his souldiers, nor meanes to continue the warres) sufficed not to alter his resolutions; so much did he abhorre ciuill discord and contention. And giuing answere to all the reasons & perswasions which they vsed vnto him, he made vnto them a very notable Oration, signifying, that hee would neuer haue begun the warres against VITELLIVS, but in hope of peace, which he had sought and procured before he took Arms; and that he had no use for those legions and forces which they said came to his aid, seeing that his enemy was neither HANNIBAL nor PYRRHVS, or any other common enemy to the people of *Rome*; but Romans themselves, and the Lords thereof: so as the Conquerers and Conquered did wrong their Countrey if they contended any longer, seeing that the joy of the victory was to the losse and prejudice thereof: And that hee could no way so much aduance the Roman Empire by winning battels in war and contention, as by making a sacrifice of himself for the peace thereof, seeing that by his death onely a generall union and concord would ensue: wherefore he was content that VITELLIVS should bee Emperor without any more bloudshed, and he desired no reuenge nor rule, to the ruine of his Citizens, neither to diminish the Common-wealth by the losse of such Armies; and that as others had purchased honour and fame by well-governing and supporting the Empire, so hee would likewise procure himself a good name by leaving it resolutely, to the end hee would not damnifie it. And, finally, speaking these words, and giving other good reasons, permitting and perswading all those which were with him to go and serve VITELLIVS; night being come, he retired himself to his chamber: where he commanded all his money and jewels to be taken out, which he diuided among his seruants and friends. Which although they would not accept, yet he commanded them to go to their rest: and he did the like, laying first the sharpest of two Rapiers which he had, under his beds head: and, being laid in his bed, he slept part of the night, in presence of those which were in his chamber, the door standing open; and, awaking about the break of the day, and seeing one of his seruants remaining, hee commanded him to goe forth. And, then presently taking the Rapier in his hand, he thrust himself vnder the left side with such force as the wound was mortall, giuing one only groane, which was heard by his seruants, who hastily ran vnto him, and found him striuing with death, and died presently vnder their hands. By those which were present, & such as presently repaired thither from all parts of the citie to him, there was so great lamentation made for him, as it semed the heauens had rent asunder: so much was this man beloued in so few daies. And his bodie was presently burned, according as the custome then was. And so ended the Emperour OTHO manfully and resolutely, according to the opinion and law of the Romanes: scarcely foure moneths after that he had vsurped the Empire, in the 38. yeere of his age, and the 71. after the birth of CHRIST, leauing after him neither sonne nor daughter. He was a man but of a small stature, and had crooked feet; but he was so neat and curious in attiring himselfe, as the care which he tooke therein, was more beseeming a woman then a man. He euer ware a periwig, and suffered no iot of his beard to grow, shauing it e uery day, and so vsed such other effeminate toyes, much dissonant from the manly resolution which he shewed at his death. Many of his soldiers which were about him, when with abundance of reares they had kissed his hands and feet as he lay dead, and commended him for a valiant man, and the onely Emperors that euer was, presently slew themselues neere vnto his funerall fire. And many which were absent, hearing of his end, (oppreſt with greefe) slew one another. Finally, many who in his life cursed and detested him, being now dead, highly commended

Otho his Oration.

Otho diuided his money and Iewels amongst his seruants and friends.

Otho slew himselfe.

commended him; so as it was an ordinarie speech, That GALBA was not slaine by him for that he affected Soueraignty, but because he desired to restore the Common-wealth to her lost libertie.

The newes of his death & of the victorie was brought to his enemie VITELLIVS in *France*: who hauing intelligence of the losses which his captaines had received, was comming with all the forces that he was able to make, to ioyne with them, and to reinforce the armie. In those daies, LINVS who was S. PETERS successor, held the chiefe seate in the Church of *Rome*, where there was a Church and congregation of Christians, which made their prayers to God for those which persecuted them.

THE LIFE OF AVLVS VITELLIVS, ONLY OF THAT NAME, AND NINTH ROMANE EMPEROVR.

THE ARGVMENT.

AFter Otho, Aulus Vitellius, *borne of a Noble Family, succeeded in the Empire, wherin he was vnfortunate: for he gouerned the same but 8. moneths. This man was of a cruell disposition, and of a bountifull minde. In his time* Vespasian, *being in the East, was made Emperour by his Souldiers; who comming to a battaile in Italy against* Vitellius, *tooke him prisoner: and binding his hands behinde him, leading him (publikely) halfe naked, and his face all durtie, they slew him with many wounds, in the same place where he had put* Sabinus, Vespasians *brother, to death. He liued 57. yeeres, and raigned (as is aboue said) little more then halfe a yeere. By whose misery it plainely appeareth how variable the motions of fortune are, and that oftentimes a kingdome is lost through the same meanes whereby it was vniustly gotten, as appeareth in this Emperour: for* Vespasian *did by him as he had done by his Predecessor* Otho.

AS the contention for the Title of Emperor continued betwixt OTHO and VITELLIVS, as by that which is already said may be vnderstood; OTHO being dead, all yeelded to VITELLIVS: which hapned in this manner; The great lamentation made for the death of OTHO being ended, all the men of warre, both Legionarie and Pretorian, with all the rest, made repair to the lodging of VIRGINIVS, who had been Commander of the German Legions, who fought against VINDEX his Army when they both made a mutinie against NERO. And, being all assembled together, they entreated him to take vpon him the name of Emperour; offering him their service, and to die in the action; and if that hee pleased not to accept thereof, yet at the least that hee would be their Ambassador to VALENS and CECINNA; and obtaine their pardon of them. VIRGINIVS RVFVS, who was a wise and valiant man answered them vvith the best vvords he could deuise, alleaging that to him it seemed follie to accept of the Empire from the hands of those which were ouercome, hauing refused the same of the Germane Legions, which now were victors; when in the life of NERO they had offered it him. And as concerning the ambassade which they requested him to performe for them; he gaue them a doubtfull and vncertaine answere, still putting them in hope, vntill that he was gotten into his lodging, and out againe at a backe dore; and so retyred to a secret place where hee hid himselfe vntill that furie was past. But a certain man of note whose name was RVBRIVS

GALBAS, afterwards accepting of that iourney, went to VITELLIVS his Captaines to treate thereof; and peace and pardon was graunted, as well to these men as to the armie ouercome neere *Bebriace*, and so all came to the obedience of VITELLIVS in his absence. The like was done by part of the Senate which came with OTHO, and was then in *Modena*. And in *Rome*, when as the death of OTHO was known, FLAVIVS SABINVS, (being Prefect of the citie) assembled the Senate, who conforming themselues to the time (which was now to proffer seruice and to flatter) with the accustomed solemnity proclaimed VITELLIVS for Emperor, giuing him the title of AVGVSTVS, and *Pater patriæ*, with other honourable titles and Epithetes, resoluing to giue great thanks, and to commend the Armie for that which was done. The newes of all this came to the new Emperor VITELLIVS in *Fraunce* vpon the coast of *Italy*, which how pleasing it was to him, may easily be imagined; wherwith he hastened his way with admirable pompe and pride, his soldiers in all the cities as they passed, committing many disorders and insolencies.

Vitellius conformed Emperour by the Senate.

The German Legions which were in *Italy*, grown proud through the victorie which they had obtained, and for that they were the Authors of VITELLIVS his Empire, committed outrages neuer seene nor heard of in that countrie before, whereof the spoils and losse which the people sustained was inestimable, as TACITVS and SVETONIVS report: And VITELLIVS, coming full of pride for his victorie into *Italy*, either could not, or would not remedie these disorders. And that in some sort he might seem to doe iustice and shew himselfe a Iusticer, he caused all the Pretorian Cohorts, which had been actors about the death of GALBA, and making of OTHO Emperour, to be disarmed and depriued of the name and honor of Souldiers, and commaunded their armes to bee taken from them, and one hundred and twentie of the most guiltie he condemned to death; and being sought and found out, a iust sentence was executed vpon them, if it had proceeded from a iust Iudge. VITELLIVS, thus marching towards *Rome*, desired to see the place where his Captaines obtained the victorie against OTHO his Armie; and being but fortie daies after the same, the fields lay full of dead bodies which were yet vnburied; and as many of those which were with him could not endure the euill smell thereof, the cruell tyrant reproued them, saying, That there was no sweeter sent in the world, then the smell of an enemie when he is dead, and especially of a citizen: A speech doubtlesse very inhumane and cruell; the which is written to be abhorred, and ought to be read with the like affection.

The cruell speech of Vitellius.

VITELLIVS being come to *Rome*, as vpon the way many scandals and outrages were cõmitted by the sundrie nations which came with him, with infinite robberies and spoiles done in the countrey; so was his entry into the citie fearefull and terrible: for he entred into it as into an enemies countrey which had beene conquered, mounted vpon a great horse, clad in militarie and warlike habiliments, the Senate and people of *Rome* going before him as though that he had triumphed ouer them; compassed about with standards, with the Eagles, and sundrie other ensignes, and his whole Army both of foot and horse, armed in the best armour and furniture that could be gotten. In this manner he went to the Capitoll to make his prayers to IVPITER, and afterwards he went in the same manner to his Palace: and the next day commanding the Senate to be assembled, he came thither; where he made a fit speech, magnifying with little wit or discretion his acts and aduentures, and promising great goodnes of himselfe; and by them was humblie answered, obeyed and honoured as Emperour, and their soueraine Lord.

Vitellius his entrie into Rome.

Departing from the Senate and taking his way towards his palace, all the people of *Rome* (being accustomed to flatter and to make offers of their seruice) met him, making shew of great ioy, applauding and blessing him: and as new accidents euer bring good hopes, so all were of opinion that VITELLIVS would proue a good Emperour. These first solemnities being ended, he made himself presently to be chosen high Priest, and perpetuall Consul; and took to himself certain dignities, such as he thought good, and commanded that Magistrates should be chosen for ten yeers before hand: so absolutely and tyrannously purposed he to haue vsurped all things, if time would haue suffred him. And, thinking by his industry to haue prolonged his life, he banished out of *Rome* and all *Italie* all the Iudiciall Astrologers called Mathematicians, because they had said, that his Raign should not continue one yeer compleat. And hee was so incensed against them, as, if Information were made against any one, hee presently put him to death without hearing the Partie. Presently after the making of his Edict for their banishment by the first of October, there was a Writing set vp in the open market place, to this effect: Wee give warning by these Presents vnto VITELLIVS GERMANICVS, that by the Calends of

Vitellius banished the Mathematicians from Rome.

of the said October, he be not extant in any place whersoeuer. After this, falling to his old humors and licentious inclination, he began to giue himself to the practices and vices of NERO, and such like; which were plaies and dishonest sports vpon Theatres, with publike feasts: wherin he consumed an infinite treasure, desiring to make the beginning of his Empire acceptable and pleasing. In which time he made so great banquets, as never any Emperour had done the like before him: at which, was given to his guests (which were a great number of people) such things as never were thought or heard of; wherein he spent inestimable summes. SVETONIVS writes, that he sometimes commanded one, and sometimes another, to invite him: in which feasts they spent at the least ten thousand crowns. But, above all others, one supper was most stately, made by his Brother the day he entred into *Rome*; at which there were two thousand choice Fishes, and seuen thousand Fowle. At which supper, to make it more magnificent, hee did consecrate a Charger of a huge capacity, and called it MINERVA'S Shield: in the which were the Livers, Brains, and Tongues, of rare Fowles; with the spawn of Mullets, which hee had caused to be fisht from the Carpathian Sea to that of *Spain*.

During these pleasures (and afterwards) hee executed great cruelties; in such sort, as, if his Raign had lasted long, he would have made himself equall with NERO, whom hee did imitate: for, he did put many to death contrary to all law and equity, seeking forgeries and false accusations against them; with some of which he had held strict friendship and familiarity: one of which, coming to visit him being sick, and calling for a little water to drink, he with his own hand cast poison into the cold water, and poisoned him. At another time he commanded two yong men being brothers to be slain, for no other cause, but because they came to intreat him to pardon their father, whom hee had condemned to die. And on a time a Roman Knight being caried by his commandment toward the place of execution, he commanded him to be staid, because he said he had nominated him for his heir by his Will and Testament: and seeing his Will, and finding that jointly with him he had made a bondman of his, whom hee had enfranchised, his heir with him, he commanded him to be slain, and the poor Libertine also, without any other occasion. An Vsurer, coming to salute him, and to doo his duty, he delivered him to the executioner to be put to death; and presently called for him back again: But when-as the standers-by commended him for his clemency, hee commanded the Partie to bee slain before his face; saying, that he would feed his eyes. Hee also used the like cruelties upon some poor and mean people; of which upon a time he commanded a great number to be slain, for no other occasion, but for that in certain sports which were used on horseback, and in chariots (wherein were sundry men apparelled in sundry colours) they took part with those which were clad in green, which was called the Prasian faction; hee being affected to the contrary colour, which they called Venetian, which was grey: which two colours and factions (although there were white and red also) were the chief among all the rest. And amongst these colours the good liking and favour of the Roman people was so diuided, as this affection extended it self euen to the Emperours themselves: as, now to VITELLIVS, who fauoured the grey colour; as NERO and CALIGVLA before him had affected the green: and sometime (as it shall be heerafter declared) about these vanities there followed great riots and murthers.

Cruelties committed by Vitellius.

These and other such like cruelties and tyrannies committed VITELLIVS in *Rome*, and some of his Captains and Fauourites did no lesse: for, hauing obtained the victory, euery one reuenged himself on him whom he hated; and sometime they fained displeasures, thereby to haue a colour under which they might rob and spoil the innocent: such are the fruits of ciuill war. Besides this, the violences and oppressions which were committed in *Rome* were very great, and in the marches thereof by the men of war which he brought with him, and were lodged in the Country, staying to see him settled in the Empire.

While-as VITELLIVS made so ill a beginning in the City of *Rome*, suffering himself to be led and governed by Libertines, and such as were odious to all men; after that *Italie*, *Spain*, *France* and *Africa*, were come to his obedience; in the East the Legions which were there for the defence thereof, although that in the beginning they refused not his Command, yet they presently did beginne to mutine, and very shortly after resolued to make VESPASIAN their Emperour, who at this time (as is aforesayd) made warre against the Iewes, which began about the end of the raigne of NERO; They hauing rebelled, beeing abused with an olde fabulous Prophecie, which they did constantly beleeue, *That by the appointment of the destinies about such a time ther should come some out of Iurie, who should be Lords of the whole world*: but the euent did shew it was meant by the Roman Empire. The issue therof passed in such manner as followeth.

VESPASIAN, who for his worthy acts in his life past, was much esteemed, in this war gained greater estimation: for he obtained many victories, and besieged and took many cities in *India*, and PALESTINA; vntill that at last being readie to besiege the cittie of *Ierusalem*, the Emperor NERO died: and vnderstanding of his death, and being doubtfull what would ensue, he continued the warre for a space, vntill he might see who should succeede in the Empire: and knowing that GALBA preuailed, he took no care to proceede any further or to oppresse the cittie, but preserued what he had gotten, & kept the enemie in awe, obseruing what course the new Emperor would take: and so he sent his sonne TITVS to *Rome*, to treate of this businesse, and to offer him his obedience. Who being hindred by contrarie weather, when he came to the coast of *Achaia* in *Gracia*, he was aduertised that GALBA was slaine by the direction of OTHO; wherefore he held it for his best course to returne to his father, and so he did: and as OTHO his raigne continued but foure moneths as is aboue said, and in the same followed the ciuill warres betweene him and VITELLIVS, VESPASIAN continued as howeuer although that he acknowledged OTHO for Emperor, vntill that VITELLIVS obtained the victorie, and OTHO was slaine; which was nothing pleasing to him, neither to the Captaines in the East, neither to their armies, for the dislike they had that so vicious a man as VITELLIVS should be Emperour: and so that day wherein they sware fealtie to their new Emperor, with the accustomed solemnitie, in presence of VESPASIAN (CORNELIVS TACITVS writeth) that the Legions performed it with great silence and heauines. And VESPASIAN prosecuting the warre with great honour and fame, and hauing now resolued to besiege the citie of *Ierusalem*; the murmuring and discontentment at so much increased against the new Emperour VITELLIVS, aswell in the armie which VESPASIAN commaunded, as in those in *Syria*, in *Egypt*, and other ordinarie Legions in the East; as they all fixed their eies vpon VESPASIAN, resoluing to create him Emperour against VITELLIVS: whereto was a great helpe, the certaine newes which came that the Legions in *Mysia* and *Pannonia*, had the same resolution: for (as is before related) they came to the aide of OTHO when his armie was defeated, and he slew himselfe: and continuing in the same resolution, they disobeied VITELLIVS, desiring and nominating VESPASIAN for Emperor. In such sort as vpon these motions, there passed some messages and letters betweene TIBERIVS ALEXANDER, who was gouernour of *Egypt*, and LICINIVS MVCIANVS gouernour of *Syria*; who concluded that VESPASIAN should be Emperour, although that he refused it. And this matter being begun by TIBERIVS ALEXANDER, who was gouernour of *Egypt*, in the citie of *Alexandria*; VESPASIAN was in his absence proclaimed Emperor, and al the Army confirmed the same with great applause, doing their accustomed homage: which happened the first day of Iuly in the seauentie and two yeere after the birth of CHRIST. And this was accounted for the beginning of the raigne of VESPASIAN; and within eight daies or little more or lesse his Armie did the like, entreating him first to accept thereof: and he refusing and gainesaying it (as EGESIPPVS and IOSEPHVS doe testifie) they forced and compelled him with their drawne swords threatning to kill him if he refused the same. Hauing accepted thereof and performed all the solemnities requisite in so great an accident, VESPASIAN as a valiant and excellent prince, with the like wisedome and valour as he had liued being a subiect, began to shew himselfe a Lord; and to prouide for all things with great authoritie and iudgement, sending Ambassadors, and writing letters to all parts of the world.

Vespasian *made Emperor, which he refusing, was compelled to accept thereof by whom and in what manner.*

And within few daies after this, all the armies and prouinces of the East came to his obedience and seruice; and the like in *Europe* did those of *Mysia*, *Bulgaria*, *Seruia*, and those of *Hungarie* and *Austria* then called *Pannonia*; and also those in *Slauonia*, then called *Dalmatia* and *Illiricum*, whose auncient names I will sometime vse vntill such time as they shall lose the same. The like I haue done and will doe in most of the prouinces of the Empire. All things happening so prosperous and luckily to VESPASIANVS, hauing resolued with MVCIANVS gouernour of *Syria*, TIBERIVS ALEXANDER gouernour of *Egypt*, and with his owne sonne TITVS what was best to bee done, it was decreed that TITVS should continue the warres against the Iewes; that MVCIANVS with the greatest part of the Legions, should with all speede take his iourney for *Italie*; and that VESPASIAN should goe to *Alexandria* in *Egypt* to make prouision from all parts, and with a greater power passe ouer into *Italie*, there to make an end of the warre, if it were not before hand finished by MVCIANVS. This being concluded, it was commanded to bee presently put in execution. But while as LICINIVS MVCIANVS was trauelling towards *Italie*, ANTONIE, who was Generall of the Legions in *Illyricum* and *Dalmatia*

Antonie *captaine of the Legions in Slauonia came into Italie against Vitellius.*

matia, hauing intelligence of what had passed, desiring to doe VESPASIAN some great seruice, and to shew the hatred which he bare against VITELLIVS, marched in great hast with his Legions, and such as he could leuie in *Mysia* and *Pannonia*, and came to make warre in *Italy* against the Emperour VITELLIVS, who was in armes.

Of the election of VESPASIAN and of other things (as we haue said) and of euery particular which had passed, within few daies VITELLIVS had aduertisement, who spent his time in *Rome* in banketting and riot, although that he could not long enioy the same. And desirous to make resistance against so great forces, he began to leuie the greatest power he was able, besides those which he had alreadie, the which he yet had not discharged: and knowing with what haste and resolution ANTONY commander of *Illiricum* came forwards, without staying for LICINIVS MVCIANVS, who came with as great speede, he sent VALENS and CEGINNA his Captaines before named, who had serued him in the warre against OTHO, with so great an armie and power, as seemed sufficient to make head both against him and LICINIVS MVCIANVS. He also prouided extraordinarie fleets and Captaines for the Seas. Thus the warre begun, but it would be too long to repeate all the particular accidents which happened: the effect was, that the two armies approching the one neere to the other, there grew a iealousie that CECINNA one of VITELLIVS Captaines practised some agreement with VESPASIANS Commanders: which being knowne in the armie, he was slaine by the old souldiers. ANTONY hearing this, as he had a great desire to fight before that MVCIANVS should come (after sundry great encounters and skirmishes, which happed betweene them) came to a maine battaile with the Vitellians, neere to the Citie *Cremona*: which was fought with such furie, and was so bloudy and cruell, that of ANTONY his side vvho vvas Conqueror, there vvere slaine 4500. men, and of the Vitellians, vvho vvere ouercome aboue 30000.

A cruell battaile.

This great victorie being obtained, *Italy*, which vntill then had been vvholly at the deuotion of VITELLIVS and took his part, vvas suddenly diuided, and many Cities sided vvith VESPASIAN. It is an admirable thing, and vvorthy of an excellent Historie, to recite the accidents which hapned within few dayes, and the cruell vvarre vvhich CORNELIVS TACITVS vvriteth more at large then any other, the vvhich I cannot relate for breuities sake, which I obserue. But the issue vvas, that VITELLIVS Captaines, vvho vvere ouercom & escap't from the battaile, reinforcing their Army, and gathering together their Souldiers, made what resistance against VESPASIANS Captaines they vvere able, although they vvere not of force to stop their passage to *Rome*, as hereafter shall be declared. For, ANTONY being Victor, with the same greatnes of mind, and expedition vvherwith he began the war, endeauored to obtaine the victory, seeking means to put it in execution. As soone as VITELLIVS, being in *Rome*, was giuen to vnderstand of the ouerthrow of his armie, affrighted with such newes (although that hee neuer gaue ouer his vices and beastly courses) he made election of new Captaines, which were IVLIVS PRISCVS and ALPHENVS VARRO, who with thirteene Cohorts should guard the passage of the *Appennine* mountaines; & should also seeke to stop ANTONY his passage for *Rome*, and MVCIANVS also, who as it as is said, was alreadie arriued in *Italy*. And of the rest of his forces which he held for the guard of the cittie, he made his brother LVCIVS VITELLIVS Generall, and vsed all possible meanes to leuie men of all sorts. But the successe was such, as feare made VITELLIVS desire to come to some composition and agreement howsoeuer: And being offered by letters from ANTONY, who was victor, and also from MVCIANVS that if he would quietly resigne the Empire, his life should be graunted him, and a place with meanes sufficient for his maintenance; thereto he gaue care and took counsell thereupon, with FLAVIVS SABINVS, VESPASIAN his brother, who in all these troubles remained in *Rome*, and neuer withdrew himselfe from VITELLIVS, hauing also with him DOMITIANVS, VESPASIANS youngest sonne, who afterwards was Emperor: and it was concluded, in the temple of IVNO; where he sware and promised to renounce the Empire, and would presently haue put it in effect, as he twice protested openly: so great was his feare. But those which were of greatest authoritie about him did so much oppose it, and chiefly the Pretorian Cohorts, as hee took heart againe, and altred his determination.

A composition offered to Vitellius, conditionally that he should resigne the Empire.

Which when FLAVIVS SABINVS vnderstood (to whose house were drawne together a great number of the chiefest noble men of *Rome*, as to his brother, whom they made account should be Emperor) he was much moued therewith. And knowing that in the behalfe of VITELLIVS there came some to murther him in his house, being induced thereto by those which were with him, he went forth of his house with strong hand, although with lesse power

then was requisite for so great an action, and retyred to the Capitoll (which was the chiefest strength of *Rome*) and seised on the same, where he was presently besieged by VITELLIVS his friends. And as it commonly happeneth, Many will giue honourable and graue counsell, but there are few will thrust themselues into danger, neither lend their hand to put it in execution: so, few of those which had perswaded him to enter into this action, came to his aide, or made any repaire vnto him. The next morning he was assaulted with great furie, in the defence whereof was no good order, but rather little agreement: and as in such misfortunes and disasters it happeneth, all will direct and command, but few will execute; so as by the meanes of ill fighting and worse direction, the Capitoll was by force entred and burned, and all those which were therein, slaine, and FLAVIVS SABINVS taken prisoner, who within a little while after was put to death by the commandement of VITELLIVS; and yong DOMITIANVS his nephew and sonne to VESPASIAN, escaped by flight, and so might SABINVS haue done that night (as CORNELIVS TACITVS reporteth) if he would haue come forth of the Capitoll: for there was no sufficient guard to haue hindred him: but he with too little iudgement, and too much presumption was lost, as is said.

After the death of SABINVS, VITELLIVS hearing that ANTONY drew neer to *Rome* with his forces, he again began to seek some agreement; and to that end sent letters and messengers unto him: and he grew so fearfull and dejected, as hee sent the vestall virgins, who were virgins enclosed like Nuns in a Cloister; which was the most religious and most ceremoniously guarded of any thing in *Rome*. But ANTONY, beeing incensed for the death of SABINVS, would give no ear to their words, neither come to any composition; but kept on his way untill he came neer *Rome*, where VITELLIVS his Forces attended him, resolutely determining to defend themselves. So there being, both without and within, a very great number of the best souldiers in the world, ANTONY assailed it in three parts, and VITELLIVS his people sallied out against him in as many; and there began at each of them one of the most cruell fights in the world: which CORNELIVS TACITVS describes excellently well; affirming, that it lasted the greatest part of the day. And, in the end, that City (which was the Head and Lady of the world) was taken by those which were her owne natural Subjects; and they which were subdued endured that which in like cases hapneth, and much more; as, slaughters, spoilings, violences, and extreme disgraces, as against enemies whom they deadly hated for the death of SABINVS, for that he was their Lords Brother, and for the obstinacy and fury wherwith they had fought.

Rome entred, taken, and sacked, and by whom

When VITELLIVS saw that the City was entred, thinking to escape by flight, hee went forth of his Palace; and, finding no safe way (I knowe not with what hope) he returned thither again; and, finding it abandoned without guard or defense, in the best manner he could he hid himself in a secret place: where he staid not long before he was found by a Tribune. And beeing taken by him, without attending any further determination or counsell, they bound his hands behinde him, and cast a rope about his neck: and, tearing his clothes from his back, half naked they led him through the streets of *Rome*, untill they brought him to the principal place; where by the way they did him an infinite number of indignities and disgraces; pulling his hair behinde him, as they used to malefactors; and, ferting a dagger under his chin, that hee might be seen of all men, some casting dirt and filth in his face, others calling him Incendiarie & glutton; and some reproaching him with the defects of his body: and there hee was slain by the souldiers (no man being able to aver for certain, who either began or ended) and cast into *Tiber*. And this was the end of this tyrannous Emperor, and with him died his brother LVCIVS VITELLIVS, and one only son which he had at his death. He had not been Emperor much aboue eight moneths, as most authors affirme, although that SVETONIVS setteth downe a longer time: for he maketh his account that VESPASIAN was chosen Emperor in the East, in the eight moneth of VITELLIVS his raigne, which was some moneths before his death, which was in the 57. yeere of his age, and the 72. yeere after the birth of our SAVIOVR. What hapned after his death shall be referred to the historie of VESPASIAN, seeing that it was in his time. VITELLIVS was so tall, and so corpulent of body, as he was therewith deformed. His face was verie red, by reason of the much wine which hee dranke, and was very corpulent: he went lame of one leg, through a bruise which he had receiued by a wagon.

The death of Vitellius.

Anno Dom. 72.

THE

THE LIFE OF FLAVIVS VESPASIANVS, ONLY OF THAT NAME, AND TENTH ROMANE EMPEROVR.

THE ARGVMENT.

VItellius *being ignominiously slaine, the good* Vespasian *attained to the Imperiall dignity, who restored tyred Rome to such rest, as it seemed to haue recouered her ancient dignity and greatnesse, from whence the vices and wickednes of many former Emperours had made it to fall. This man, before that he attained to the Empire, was no lesse wise then valiant in Art Militarie: so as he grew to be so excellent, as notwithstanding hee was not borne of any very Noble house, yet for his vertues he deserued to be made Emperor. In his time were ended the warres of Ierusalem, vnder the gouernment of his sonne* Titus. *He made many Prouinces tributary to the Romane Empire, which vntill then neuer yeelded obedience. He beautified Rome, not onely by repairing the ruines, growne by the fire, made by* Nero; *but he also built a new Amphitheater and Temples, which hee adorned with faire marble, and most beautifull Statues: for in his time painting and carving flourished. He was very courteous and milde, and amongst his other vertues, this was one: to forget iniuries, and not to regard what malicious tongues sayd of him. He was very cleanly, and neat of his bodie. In his diet he was very temperate, and fasted one whole day in euery moneth. He was noted for no other vice but auarice, whereof he excused himselfe, alleaging, that he found the Imperiall Treasurie emptie, through the pilling of former Tyrants. He liued 69. yeeres, and raigned tenne, and dyed of the flux. Truely, it seemeth this Emperor was borne for the good of the Roman Common-wealth; to the end, that after the crueltie of so many Tyrants it should not be wholly ruinated.*

AS fair weather cometh after tempests and storms: so was the Raign of VESPASIAN after the troublesome and stormy times of the detestable Emperors TIBERIVS, CALIGVLA, NERO, and the tyrannies and civill warres of GALBA, OTHO, and VITELLIVS: wherewith the Roman Empire was so divided and shaken, as it was ready to come to ruine, if VESPASIAN had not upheld and supported the same by his goodnes, valor and wisdome. VESPASIAN was of the Family of the FLAVII, mean and lowe, and not honoured with any titles and dignities. Hee had, long before these civill combustions, tokens presaging Soveraignty. First, within a Countrey Farm belonging to the FLAVII, there stood an old Oak consecrated to MARS, which at three child-births of VESPASIA, sodainly put forth a bough at every birth. The first was small, and withered soon (for, a daughter then born died within one yeer): the second grew & continued long: but the third came to the bignes of a Tree. Whereupon SABINVS (Father to VESPASIAN) tould his owne mother, that she had a Nephew born which should be CÆSAR. Being in *Achaia*, hee dream't that he and his should prosper, when-as NERO had a tooth drawne: and it hapned, that the day following a Barber shewed him a tooth of NERO's, newly drawn. And IOSEPHVS, being taken in the Iewish Wars, and cast into prison, maintained constantly, that hee should be shortly set at liberty by him, but he should be Emperour first. These, with many other presages, confirmed his hopes to obtain the Empire. He was 59 yeers ould when hee was chosen Emperour, and came to be knowne, and to winne reputation and credit in the times of CLAVDIVS, CALIGVLA, and NERO; and he obtained offices and dignities in the wars, and in the government of Cities. In *Thracia* he was Tribune of the souldiers; and, beeing Questor or Treasurer, the Ile of *Creta* (now *Candia*) fell to his lot. He was Edil and Pretor in *Rome*, and afterwards was Lieutenant to the Legions in *Germanie*: and from thence he was sent to bee

Vespasians birth.

Vespasians offices & dignities.

Governour and Generall in *Britanny* when it rebelled, where (as EVTROPIVS and SVETONIVS report) he fought above thirty times in battels and skirmishes, in his owne person: so as for his desert there were Armes and triumphant ornaments given him, such as they did use to give to such as did triumph. After all which, he was Consul in *Rome* two months in the end of a yeer, and was afterward Proconsul in *Asia* in the time of NERO; and in the end was sent thither by him to that warre against them: the which he followed when as he was chosen Emperour against VITELLIVS, his Army compelling him thereto, as it is already observed. He had at that time two sonnes, the one called TITVS who was with him, the other DOMITIANVS who was in *Rome*: both which he had by FLAVIA DOMICILLA his lawfull wife, daughter to FLAVIVS LIBERALIS; by whom hee had had a daughter which was dead, whose name was DOMICILLA also.

And this is the summe of his life before he came to the Empire. But, returning to our History, it passed in this manner: VITELLIVS being so reproachfully and ignominiously slain in *Rome*; although with his death the warre ceased, yet the ruins and effects thereof were not ended: for, the Conquerors committed so many slaughters and spoils upon those which had taken VITELLIVS part, as there was no part of *Rome* wherein was not effusion of bloud; so as that City endured (by means of this battell) the like or greater misery, than in the wars and proscriptions of MARIVS and SILLA, or any other whatsoever in times past. But, as soon as MVCIANVS came to *Rome*, who was the chief Commander sent by VESPASIAN, and that DOMITIANVS was returned, who ever since the death of his Vncle SABINVS, and the burning of the Capitoll, lay hidden; these murders and revenges ceased, and there beganne some order to be taken in the Common-wealth.

The Senate was assembled, and the government of VESPASIAN was accepted and approoved, and there were given unto him the names and titles which were usually given to other Emperors; and messengers with all diligence were sent unto him, to advertise him of the victory, and to yeeld obedience in the behalfe of the Senate. And for that (being absent) he could not take order and provide for the estate of *Rome*, his sonne DOMITIANVS, MVCIANVS and ANTONIE which then were of greatest power, began to manage the government, not without confusion and emulation betweene them, vntill the comming of VESPASIAN, which by reason of the dangerous sailing in the winter time was deferred. The only thing he wanted (being as it were a new vnexpected Prince) was countenance and authoritie, and a kind of royal Maiestie, which also followed suddainly vpon this occasion: Being in *Alexandria* (attending a seasonable time for his passage to *Rome*) there was a certaine man of meane qualitie starke blinde, and another lame, both which came together when as he sate on his Tribunall, craving help for their infirmities, it beeing foretold them by SERAPIS in their dreames, that If VESPASIAN did but spet in the blinde mans eyes, hee should recover his sight; and the others leg should be made strong, if he would but touch it with his heel. He doubted much of the successe, and therefore durst not put it in practice: yet in the end, by the perswasion and importunity of his friends, before the whole Assembly he tried both the means; and they were both cured, as SVETONIVS writes.

DOMITIANVS was called CÆSAR, and made Pretor of *Rome* with Consulary authority; and, because he was the Emperors son, had the preeminence and chief place in all matters, although he proved not afterwards to be such as he ought to have been: for, besides that hee was vitious, he was disloyall aand disobedient to his Father. The Senates Embassadors, and others which were sent from *Rome*, found VESPASIAN in the City of *Alexandria* in *Egypt*, with his Legions and men of warre ready to passe into *Italie* against VITELLIVS (knowing nothing, that he was dead) and staied there with the King of *Parthia's* Embassadors, which offered him 40000 horsemen. In like manner, there were Ambassadors from other Kings and Terrarchs of the East (some subject to the Empire, and some free) which came to the like intent: but, seeing there was no such need to draw so great Forces to *Rome*, he gave great thanks to the King of *Parthia's* Legats, and the rest of the Kings for their offers, and resolved to take his passage as soon as conveniently he might: And so, as a wise Emperour, forgat not to take order for the defense and extent of the bounds of the Empire; resolving to send his son TITVS to make an end of the warres begun by him against the Iewes and the holy City of *Ierusalem*: to whom besides the ordinary Legions, he gave three other Legions; wherewith TITVS continued the warres with great resolution: and, by Gods permission, the Iews were in his time, by the hands of the Romans, and through their owne civill dissension, vanquished even to their totall confusion,

fusion, as hereafter in briefe shall be declared. VESPASIAN could not so soone depart from *Alexandria* as he desired, by reason of the stormie and vnseasonable weather by Sea, vnfit for Nauigation, in which time there arose in *Rome* great troubles, emulations, enuie, and contentions betweene MVCIANVS and ANTONY, each seeking to be preferred before other: MVCIANVS, for that he was the chiefe commander sent by VESPASIAN, and had borne great sway in his election; and the other, for the great victories which he had gotten in his service against VITELLIVS and his Captaines. The bad practices of DOMITIANVS were also partly cause of these tumults, who could not be easily restrained, considering who he was. But the reuolts and insurrections which then were in *Germany* and part of *France*, did much more trouble them that swayed the gouernment: for all was in combustion, and in Armes against the Empire, which had a former originall in the time of VITELLIVS, although that then wee could not relate it. The originall and occasion thereof was in manner as followeth.

Tumult in Rome

In the prouince of *Battauia*, now called *Holland* (a prouince in low *Germanie*, which the *Rhine* diuiding it selfe maketh an Iland) there was an audacious man, of great credit among them, whose name was CLAVDIVS CIVILIS, who vnder colour of taking part with VESPASIAN against VITELLIVS, when the warre began between them, leuied some forces of that countrie, and induced the Frieslanders and their captaine, whose name was BRINO, to do the like: and being thus in armes, they assailed those of the Romane legions which held for VITELLIVS; and taking them at vnawares, slew many of them, being left weake by reason that VITELLIVS withdrew the greatest part of the forces from thence when hee went against OTHO as before hath been mentioned: So as they draue all the Roman garrisons out of that prouince, and there happened afterwards many encounters and skirmishes of eyther side, vntill that VESPASIAN preuailing in *Italy*, FLACCVS HORDEONIVS, being for VITELLIVS captain of those legions in *Germany*, was slaine by his owne souldiers, proclaiming VESPASIAN; & so the legions remained without order of commander. CLAVDIVS CIVILIS with the forces of *Holland* and *Friesland*, loyning with another captaine called CLASSICVS, imagined that in the confusion of those troublesome times, they might free their countries; or to say better, make themselues Lords thereof, as many haue done: and drawing to their faction certaine of the legions which remained firme for VITELLIVS, they made an insurrection against VESPASIAN, publishing that he was dead; in such sort as within few daies, some cities in *Grance* reuolted, so as it was feared that some great alteration would haue ensued in the Empire. Which, as I said, put MVCIANVS and ANTONIE in great doubt; for DOMITIANVS who should haue had the greatest care, spent his time in his vices and pleasures. After many counsels and consultations held about this businesse, QVINTILIVS CERIALIS was sent for Generall into those parts: who both valiantly and wisely followed the warres, and reduced those legions to the seruice of the Empire, who being abused, had ioyned with CLAVDIVS CIVILIS; and obtained notable victories although hardly gotten and very bloudie, which CORNELIVS TACITVS sets downe at large. Being in the heate of this warre, holding it to be of great importance, MVCIANVS and DOMITIANVS departed from *Rome*, with the greatest power they could raise, to giue relieue and ayde where neede should require; who being come to the *Alps*, they had intelligence that CERIALIS had obtained another famous victorie in a great battaile: by meanes whereof, and of the fame of their comming, all those countries yeelded their obedience, and the *Germaines* laying downe their armes, desired peace. Notwithstanding this, DOMITIAN, although there were no neede, had a desire to march forwards, and to take the gouernment and forces which CERIALIS held and commanded, and wrote sundrie letters to him requesting the same: whereupon he was suspected, that his intent was to rebell against his father, and so writeth CORNELIVS TACITVS. Others suspect that he did it of enuie against his brother TITVS, and to make himselfe equall with him: But his practices, whatsoeuer they were, took no effect. For, CERIALIS dissembled and would not yeeld his command and gouernment vnto him, and MVCIANVS hindred his passage from going any further: for CERIALIS within few dayes had pacified the countrie, and DOMITIANVS returned to *Rome* to receiue his father, who (he knew) was comming, and within few daies came, hauing sayled from *Alexandria* to *Rhodes* in ships, and from thence in gallies; and passing all along the coast of *Græcia*, visited all the cities thereof which were in his way, till his arriuall in *Italy*, and so came to *Rome*, where he was most solemnly receiued (which IOSEPHVS most elegantly relateth.) For, as his comming had

An insurrection in Holland.

Domitian is suspected.

Vespasian and comming to Rome.

had been long desired and wished for; so was it very gratefull and pleasing to all men, and he presently began to do things conformable to the desire and hope which they had conceiued of him, in ministring iustice, in reforming the lawes and customes of *Rome*, rewarding those which had serued him, and pardoning and punishing with singular clemencie those which were his aduersaries: in conclusion, he made a good and laudable beginning of his Empire, and persewered and ended therein, as shall appeare.

In the meane time while as the Emperor VESPASIAN parted from *Alexandria* and came to *Rome*, his sonne TITVS prosecuting the warres against the Iewes, hauing subdued the countrey round about, he came and besieged the Citie of *Ierusalem*, at such time as from all parts of the world an incredible number of Iewes were come into the Citie, to celebrate the feast of the Paschall Lambe. Of the siege and destruction thereof, because it was a matter of great moment, and prophecied of before, and was famous afterwards, it shall not be amisse in few words to declare the end thereof; and for as much, as in truth, it was the most strictly and obstinately besieged, and best defended Citie that euer was in the world, the Iewes persisting in their obstinacy and rebellion, by Gods permission, in reuenge of the death and passion of his only sonne IESVS CHRIST our Sauiour God and man: all which IOSEPHVS, EGESIPPVS and CORNELIVS TACITVS write at large, to which I remit the curious reader, besides many others which are more briefe: being by TITVS besieged in such manner, as no man could sallie forth, or enter into it. For the effecting whereof, not contenting himselfe with the multitude of his men of warre and prouision, within fewe dayes he compassed it round about with trenches and ramparts, such as were sufficient, making the souldiers of his army set their hands to the work: so as he besieged it in this manner the space of fiue moneths; in which time there were so many assaults, skirmishes and slaughters, as by the numbers of the dead, which we will set downe, may appeare: and such as I neuer read or heard that the like had passed before any Citie; with such obstinacy and resolution the besiegers assayled it, and the besieged defended themselues. In all which TITVS performed the dutie of a most excellent Captaine and a valiant Knight; sometime giuing direction and commanding, and also when neede required fighting, that, as IOSEPHVS testifieth, in this conquest he slew twelue Iews with his owne hands. The hunger which afflicted the Citie of *Ierusalem* in this siege, is wonderfull to reade: for, all ordinary sustenance being spent, although they made the greatest spare thereof that was possible, they gaue themselues to eate all things that might yeelde any taste, without any difference, good or bad, eating the flesh of horses, asses, dogs, cats, rats, snakes, adders, and other vncleane and strange things, as it seemeth incredible to all humane reason: But this glueth it the more credit, for that all writers both Christian and Heathen affirme, that there was a mother which killed and ate her owne sonne, whom she had at her breast. Finally, after the death of an infinite number by sword and famine, vpon the eight day of September (hauing been besieged about fiue moneths, and aboue foure yeeres after the warre was begun by VESPASIAN in the raigne of NERO) the Citie of *Ierusalem* was entred by force, and a great number of those which were therein slaine: and so had they all been, but that TITVS, moued with compassion, commanded the execution vpon women, and such as bare no armes, to cease. But although that this slaughter was stayed, yet in the prouince and the citie there died of hunger and the sword (as EVSEBIVS, PAVLVS OROSIVS and other authors affirme) sixe hundred thousand men able to beare armes. And if we shall giue credit to IOSEPHVS, who was an eye-witnesse to most part thereof, there died eleuen hundred thousand; and there were Captiues which were sold, nintie seuen thousand. EGESIPPVS, who is of no lesse credit and authoritie, agreeth with him in the number of the captiues; but in the number of the dead, he setteth downe 100000. lesse, which seemeth to bee an error but in the letter: both which doe yeeld the reason of so great mortalitie to be, as is said; for that so great a number was gathered together in *Ierusalem* to the feast at Easter, and had retired thither as to the head of all that prouince, there to die or defend the same. Also that famous Temple was burnt, and those strong and stately walles of the famous Temple of SALOMON were throwne downe, and all the Citie laid waste, desolate and wholly ruined, as sundry Prophets had before prophecied.

Ierusalem besieged by Titus.

The extreme famine in the citie of Ierusalem when it was besieged.

A mother killed and ate her owne sonne.

Ierusalem taken by Titus.

Salomons temple destroyed.

And this iust and deserued destruction of *Ierusalem* happened in the second yeere of the Emperor VESPASIAN, and the fortith yeere after the death of CHRIST our Lord, and the seuentie three after his birth, being (according to EVSEBIVS and PAVLVS OROSIVS) one thousand one hundred and two yeers after that the Temple was first built by SALOMON, and

and fiue hundred nintie & one yeer after that it was reedified in the time of K. DARIVS, hauing been destroied by the Babylonians. In this account I follow EVSEBIVS his computation, to auoid disputation about the difference which is among Writers. All affirm, and it doth plainly appear by PLINY and CORNELIVS TACITVS, that *Ierusalem* had never been so rich, nor so populous, nor so sumptuous in walls, temples and buildings, as at the time of CHRIST his passion, and when it was destroied. And so that City and the holy Temple were ouerthrown and laid euen with the ground, not one stone remaining vpon another; according as our Sauiour CHRIST had told his Disciples; they shewing it to him, and extolling the greatnes and building of that Temple, as the holy Euangelist receiteth more at large: and so it lay untill the Emperor ADRIAN began to reedifie it, although not in the same place, neither such as it was before; as hereafter shall be declared. And so that Prouince, which had been gouerned by the Romans as their friends, and in a manner free, was made captiue and tributarie; and the Iewes being captiues were sould and dispersed through all parts of the world.

Ierusalem destroyed and laid waste, so that there remained not one stone vpon another, An. Dom. 40

The Iewes taken in Ierusalem, sold and dispersed ouer the world.

This warre being ended by TITVS in such manner as is specified, his Father and all *Rome* greatly rejoyced thereat, and to both them the triumph was granted by the Senate, because they both had followed that warre. And TITVS, leauing all things in good order in the East, came victorious to *Rome*. And, within fewe daies after, both the Father and the Sonne entred triumphing with one of the most solemn and stately triumphs that euer was seen in *Rome*. The which he that will see more at large, shall finde it written by IOSEPHVS in his seuenth book of the wars of the Iewes.

Vespasian and Titus came to Rome in triumph for the wars of the Iewes.

While as TITVS was busied about the siege of the City of *Ierusalem*, the Alanes, a people of *Scythia* (of whom heerafter we shall speak much) had their abode aboue the lake *Meotis*, neer the River *Tanais*: who in very great numbers abandoned their Country, it being barren and vnfruitfull, or for that it was not sufficient to sustaine them, and came into the Territory of the Medes, robbing and spoiling that Country; and marching forwards came into *Armenia*, where they did the like. TIRIDATES, King thereof, fought a battell with them; wherein he was ouercome, and by great good fortune escaped by flight. Which when TITVS understood, hauing then fully ended his enterprize against *Ierusalem*, he marched with his Forces to the relief of TIRIDATES, to assist a King who was vassall and friend to the Empire; and came to the City of *Antioch*, as EGESIPPVS writeth: but the Alanes, vpon the onely report of his coming, returned to their Country, contented with what they had gotten by theft. VESPASIAN being in *Rome*, enjoying the Empire in peace, had his son TITVS continually with him, having had good experience of his wisdome and milde disposition: he did most matters by his counsell, and after his opinion, and in all things held him for his companion in the Empire, and made him his fellow in office in the Censurie and Tribunate; and afterwards in seuen Consulships together.

Tiridates King of Armenia ouerthrowne and put to flight by the Alanes.

VESPASIAN, continuing as he had begun the whole course of his life, neuer omitted any thing that was fit for a good and excellent Emperour, as well in preseruing and inlarging the Empire, as in beautifying and reforming the same; in correcting the abuses and euill customes, as in execution of Iustice and other vertues: and chiefly he took great care for the publike edifices and buildings, wherein he spent much treasure; and made the Capitol which VITELLIVS had burnt (when his brother SABINVS was slain) to bee reedified and new built, farre more stately and beautifull than euer it had been. Hee also repaired the City of *Rome* of those ruines which yet remained since it was burnt in the time of NERO, as in his life wee have declared. Besides this, he built a most stately Temple to the goddesse PALLAS; the workmanship whereof was so rich, so exquisite, and so excellent, as the like had neuer been seen in *Rome*. For, touching the painting, caruing, and inlaying, all the most excellent workmen of the world (these Arts being then at the highest) shewed their skill, and left memorials of their handworking, as PLINIVS writes; and IOSEPHVS (who was an eye-witnes) affirms, that men came from all parts of the world to see the riches and excellencie of this Temple. VESPASIAN also built an Amphitheatre, of singular and most rare workmanship; which is yet at this day to be seen in *Rome*, although ruined and defaced: which is a building of marvellous and sumptuous greatnes, round in form, as if two Theatres were joined together like to half circles: in the middest of which were represented the plaies, shewes, wrestlings, fightings with wilde beasts, and also combats of sword-plaiers: And euery thing was wrought and framed in such manner, as by means of their seats it was capable of an infinite number of people, without any hindrance one to the other; which we may comprehend by the Theatre which OCTAVIANVS CÆSAR,

The good deeds of Vespasian.

SAR built in remembrance of his Nephew MARCELLVS, of which we reade that there were seates for fourescore thousand persons. And VESPASIAN did not only consume great treasure in building (whereto he was much affected) but he also bestowed great gifts and pensions vpon such as were masters and excellent workmen; and no lesse but rather greater, vpon learned men, and such as were expert in arts: and to the Rhetoricians and masters in eloquence, both in Greeke and Latin, he gaue great fees and pensions out of his Exchequer; & also vpon Poets and other excellent learned men, he bestowed notable fauours and rewards: so as it is certain that he not only shewed himselfe liberall in these things aforesaid, but to all persons and in all places. And in the Prouinces where he knew that any publike buildings were ruined or decayed, by reason of the ill gouernment in times past, he commanded them to be reedified and repaired at his own charges out of the subsidies and tributes. The like care he took for some Cities, which in his time were defaced by earth-quakes. And for that he would not forget to repaire and amend the liuing bodies aswell as the dead, he endeuoured to reforme and order the multiplicitie and tediousnes of sutes and pleas in law, chusing new iudges and Arbitrators, which should take order, and set agreement between the parties contending; and within few daies should decide and determine controuersies and pleas in sute: and he ordained and established most excellent lawes and statutes.

Prouinces brought into subiection by Vespasian.

After that the good Emperor VESPASIAN had taken such good order in all his actions, as he made the time of his raigne most happy, he was still carefull to continue and increase the same. We also reade that he made many Prouinces subiect and tributaries, which vntill then were in a manner as friends and obedient, but yeelded no tributes, or did other seruices: Among which in *Asia* the lesse were the Prouinces of *Lycia*, *Pamphilia*, and *Cilicia*; and in *Asia* the great, *Comagena*, which lieth Eastwards from *Cilicia*; and here in *Europe*, the Prouince of *Thracia*, and the Citie of *Byzantium* which is now called *Constantinople*, with the Iles of *Rhodes* and *Samos*; and other Countries and Prouinces which he also made tributaries. For what cause or reason he did so, I finde it not written: but duly considering the acts and proceedings of this Emperor, I presume that he did it not without iust occasion in them all. IOSEPHVS setteth downe the cause thereof in the Prouince of *Comagena* only, and in what sort it was made tributary, and how that ANTIOCHVS the King thereof being ouercome and taken in battaile by CESONIVS, PETO Gouernour of *Syria* for the Empire, was sent by the same CESONIVS, prisoner to *Rome*. But VESPASIAN remembring himselfe that he held friendship with this King when he liued in the East, and although that he held it fit and requisite to dispossesse him of his countrie, yet he would not deale seuerely with his person: for, being vpon the way, he sent commandement that he should not be brought to *Rome*, but commanded him to be carried to the citie of *Lacedamonia* in *Græcia*, and that he should liue there, and that sufficient prouision should be made to maintaine him and his children in royall estate: and so that King led his life afterwards in that Citie, and the Prouince of *Comagena* remained tributarie to the Empire.

Comagena made a tributarie prouince by Vespasian.

The life and maners of Vespasian after that he was Emperor.

What else happened in the time of VESPASIAN, the Authors which I follow, haue not written, peraduenture because they were of small importance. But as concerning his vertue, bountie, and good gouernment, they haue written more at large then I haue done, such and so many were they: and because I will not be too sparing and briefe in this subiect, I will say somewhat for a remembrance and an example to good Emperors. First, the manner and course of his life after that he came to the Empire was this. He awoke euery morning before day, and in his bed did reade and heare letters and instructions of diuers affaires; and then he commanded the doore to be set open for his friends and such others as would come into his chamber: in whose presence he arose and made himselfe ready, without any page or seruant to helpe him, but to bring his clothes to his hands; and then he stood a good space giuing audience to such as he had to deale withall, prouiding for all things, and making therein such dispatch as was conuenient: then he went into his litter or chariot, as the manner then was, and for his exercise went into the field of MARS or to some other place, and sometimes he went on foote. After all this, he retired himselfe to his Palace, to his exercises and pastimes: after which he vsed the bathes, whereto men in those dayes were much addicted: which being ended, he returned to his businesse, and to prouide for all thing necessarie; wherein he spent the greatest part of the day. He was very moderate and temperate in his diet, and after supper was very pleasant and merrily disposed, delighting much to vse quick and briefe speeches; whereof SVETONIVS reciteth some. He was a Prince of great modestie, patience, and singular clemency, enduring and dissembling with those which did murmure and speake ill of him, pardoning and forgetting iniu-

injuries and offenses: the examples whereof (which were many) I omitte because of brevity. VESPASIAN was noted and taxed for being ouercouetous: true it is, that he caused his rents to be collected rigorously, imposing new taxes and seruices, seeking extraordinary and strange means to get money: whereof AVRELIVS VICTOR and other Authors excuse him; alleaging, that he was forced thereto, for that hee found his Exchequer poor, and the Imperiall Treasure wasted and exhausted: so as for the maintenance of his State it was very requisite to raise it to some good proportion. Which makes it seem to be true, seeing hee was very bountifull and liberall to all men, and spent and freely parted with that which hee so gathered. Finally, howsoeuer it was, he is reckoned in the number of good Emperors; for, with singular wisedome and valour he gouerned the Empire nine yeers: at the end whereof (beeing seuentie and nine yeers old) a Flux took him, and hee died in peace in the yeer of our Lord 81. Hee was a man of a middle stature, well compact in his lims, and of a good complexion, and liued euer sound and in good health: for the preseruation wherof, he ordinarily vsed frictions on his arms and legs; and euery month fasted one whole day, without eating any thing.

Vespasian noted of couetousnes.

THE LIFE OF TITVS, ONLY OF THAT NAME, AND ELEVENTH ROMAN EMPEROVR.

THE ARGVMENT.

VESPASIAN being dead, his Sonne Titus *succeeded him, who reserued his Fathers name. This man in his youth applied himself much to the study of learning and sciences; and deligh-ted so much in writing, that with great facility he counterfeited all manner of letters; beeing Generall, the tedious warres of Ierusalem were ended. Coming afterwards to the Imperiall dignity, he wholly altered his former disposition, and became very mercifull and most bountyful. His bounty was such, as he said, He had lost that day wherein hee had not done some deed of curtesie. He was also of so milde a nature, as he said to his Brother* Domitian, *who (it seemed) conspired against him, that he should not seek to get that by fratricide which he might obtain by loue. He liued 41 yeers, and ruled the Empire little more than two. His death was so grieuous to the City of Rome, and to all the Prouinces subiect to the Roman Empire, as all affirmed with one voice, that the Father of the Empire, and the Delight of mankinde, was departed out of the world.*



AS soon as the Emperour VESPASIAN was dead, his eldest Sonne TITVS (called by his surname VESPASIANVS) without any contradiction was receiued and obeyed for Emperor; as wel for that his Father in his life-time had made him his companion in the Empire (and that, as some Authors say, he did participate with him, and that he gaue him the name of Emperor) as also for that in his Testament and last Will hee appointed him his Successor: yet his brother DOMITIANVS proudly maintained, that his Father had nominated him, and not his Brother TITVS; and that his Fathers Will was falsified. TITVS was an excellent Emperor, but his Raign was short; for, it lasted little more than two yeers: so as, for his naturall bounty and noble disposition, he was called The loue and delight of mankinde, although before hee was Emperour he was taxed vpon some occasions; some imagining, that hee would haue proued wicked and peruerse. But truth and vertue, although for a time they may bee suppressed, yet at length they will preuail, and ouercome enuy and slander: and as the cleer Sun disperseth the dark clouds;

Titus was endued with noble vertues.

so did TITVS cleer himself of the suspicions conceiued against him, with the brightnes of his vertues and worthy actions. He came to the Empire at the age of 39 yeers, and somewhat lesse; in which he followed the warres, and gat great experience both in peace and war. First, in his infancy he was brought up in learning and other vertuous exercises, and therby grew to be very learned both in Greek and Latin, and expert in many Arts. He was a very good horseman, and most skilfull in Musick; a very good Singer, an eloquent Orator, and could make verses with wonderfull ease and facility. He had a singular memory, and was endued with an excellent wit; and was so speedie in writing in ciphers and abbreuiations, as he excelled all his Secretaries and Notaries; and would so well counterfeit any mans hand and writing, as it was said of him, that he might haue been a notable counterfeiter or forger.

Being endued with these graces and sufficiencies in his youth, before his Father came to the Empire he bore Arms in the wars, and was Tribune both in *Germany* and *Britanny*, and purchased the reputation of wise and valiant. After which, being come to *Rome*, hee used to plead and defend causes and actions (which was then the exercise of the most eminent men); and afterwards in time he was made Questor or Treasurer. In processe of which time hee married twice: the first, with ARRICIDIA the daughter of a Roman Knight whose name was TERTVLLVS, who had been Prefect of the Pretorian Legions; and, after her death beeing a widower, hauing neuer a childe, he married the second time with a woman of great bloud, whose name was MARTIA FVLVIA, whom hee afterwards put away, hauing first had a daughter by her.

The warres beginning against the Iewes, he went thither with his father, hauing the command and charge of a Legion: and matters succeeding in such manner as is alreadie said, he made a finall end thereof. And although that some practiced to bring him in suspicion with his father, falsely suggesting that he would haue rebelled against him; yet after those victories he came into *Italy*, sufficiently cleered himselfe, and triumphed of the Iewes; and (as wee haue said) obtained so much grace with his father, as hee made him his companion, and in a manner equall with him in the Empire. In his fathers life time hee purchased dislike vpon some occasions: whereof one was, that they charged him with the couetousnes and auarice of his father, for the new impositions which he laid vpon the subiects of the Empire: whereof although that he might well haue purged himselfe, yet he would not make manifest his innocencie, for that the fault should not be imputed to his father. The other was, for that he had caused AVLVS CINNA and certaine others of great note to be put to death, although hee had iust occasion to doe it; as SVETONIVS sheweth in AVLVS CINNA: and other authors, in others.

TITVS also discredited himselfe for bringing of Queene VERONICE from *Iudea* with him for his friend or concubine, whom hee so deerly loued, as hee entertained her in a manner as his wife: and there is an author which affirmeth that he slew AVLVS CINNA, through iealousie of her. All which being laid together, when by the death of his father hee came to the Empire, they doubted that hee would haue prooued wicked and cruell: but his clemencie and other vertues did presently disperse all those clowdes of suspicion. The first, and happely the greatest conquest was, the forcing of his will and bridling his desires and affections by withdrawing himselfe from the company of VERONICE, for the which he was taxed with infamie, although that he loued her exceedingly, and was by her beloued in the same degree. Hee also gaue ouer his other pastimes, which he held vnfit and vnbeseeming an Emperour, and began to liue and carrie himselfe very modestly and honourably, and to shew his liberalitie, clemencie, and singular curtesie. Whereof I hold it requisite (although I keepe not order, seeing his time was so short) to make some mention; that seeing his bountie, clemencie and wisdome made his Empire voide of ciuill mutinies, warres and alterations, which vsually please the readers, yet they may speake of the vertues & greatnes of this Emperour. First for a shew & ostentation to the world (which great Princes sometimes should make, because that thereby they do in som sort purchase the loue of the cómon people) he repaired & made som new great buildings, and he also presented games and sports, wherein (according to EVSEBIVS, EVTROPIVS, and SVETONIVS) were slaine 5000. wild beasts, and therein also fought a great number of Sword-players. He caused also to be represented a Naual battaile in one of the auncient Naumachias, whereof mention hath been made heretofore. And as he was by nature most noble and liberall, all the fauours, graces and rewards, which his Predecessors had giuen and granted (which none of them would confirm, but they granted some new) hee confirmed by a decree. And, moreouer, to any petition made vnto him he neuer gaue vnpleasing answer, neither suffred any

any to depart from him discontented, or without hope to obtain his demand. And being reproued by some of his Councell, for promising more than it seemed hee was able to perform: hee answered them, that It vvas not fit nor vvorthy, that any man should depart from him sorrovvfull & discontent vvith his entertainment. He vvas naturally so desirous to do good and to help others, as one night after supper remembring himself, that that day he had giuen nothing, with a sad and heauie countenance he turned towards those which were in his company, and said: My Friends, I haue lost this day; which were speeches worthy to bee noted and engraven in the mindes of all great Princes. Hee was also so desirous to pleasure and giue contentment to all men (houlding alwaies his grauity and authority) as in all his speeches and discourses with any people whatsoeuer, he alwaies shewed himself affable, pleasant, courteous and tractable.

In some sinister accidents which in his time hapned in *Rome*, as one was (as saith PAVLVS OROSIVS) a great fire, wherewith were burned a great number of houses, and also a great plague; he not onely vsed the diligence of a carefull Prince, but also shewed the loue and affection of a pitifull Father; helping with his owne rents to repair and new-build that which the fire had consumed, and causing those which were wounded to bee cured with great diligence; and those which died of the pestilence, to be buried. The clemency and mildnes of this Prince extended to so high a degree, as he not onely pardoned many, and moderated the rigour of the lawes in cases of ordinary crimes; but two great men of *Rome* hauing conspired against him, and being thereof conuict, so as they could not deny the fact, he would make no other inquisition, nor put them to any torments, or otherwise punish them, but onely aduised them in secret that they should alter their euill purposes; willing them to consider, that the Empire was giuen by Gods prouidence and ordinance, and by the fates, and not by any humane industry; and if they desired any other thing, it should be more fit to sue to him, and he would not deny it: and saying this, he pardoned them, and vsed them louingly, and afterwards entertained them with other complements, which SVETONIVS writeth; so as he took such order, that they did repent and reform themselues: whereby he did better assure his life, than if hee had put them to death. For, therein he should haue had greater cause of fear, and more would haue hated him. The like temperance he held with his Brother DOMITIANVS; who neuer left to lay snares to intrap him, and to ly in wait for his life, and to practice his death, and to incense the Legions and Cohorts against him: yet for all this he would not put him to death, as he might iustly haue done, neither seclude him from him, neither diminish his reputation and authority wherein he liued; but made him his companion in the Empire, and proclaimed him for his successor. And the better to reclaim him, sometimes retiring him into a secret chamber alone, with tears in his eies he would admonish and require him, not to attempt that by treason and fratricide, which he shortly should haue voluntarily, and that which hee already enjoyed with him by his good will. And, for conclusion, this excellent Prince TITVS, in the short time that he raigned, gouerned with such wisdome and in such manner, as he was through the whole Empire extremely beloued, and generally obeyed and serued by all men: So as during his whole Raign there were no contempts, insurrections, warres, rebellions, nor contentions. But as men for their sinnes were not worthy of so good a Prince, so by Gods secret iudgement hee was taken away from among them: for, beeing taken with a strong burning Feuer, within fewe daies hee died therof in the same village wherin his Father died, neer *Rome*, being of the age of one and fortie yeers, two moneths and twenty daies, although EVTROPIVS sets down some months lesse, which may be through error in a letter.

Snares laid by Domitianus to entrap his Brother Titus.

The death of Titus.

As soon as his death was knowne, there was the greatest lamentation and sorrow that euer was seen in *Rome*: and, the Senat being assembled, there was more spoken to his honor & commendation, being dead, than was of any man that euer liued before him, or was euer spoken in his presence in his life-time: which hapned in the yeer of our Lord 83.

THE LIFE OF DOMITIANVS, ONLY OF THIS NAME, AND TWELFTH ROMAN EMPEROVR.

THE ARGVMENT.

DOmitianus, brother to Titus, after his death was made Emperor; who in the beginning of his gouernment, faining much goodnesse, was milde, pitifull, and aboue all, most iust. He preuailed in all the warres he began, and in Rome finished many edifices already begun, and built many more from the ground: so as in the beginning of his raigne he purchased much reputation, and the credit of a very vertuous and good man. But afterwards altering his conditions, he became so cruell, so insolent and so couetous, that putting men to death for very small and ridiculous causes, he vsurped the goods of the dead, pretending that he was their heire. Hee persecuted the Iewes, and particularly those which were of the line of Dauid; *being informed that from him should descend a man which should be Lord of the whole world. He was also a great Persecutor of the Christian Religion, so as in his time many holy men were martyred. He made such warre with flyes, as a Courtier being demanded, who was aboue with the Emperour; answered, that there was not one flye with him. He made great show of Astrologie, and was a great friend to those which made profession of that facultie: yet he dealt hardly with an Astronomer, which told him that he should dye shortly. He liued fiue and forty yeeres, ruled the Empire fifteene; and by the conspiracie of one* Stephen, *who was Steward of his house, and certaine others, amongst which his wife was an assistant, he was slaine in his Palace. The common people were neither sad nor glad of his death: but the Gentlemen and Senators were so well pleased with it, that euen the very same day they made all his Statues to be throwne to the ground, which he would haue of no other thing but of pure gold.*

Domitianus *was wicked, and farre vnlike to his brother* Titus.

TO the good Emperour TITVS, his brother and successor DOMITIANVS was farre vnlike; for this Emperour was wicked and lewde, although that in the beginning of his raigne hee did some things which were pleasing, and gouerned the Common-wealth reasonable vprightly; vsing clemencie, humilitie, and liberalitie, deceiuing the world with fained bountie, cleane contrarie to future actions. When he came to the Empire, he was of the age of thirtie yeeres (little more or lesse) in his younger yeeres, he liued in meane estate, and in euill fame, for the dishonestie of his person. His father being Emperour, in his absence he was called CÆSAR, and to him was giuen the greatest dignitie and authoritie in *Rome*, which hee vsed licentiously and dishonestly, committing adulteries, with other vices and insolencies: vpon one day, he deposed twentie seuerall persons from their charges and gouernments, and gaue them to others: so as his father (when he vnderstood thereof) said, that he maruelled, that his sonne DOMITIANVS had not sent one, to haue succeeded him also: and warres then growing in *Batauia*, he attempted that which we haue related. But when his father was come to *Rome*, to dissemble and cloke his wicked practices he gaue himself to study, and to the exercise of poesie, although with little affection: for before that time he neuer regarded it, or any other learning, and so afterwards abhorred it according to that flattering age. For the small time which hee spent

spent in poesie, SILIVS ITALICVS, QVINTILIAN, and PLINIE in the proem of his naturall historie, commend him: and MARTIAL forgetteth him not in his Epigrammes. And much lesse did DOMITIANVS giue himselfe to the practice and exercise of armes, but was much affected to shooting with bowe and arrowes; wherein hee was so skilfull, as he would oftentimes for his glorie cause a Page to spread his hand open for a marke against a butte, and he standing a good distance off, would sticke his arrowes betweene the boies fingers without hurting him; and in like manner would doe many other strange things, which SVETONIVS reporteth as an eie-witnes, wherein and in dicing was his principall delight and pastime. After the death of his father and brother, for whose sakes he came to be Emperour, without any contradiction, he gouerned the same contrarie to his naturall inclination; as may appeare by that which he did afterwards. But because we will not depriue him of the commendation, which his good deedes deserued; before that we will speake of his accursed cruelties, wee will first speake of that which was good and commendable, seeing hee liued in such manner, as his actions were intermixt with some blemishes of euill: wherein I cannot obserue any order or time, as I alwaies desire to doe, because the authors which I follow write it so confusedly and out of order.

Domitianus *his good deedes*

First, he made great shew of liberalitie, and iointlie therewith of clemencie, iustice, and equitie, of either of which we will produce some examples. He shewed himselfe so free from couetousnes, and so willing to giue; that he refused certaine heritages which certaine free personages would haue giuen him; and gaue ordinarilie gifts and rewards, and forgaue penalties and tributes, and erected certaine pillers and publike buildings, which were verie excellent, and of wonderfull great cost, among which this was one: He repaired and new built the Capitoll, which againe had bin burnt, wherein he caused a sumptuous Temple to be built to his god IVPITER, and other Temples and wonderfull buildings. And to obtaine the loue and applause of the people, he ordeined so many shewes and games which were so rare and costly, as it is wonderfull to reade, and tedious to write them. First he made a Lake, for a Naumachia or battaile by sea, wrought all by mans hand, which was so great as it was sufficient to conteine many galleyes, wherein vvere such battailes, as they vvanted nothing to proue them to be in good earnest and not counterfeit. He had also a verie great number of Svvord-players, and great revvards for those which did runne with chariots. He had turneyes and battailes of horsemen and footemen, and huntings of an infinite number of wilde beasts, in such sort as other Emperours had don, and more then any other: for he had also women which like men fought with wild beasts, whereof SVETONIVS, IVVENAL, and MARTIAL, make mention. He also made games and feasts which they called secular, represented but euery hundreth yeare, which vvere the most solemne of al others: for then were accomplished a hundred yeeres since the time that OCTAVIVS AVGVSTVS had celebrated them, although that the Emperour CLAVDIVS at another time commanded them to be made, without obseruing any order or time, wherein he made the addition of the two new colours, which the horsemen did before vse to weare, whereof before hath been made mention, which were purple, and gold colour. And besides all this abouesaid, he caused disputations and arguments to be held, wherein great rewards were diuided betweene Poets and Orators both Greeke and Latin, and all kind of Musick. There were also Comedies, dumb shewes, tragedies, and wrestling games. In conclusion, there were made by his commandement all those feasts, games and reuels that euer had been seene or knowne in *Rome* vntill that time, besides many which were newly inuented. Among all which he made a distribution among all the Romane people, which they called Congiarij, of 300. deners to euery person: and during the time of these reuels (which was not short) he made many banquets and publike feastes, and there were throwne to the common people all kinds of coines, and clothes, with other things which were cast from out the windowes, this was called *Missilia*. I will not herewith forget one pleasant thing, whereof SVETONIVS writeth, which was, that in the beginning of his Empire he was wont euery day one houre to be in some chamber or secret place alone, wherin he did nothing at all but catch flies, which he afterwards filed vp vpon a stilet or long sharp needle: So as vpon a day one asking whether any bodie were within with DOMITIANVS, answere was made, that there was not so much as a flye with him; meaning, that he had killed and throwne them all avvay.

Secular games *made but once in a hundred yeeres.*

Gifts giuen by Domitianus.

Domitianus *delighted much in catching of flyes.*

DOMITIANVS did not only those things which were pleasing to the people, as making of feasts and sports, but in all other things he took good order, shewing himselfe diligent in hearing complaints, and doing iustice, and particularly in punishing such iudges as receiued bribes

and rewards, as well the Roman Magistrates, as the Presidents and Gouernors of Prouinces. And herein concerning Iudges he perseuered, not only before that he discouered his cruelty and wickednesse, but euen afterwards: and though that he were euill of himselfe, yet he forbare not to punish euill Gouernors: and so SVETONIVS affirmeth, that Gouernors were neuer so temperate, iust and vpright at any time as in his. He also caused himselfe to be chosen Censor, wherein he endeuoured to reforme and correct the abuses and euill manners of the Romans, as though that his owne conditions had been good; and so he made many other good orders, and did iustice in all things: and of the other side shewing himselfe mercifull and pitifull, in such sort that if he had perseuered in that manner of gouernment which he began, he had this day been held for a very good Emperor. But neuer any man fell from good to euill so notably, nor made so strange an alteration as he did, whereof in that which we haue before said, he gaue some indice and forewarning. For in those good things which he did, he vsed such pride and elation, and shewed himselfe so vaine-glorious, that a man of any iudgement might well perceiue, that what he did, proceeded not from any good mind, or from his naturall inclination; which he manifested in some of his words and speeches: chiefely when he was made Emperour (without shame or blushing) he vaunted in the Senate, that hee had giuen the Empire to his father and to his brother, which they had now restored vnto him; this being as false, as by the historie before doth appeare. And those his statues which they commaunded to bee set vp in the Capitoll, he would not consent that they should be made of any other thing, then of cleane gold, and so in other things hee shewed extreme pride. But hee did one thing which was so accursed and abominable, as to make mention thereof onely, is a sufficient proofe of the incomparable pride of this man: for he commaunded by a publike Edict, that in all Letters and Edicts they should write our Lord and God, which both the christian and heathen authors doe affirme: For which sinne and wickednesse it pleased God to suffer him to fall into those abominations which he afterwards incurred, as contousnesse, crueltie, and other wicked actions: whereof before that we discourse, it shall not be amisse, to treate of the warres which happened in the time of his wickednesse, although hee prosecuted them not in his owne person, which were three or foure with strange nations, and one ciuill warre.

The Iustice of Domitian.

Domitianus had his statues of pure gold.

The first warres abroade were against the *Sarmates* in *Europe*, which inuaded the Empire, with whom and also with those of *Asia*, there ioyned many of the auncient Scythians. That Prouince is situate in the north of *Germany*, and stretcheth to the sea called *Mare Sarmaticum*. On the East it is bounded with the riuer of *Tanais*, and the lake *Meotis*: and on the West with the riuer *Vistula*. Vnder this Prouince are now contained *Muscouia*, *Russia*, *Polonia*, *Lituania*, and some other Prouinces. This warre was cruell and dangerous, and in the beginning it went ill with the Romanes: for in a battaile were slaine the Generall of the Romanes, and one whole legion: but DOMITIANVS afterwards reenforcing his armies, the *Sarmates* were ouerthrowne and constrained with losse of many of their people to retire themselues. He had twise warres with the inhabitants of the great prouince of *Dacia*, the inhabitants whereof (as *Plinie* affirmeth) were called by the Greekes, *Getæ*. That prouince contained all that which is now called *Walachia*, and *Transyluania*, and other countries. Of this warre SVETONIVS, EVTROPIVS, and PAVLVS OROSIVS make mention, but none of them reporteth how it passed, neither for what cause it was vndertaken, although they affirme that it was very costly to the Romanes: for in the first warre wherein OPPIVS SABINVS was Generall, who had beene Consul, whom EVTROPIVS calleth APPIVS, he was ouercome, and the greatest part of his armie slaine.

Sarmatia what countries it contained.

Dacia how it is called at this day.

And, in the second, CORNELIVS FVSCVS, Commander of the Pretorian Cohorts, had the like fortune; whom DOMITIANVS made Generall of that warre. In both the one and the other were great encounters and battels, wherein was spilt much of the Romans bloud, as PAVLVS OROSIVS relateth, and hee saith, that CORNELIVS TACITVS treateth thereof very largely and copiously in his Histories: but that perished with the rest of that Authors works, whereby we knowe not the discourse of those wars: but they all write, that DOMITIANVS triumphed of that Prouince. And hee also triumphed of a people in *Germany*, which they called *Catti*, with whom he also had a doubtfull warre. During the time of these warres, wholly discouering his wicked inclination, DOMITIANVS neuer ceased to commit murders, robberies, violences, and other vices, as hereafter you shall hear. Wherefore, hauing freed himself from the warres aforesaid, there arose a ciuill warre more dangerous: which was, that LVCIVS ANTONIVS (called also SATVRNINVS) being Generall in *Germanie*, rebelled

belled against DOMITIANVS, vsurping the name of Emperor; making profit of this occasion, that DOMITIANVS for his euill life was ill-beloued: against which SATVRNINVS, DOMITIANVS sent APPIVS NORMANDVS for his Generall. This war was very doubtfull and much feared: but, coming afterwards to a battell, LVCIVS ANTONIVS was slain, and APPIVS remained Victor. And heerin hapned a most strange and wonderfull Accident; which was, that the same day wherein this battell was fought in *Germanie*, it was known in *Rome* how euery thing particularly did passe: and DOMITIANVS, that same day seeking to knowe the Author of those newes, could not finde him, and therefore beleeued that it was false; so as preparing himself to goe to those warres in person, messengers came which brought certaine newes of the victory, and they auouched that it was at the same instant according to the newes then in *Rome*.

After the warres were ended (as we haue recited) and during the time thereof, DOMITIANVS put to death many eminent men, Senators, and such as had been Consuls, for so light and fained causes, as thereby he cleerly manifested the cruelty of his minde. ELIVS LAMIA he commanded to be slain, for that he vsed pleasant speeches and iests: which although hee suspected, yet were they offensiue to none. He commanded SALVIVS COCCHIANVS also to be slain, because he celebrated the birth-day of his Vncle, the Emperor OTHO; and METIVS POMPOSIANVS, for that he heard that his constellation did prognosticate vnto him Imperiall dignity, and because he had giuen to some of his slaues the names of HANNIBAL and MAGO: And, in like manner, SALVSTIVS LVCVLLVS, for that he caused certain lances to be made of a new fashion, which (according to his owne name) he called *Luculleian*. He put IVNIVS RVSTICVS to death, because hee published a Treatise in praise of PETVS TRASEA, and of VIBIVS PRISCVS, very wise men; who had been of a faction contrary to his Father.

Domitianus did put many Noble-men to death, with the causes.

How little loue this tyrannous Emperour bare vnto learning, may well appear by that which SVETONIVS and other Authors write of him: for, he cõmanded to be banisht out of all *Italy* the Philosophers, and with them (as EVSEBIVS writes) the Astrologers; of wch banishmẽt, AVLVS GELLIVS and PHILOSTRATVS make mention: PHILOSTRATVS saith, that some fled into *Spain*, and others into the deserts of *Libya* and *Scythia*. And, hauing expelled the Philosophers and Wise-men, proceeding in his cruelty, hee slue an infinite number of people (as SVETONIVS reports) for very ridiculous causes: and his fury was such, that some whom he purposed to put to death the next day, he entertained ouer night in his chamber, and shewed them many fauours with a cheerfull countenance. And, among these his cruelties, he gaue himself to luxurie and incontinency, and other dishoneſt exercises, cõuersing and keeping ordinary company with dishoneſt women; and heerwith committed many robberies & strange extortions, seising vpon mens wares and goods for fained crimes; and those so light, as they deserue not to bee mentioned. He would fain himself to be heir to those which were dead, seising vpon their goods, and suborning some to depose that they had heard the deceased in their lifetime say, that they meant to leaue him for their heir. With which deuices, and as many more as he could imagine or inuent, he neuer left robbing and spoiling men, as well in *Rome* and *Italy*, as in other Prouinces subiect to the Empire. But, amongst all other nations, those which endured the greatest oppression and tyranny were the Iewes, by Gods permission for their sinnes: for, all those which were of that religion, or liued after their manner and custome, although they were not so, he made them pay a certain new and rigorous imposition and tribute by the head, ouer and aboue all that any other nation paid. And SVETONIVS and EVSEBIVS write, that as HEROD when CHRIST was born; so was he in fear, that out of the stock of DAVID one should come, which would bereaue him of the Empire: for, hee was informed that it was written, that from DAVID should descend a man who should rule and command the whole world. Wherefore he commanded with all diligence all those among the Iewes, which were of the linage of DAVID, to be sought out and slain: yet EVSEBIVS writeth, that hee pardoned two which were of that linage. And, to set his seal to all his wicked deeds, beeing induced by the diuell or some of his angels, hee gaue himself to the persecuting of the Catholick Church, and by his Letters and Edicts, both in *Rome* and out of it, an infinite number of Christians were banished and put to death: vpon whom hee executed horrible kindes of cruelties; written by EVSEBIVS, PAVLVS OROSIVS, and other Catholike Authors. And this was the second generall persecution of the Primitiue Church; in which Saint IOHN the Euangelist was banished into the Ile of *Pathmos*, where he saw the Vision of the Apocalypse. How long this perse-

Domitian banished Philosophers and Astronomers out of Italie.

The crueltie and incontinency of Domitian.

The feare of Domitian.

The second persecution of the primitiue church.

cution endured, I cannot say: but by EVSEBIVS it seemeth, that it lasted little more than two yeers; for afterwards, in the thirteenth Chapter of his third Book, hee saith, that DOMITIANVS did moderate this persecution, and commanded it to cease. So as by that which is written and hath been seen, DOMITIAN was one of the worst Princes that euer was in the world; and so bad, as he used to say, The vice of the flesh was but a kinde of honest recreation: and such were those wherein he used to passe his time.

For these causes, and many other which I omit, wherein DOMITIANVS spent foureteen yeers of his Raign, he came to be extremely hated and abhorred of all men. And as now it was growne to a custome in *Rome*, Not to endure wicked Emperors long; and as God also permitteth, that sometime wicked Princes com to euil ends: so those which were most priuate and neerest about him conspired against him; the Chiefe & Captain of which was STEPHANVS, who was steward to his wife and Empresse DOMICILLA, whom they affirm to haue been partaker in the conspiracy and practice to murder him: and they afterwards slue him in such manner as I will tell you.

Signes prognosticating the death of Domitian.

During the time this conspiracie was a plotting, there appeared certaine signes in the skies, whereof all men conceited and prognosticated, that the death of DOMITIANVS was at hand: and hee also stood in extreame feare thereof, as he which took great heede to auguries and signes, and presumed much to be an Astrologer and Diuiner. And amongst other signes which then were seene, there appeared for many daies together round about the Sunne a great bright shining Crowne that did compasse it about, which resembled the Raine-bow against foule weather; but that it was a whole Crowne and did compasse the Sunne in such manner, as it bereaued and eclipsed the same of his brightnes: Which signe all men did interpret to signifie a chaunge and alteration in the Empire, with the death of DOMITIANVS. And for as much as STEPHANVS in Greeke signifieth a Crowne, there were some which conceiued that the said STEPHANVS should kill him, notwithstanding they knew nothing of the practice. By meanes whereof, and of other things which then were seene, DOMITIANVS was in such feare and despaire, that as vpon a day there was a great tempest, and there happened certaine flashes of lightning, which hee and all others did presage to be against him: and he being very angrie, they write that he said, Let IVPITER then smite whom hee will. Whereof, the feare which I tolde you of, was the principall cause: for euen then was the time accomplished which the Astrologers, casting his constellation, had told him that he should die. But one thing aboue all the rest made him most amazed, which in truth was very strange, and for such (although it be of small importance) I will declare it, which was this: that he liuing in this feare, sent for an

An Astrologer foretold Domitian of his death, and of his owne also.

Astrologer, who at that time was very famous, and asked him many questions thereupon: who answerd him, that by his art he found that his death was neere at hand. Wherewith DOMITIAN was so wroth, that hauing determined to command this Astrologer to bee slaine, hee asked him, if hee knew what end hee himselfe should haue. The Astrologer answered him, that by his constellation hee knew, that hee should shortly be torne in pieces by dogges. And DOMITIAN thinking to make him a lier in that which hee had foretould, and that, what hee had prophecied of his owne death, should not come to passe, commanded him presently to bee slaine, and his bodie to be burnt, and his ashes to be buried, to the end that dogges should not teare him. And hauing begun to burne his bodie, there fell such a tempest & raine as quenched and dispersed the fire; and the body of the poore Astrologer remaining half vnburnt, there came certaine dogges which tare it in pieces, as he had prognosticated. Which (I thinke) was, by Gods permission, a practice of the diuel, as he which knew the secrecie of the conspiracie, which then was in hand to kill him. Now STEPHANVS and his consorts hauing agreed vpon the day, wherein they determined to giue DOMITIANVS his deserued death, one morning this STEPHEN came into his chamber, bringing a poiniard hidden vnder his arme, which for that purpose he had some daies before fained to be sore, and carried it bound: and comming to the Emperour (who was suspicious enough and verie fearefull) hauing oportunitie to come to his presence, by reason of his office, with much dissimulation he told him that he had brought him certaine intelligence of a conspiracie against him. Which when DOMITIANVS heard, as he was very iealous thereof, and beleeuing his words to be true, without any further consideration, he withdrew himselfe apart to talke with him about this matter: and standing in that manner, the rest which were of the same confederacie, being all his ordinarie seruants, and at hand, this STEPHEN gaue gim a memoriall, such as he had deuised; wherein he discouered a conspiracie, naming therein such at hee thought good. And DOMITIANVS beginning to reade it with

with great attention, STEPHEN at his pleasure stabbed him into the groyne; and the Emperour feeling himselfe wounded, began to call and to cry out aloud: and as he was very strong and valiant, before that STEPHEN could giue him another wound, hee closed with him and threwe him to the ground, and striuing to take the poiniard from him, he cut and mangled his owne fingers: And by this time before that any succour could come to him, there ranne vpon him SATVRNINVS, CLODIVS, PARTHENIVS, MAXIMVS, and others which were of that conspiracie, being all his owne seruants: and there giuing him many wounds, they slew him. And so had DOMITIANVS such an end as his deedes deserued, which happened in the yeere of our Lord 98. in the fiue and fortith of his age, and the fifteenth of his raigne, leauing no sonne to succeede him: for although that in his fathers time, hee had a sonne by his lawfull wife, named DOMICILLA, that sonne died being a childe. DOMITIANVS was a man tall of stature, and in his youth of a good constitution, and pleasing countenance, great eyes, and somewhat redde: but comming to age, he lost his proportion and good grace, by reason of a long sickne, so as his legges became little and slender, and afterwards hee had a great gorcbelly, and a very bald head. His death was taken in *Rome* in diuers manners, for it grieued the Pretorian souldiers very much: so as if that daie they had had any Captaine that would haue but made the motion, they would haue slaine all the conspirators. The common people took it indifferently, shewing neither ioy nor sorrow. The Senate was not onely well content therevvith, but conceiued exceeding ioy thereat: and assembling themselues that same day, they caused all his statues to be throvvne dovvne, and all the inscriptions and memorials of him to cancelled and defaced.

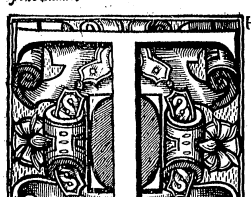
The death of Domitianus.

The Senate glad for the death of Domitian.

THE LIFE OF COCCEIVS NERVA, ONLY OF THAT NAME, AND THIRTEENTH ROMAN EMPEROVR.

THE ARGVMENT.

HIs worthie Emperour was borne in the Citie of Narnia: it is not certainly knowne whether hee were an Italian, or of some other Nation, yet all agree that he was of a Noble house: hee was aduanced to the imperiall dignitie being old, and in the beginning of his raigne he had newes (though false) that Domitian was not dead, which much troubled him. He recalled the Christians from banishment, eased the oppressions of the citie, and made the children of poore parents to be bred vp at the publike charge: and to be briefe, did many good and vertuous deedes. There was neuer but one conspiracy against him, which had ill successe: the conspirators in his time were contumeliously slaine, which slew Domitian, *though against his will: Hee adopted* Traiane *for his sonne, hauing none of his owne, to whom hee might commit the charge of the Empire. He held the Empire thirteene moneths onely, and dyed of choler, taken against a Senator, whose name was* Regulus, *which choler cast him into such a sweat that he died therof, and the same day that he departed out of this life, there was a great eclipse of the Sunne.*



HE death of the Emperour DOMITIAN was not onely profitable for the Empire, being freed and deliuered from his crueltie and tyrannie, but for that it gaue meanes to NERVA to succeede him: and that afterwards TRAIAN and ADRIAN should raigne, who were most excellent Emperours, and honored and enlarged the Empire. And although that NERVA raigned but a while, yet hee did many good things: but the best that he did was, in that hee made TRAIAN his successour, as when time serueth, shall be declared. The death of DOMITIAN, as I haue said, did not grieue nor ioy the Roman people, but pleased the Senate exceedingly: who hauing commanded the remembrance of him to be cancelled, they presently tooke order to giue him a successour, before that any one should be chosen

sen by the armie. COCCEIVS NERVA, being at that time for his many vertues, wisdome, experience, and age, a man of the greatest reputation and authoritie in *Rome*, was by the Senate chosen Emperour, hauing beene fauoured and assisted therein by PETRONIVS SECVNDVS, Captaine of the Pretorian Cohorts, & PARTHENIVS, who was one of those which killed DOMITIAN. This NERVA was of a noble family, borne in the citie of *Narnia* in the prouince of *Vmbria* in *Italie*, his fathers name was also NERVA. Saint ISIDORE onely saith, that he was borne in *Spaine*, I know no ground for it, neither haue I read it in any other auncient authour. Being receiued in the Senate and accepted to the Empire, vpon a sodaine without knowing who was the author, it was told him that DOMITIAN was liuing, and that the report of his death was vntrue. This newes did so much trouble NERVA, that all the colour went out of his face: and being vnable to speake, he had much a doe to stand vpon his feete, vntill that PARTHENIVS did encourage him, assuring him of the trueth. Whereupon he came againe to himselfe, and set a good countenance vpon the matter: presently they all came to him to doe him reuerence, and to receiue him for their Lord and Emperour, shewing great ioy, in hope of good successe. Onely ARRIVS ANTONIVS, who was a very wise and iust man and had bin his familiar friend, spake vnto him in a more strange manner then any of the rest: therefore I will relate it. Truely NERVA, in that thou art aduanced to this high degree, I will attribute the benefit and happinesse thereof vnto the Senate and people of *Rome*, and generally to the whole Empire (for such hath beene their good fortune) but not vnto thee. For thou hauing escaped with such honor and reputation by meanes of thy vertue, and wisedome, from the injurie of those wicked Princes past, art now made subject to infinite troubles and daungers; and aboue all, to the infamie and hatred of thy enemies, and as much or more of thy friends: for they will presume that they haue deserued all fauour, in respect of the ancient friendship which they held with thee; and if thou shalt deny them anie thing they shall aske, although it be neuer so vnjust, they will become greater and more cruell enemies vnto thee, then those which openly shew themselues to bee such. Now, as the solemnities and accustomed ceremonies for the new Emperour were ended, in the beginning of his Empyre hee began to doe most noble and excellent workes, whereof in summe wee will make a breefe relation, without distinction of time, seeing his Empire was so short, as in a manner not to be diuided. And one of the best and first was, in releasing from banishment all the Christians, which from *Rome* and other Cities were banished in the time of the Emperour DOMITIAN, and to permit and give liberty to every man to hould what faith and religion he would: and in this time (according to EVSEBIVS, and other Catholike historiographers) Saint IOHN the Euangelist came from the Ile of *Pathmos* (whither hee was banished) to the citie of *Ephesus* in *Asia*. The like humanitie did NERVA vse in all other matters: First hee released and discharged all the cities of the Empire from the new impositions, which VESPASIAN and DOMITIAN had laid upon them. And to many which by DOMITIANVS were unjustly dispossessed of their goods, hee commanded their possessors to be restored to all their moueables, which could bee found in the imperial palaces. And he not onely shewed himselfe liberal to those which were oppressed: but to all poore men which had sonnes, hee made them to bee bred up at his charges. Hee made also a distribution among all the people of *Rome* in greater measure then was usually done by any others. And to some poore Citizens of *Rome* which he knew had no wealth, hee made certaine possessions, which hee bought for that purpose, to be divided among them. And aboue all he did great fauours, and bestowed great gifts upon those which had bin his friends and allied unto him: and his liberalitie was so great, as DION writeth, that in the beginning and first comming to the Empire, hee was constrayned by necessity to sell his gold and silver plate, and other moueables of his house, to performe those his fauours and good deeds. And in this manner hee did many deeds of charitie and pietie; for it is written for certaine, that hee sware that no Senatour of *Rome* should by his commandement be put to death, which hee afterwards performed, although there were those which deserued the contrary. He also forbad many slanders and accusations used in those times; desiring, all men should live contented and at liberty.

Although that NERVA was so good a man (as we haue said) and vsed so milde a kinde of gouernment, so as there was nothing in him to be reproued; yet there wanted not some which murmured against him, as wicked men vse to doe against the good, alleaging that so great humilitie and mildnesse in a Prince was not profitable: so as FRONTO a principall man in *Rome* presumed to say openly, that it was an euil thing to haue such an one for Emperor, which would suffer no man to doe any thing that he desired; but it was a worse matter to haue such an one vnder

Nerua chosen Emperour by the Senate of Rome.

Speeches vsed by Antonius to Nerua.

Nerua his good deeds.

vnder whom euery man might doe what hee listed. When NERVA was aduertised thereof, he was not angry, but forbad some things, which had giuen him cause to say so: and he desired so much to gouerne vprightly, as he did nothing of his owne head; but had alwayes about him, and sent for wise and good men, such as were of the greatest experience in *Rome*; by whose counsell hee provided, ordained & dispatched all matters. He also made during the small time of his Empire some very good lawes & ordinances; among which, he sharpely forbad an abuse of those times, which was, to geld men & to make them Eunuches. He also forbad that any man should marry his neece, or brothers daughter; and many other things which wanted reformation. To conclude, this Emperor had in his short time al those parts a good prince ought to have; and so cleere a conscience, that he oftentimes said, he remembred not to have done any thing (albeit he gaue ouer the Empire) why he should not liue secure, and without feare of any body. And, though all this was true, (as to the wicked, the yoke & sceptre of the just is a heavie burthē, and *Rome* had then got such a custome, that it could neither indure an evill Emperor, nor obey him that was good) yet there wanted not some which practised his death, and conspired against him: the motor & head therof was CRASSVS CALPHVRNIVS; but it pleased God that it tooke no effect, but was reuealed to the good Emperor; who without any rigor or bloodshed was freed therof, contenting himselfe only (as SEXTVS AVRELIVS writeth) with the banishment of those which were culpable, though the senate would haue inflicted a more rigorous punishmēt.

All these things being passed (as I haue said) and all things succeeding well and prosperously both in *Rome*, and all the Prouinces subject thereto, it hapned that ELIANVS CASPERIVS, who at that time was Prefect & Captain of the Pretorian Cohorts, incited the souldiers to reuenge the death of the Emperor DOMITIAN, & to put all those to death which had bin confederates therein; which they determined to put in execution, though NERVA gaue them no leave. This motion was sodaine, & NERVA was much troubled, & would haue hindred it, and haue defended those from whose hands he receiued the Empire, or haue died in the quarrel, and so he said & published openly: but the matter came to such issue, as the old Emperor was not able to resist or prevent it: & so PARTHENIVS & PETRONIVS were slain, & all those which CASPERIVS would require or nominate of those which were culpable. With this contempt NERVA was so grieved & offended, that he was very sorrowful he could not punish it as the case required; for by reason of his old age & infirmities he was not regarded by the souldiers. Wherfore to redresse the present, & prouide for that to come, he determined to adopt & make TRAIAN his successor, who was then Captain & Governour in the neather *Germanie*, & was at that time in the city of *Colen*; which charg he had executed with great honor & fame, & was the most excellent man then liuing, as well in peace as war: to whom he was no way allied, being a Spaniare, & a stranger to *Rome* & *Italy*. And although NERVA wanted not allies & kinsmen, yet hee chose TRAIAN, having more respect to the publike good, then to his owne house & posterity: wherin how justly he made his choise, this history wil hereafter manifest. Having put this his determination in executiō, & the accustomed solemnities performed, & adopted him in the Capitol, & made him CÆSAR in the Senate, he presently sent him Ambassadors with the Ensignes & Armes of the Empire, & they inuested him in the Empyre: & herewith he sent him a verse in latine, wherein he briefly exhorted him to come & succour him. The adoption of TRAIAN was so great a bridle to the mutinies which were feared, as all remained still & obedient. But it pleased not God that NERVA should long enjoy his good resolution: for as SEXTVS AVRELIVS writeth, hee liued onely three months after: in which time they write not that there passed any notable matter, neither is it understood by the historics that TRAIAN came to *Rome* before his death, which happened (in a manner) sodainely, through anger and displeasure which he conceiued against a Senator, whose name was REGVLVS: for as hee was old and feeble, hee gaue a great shout, and was taken with so great a sweat, that being unable to endure it, he died thereof. The same day there was a great Eclipse of the Sunne, which might be (in part) cause of his death; which was in the 100 yeer of CHRIST. He raigned 1 yeer, 4 months and odde daies; according to SEXTVS AVRELIVS, EVTROPIVS, and BEDA. About the time of his age there is some difference among Authors: for, some say, hee was 71 yeers old; others, 76. But as it imports little, so I mean not to spend much time about contrarieties of so small moment: and heerin I hold *decorum* with my curious Reader, to the end he condemn me not of negligence, if he finde me to differ from that which he shall reade elsewhere.

Traiane adopted and inuested in the Empire by Nerua.

Telit Phœbe tuis lachrymas vicisse nouis.

The death of Cocceius Nerua at the Eclipse of the sun, An. Dom. 100.

THE

THE LIFE OF TRAIAN, ONLY OF THIS NAME, AND FOVRTEENTH ROMAN EMPEROVR.

THE ARGVMENT.

AFter the good Nerua *succeeded a better* Traian, *born (as is said) in the citie of Italica neere to Seuil: yet some say that he was borne elsewhere, whose fathers name was* Traian; *and his mothers,* Plotina. *He was aduanced to the Empire with the good liking of all men, for that his goodnes, clemency, liberalitie, and equitie towards all men was publikely knowne; which vertues he lost not when he was Emperour, but rather seemed to haue increased the same: neither did he omit them, although he were neuer so much busied in matters of importance concerning the warres, or standing for the recreation of his minde, to behold feasts and sports. The first action he vndertook, being Emperour, was against the King of* Dacia *rebelling the second time: and he likewise persecuted the Christians, but afterwards he mitigated the persecution, which was the third that the Church suffered, then daily greatly increasing. He also subdued Armenia. In his time there was a very great earthquake, which was in a manner generall, but it did most harme in Antioch, where he then was. After this hee made very great voyages. In his time the Iewes rebelled, whom when he had tamed, he returned to Rome, where there was a wonderfull triumph prepared for him: but being ouerburthened with age, and infirmities, he died in the citie of Selencia, to the vniuersall sorrow and griefe of the whole world. He liued 64. yeeres; and being dead and burnt, his ashes were carried to Rome, and set vpon the top of a pillar, which is to this day to be seene in Rome, which was a wonderfull peece of worke, and truely worthy of so great an Emperour, who was a no lesse father to the countrey then to all vertues and vertuous men.*

AFter the wise and good Emperour NERVA, succeeded TRAIAN, as he had ordained in his life time; who was the flower of all the heathen Emperours, and in his time was the Romane Empire at the greatest height: for neuer, either before or after, was it so great, so much feared or esteemed. The valour, vertues and excellencies of TRAIAN were so many & so great, that as SEXTVS AVRELIVS affimeth, the best writers of those times were hardlie able to expresse and declare the same. For although that I would exceede in the historie of this excellent Prince, for the loue of my countrey, of whence I might say that TRAIAN was, (as presentlie shall appeare) yet I could not doe it according to my desire and his deserts, for the breuitie of those authors which we haue at this day which wrote of him: wherefore I hold it for a better course to obserue the stile and forme alreadie begun, then by breaking it, to be notwithstanding too briefe and defectiue. I say then that TRAIAN was by nature and birth a Spaniard, whereof there is no doubt: for so do all auncient true authors affirme. EVTROPIVS in the life of him, and EVSEBIVS in his Chronicle, say, that he was borne in the towne of *Italica*, which is subiect and neere to *Seuil*: the which is also affirmed by SEXTVS AVRELIVS, although he name it not; and ANTONY LEBRISHA, whom we may alleage among the auncient authors, calleth *Italica* TRAIANS *countrey*: wherefore I cannot coniecture by what authoritie he did it, which wrote that TRAIAN was borne in *Cales*. This towne of *Italica* (according to PLINIE in his third booke) was in that time in subiection, and within the iurisdiction of *Seuil*: and ANTONY in his perambulation saith, that it was sixteene miles from thence: the same in a manner is gathered

The vertues of Traian.

The place of Traians birth.

thered by PTOLOMIE his geographie, and that it lay Northwest from *Seuil*: but at what time it was ruinated, or where about it was, I could neuer certainely vnderstand: so as *Seuil* may glorie and vaunt it selfe to be TRAIAN his countrey: for although that he were not borne in it, yet he was borne in a place subiect and neere vnto it. TRAIAN was also of noble bloud and linage, although not very famous for any great dignities. His fathers name was also TRAIAN. When he came to the Empire, he was 42. yeares old, but not fullie compleate, and married to a woman of great account, whose name was PLOTINA. For the certaine knowledge they had in *Rome* of his goodnes and valour, he was by generall consent ioyfullie receiued and obeyed: and he presently beganne to put his great vertues in practice, shewing himselfe both in word and deed, good, affable, milde, mercifull, very wise, and a louer of truth and equitie, and of all other vertues; wherein he perseuered vntill the end: it shall not be amisse if I recite part thereof in the beginning, seeing that all historiographers which write of him do the like.

TRAIAN, taking vpon him the gouernment of the Empire, first endeuoured to reforme the lawes, and to cause them to be obserued, and that equitie and iustice should be vsed in all things. In publike charges and offices he tooke care to preferre noble and vertuous men; and such as were not so, he reformed and reclaimed with gentlenes and clemencie, and not with rigour and extremitie. He did so moderate and represse his wrath and choler, as he was neuer knowne to be ouercome therewith; and was most abstinent from other mens goods, and free from couetousnes. His liberalitie and bountie did exceede, bestowing benefits and fauours vpon all men, greatly relieuing the poore and needie, imitating and excelling his adopted father NERVA: Hee bestowed much cost and took great care for the bringing vp & instructing of poore mens children in *Rome* and in all *Italy*. He was a great builder of publike and necessarie Edifices; and also made an infinite number of bridges, gates and temples, and repaired high waies & causeies; as yet is to be seene in many places in *Spaine*; wherof one (as saith S. ISIDORE) is the bridge at *Alcantara*. In all his buildings hee neuer made benefit of any mans goods or labour; as some of his predecessors had done. He was to the multitude and common people milde and courteous, and the principal personages he honoured and entertained with loue and familiaritie; and chiefly those which deserued it, he admitted to priuate conuersation: whereof being vpon a time reproued, he answered, that he desired to be such an Emperour towards his subiects, as he would wish they should be to him, if he were not so. In Arts and Sciences he was not very learned, by reason of his great affaires but he neuer left to practice when hee had time; hauing for his master the excellent Philosopher and Historiographer PLVTARCH, whom, and others for their excellent wits, he loued and honoured much, as IVVENAL testifieth, besides other writers.

Traian his good deedes.

His liberalitie.

Plutarch was Traians maister.

To conclude, this Prince had all the good parts and conditions which an excellent King ought to haue: in peace he was vpright and iust, and in warre (whereto he was so affected as hereafter shall be declared) he was valiant; and in both the one and the other very wise and prudent. And for that wee will not conceale the truth, of two vices and passions he was noted, and accused: the one was, that he did eate and drinke much, and that very sumptuously; and the other, that he was much giuen to the vice of the flesh: the cause whereof was the want of faith, together with his great power and libertie; but it was neuer knowne that wine ouercame his wits, or that by meanes thereof he committed ought that might seeme vnfit; neither through the other passion, that he euer vsed violence, or forced any woman, or offended any.

With these conditions he began his raigne and Empire, gouerning it most happily for some space. As he was a most excellent and valiant Captaine, and addicted to the wars, desirous of honour and fame aboue all his predecessors, he resolued to extend and enlarge the bounds of the Empire by armes. His first enterprise was against the King and inhabitants of the prouince of *Dacia*, a very great and spacious countrey; wherein are now included *Walacia*, and *Transiluania*, and other prouinces, taking the occasion for the warres and spoiles which that nation had done to the Romane Empire, in the time of the Emperour DOMITIAN. TRAIAN went to this warre with an exceeding great Army, and the King of *Dacia*, named DECEVALVS, had leuied for his defence all his force and power, being very great: so as this war was very cruel. But the King of *Dacia*, being no other way able to defend himselfe, determined to come to a battaile (as he did) wherein TRAIANE had the victorie, with exceeding great losse to his enemies, and not a little to the Romanes, for the battaile was very cruell and bloudie. This victorie being obtained, and TRAIAN following the chase of his enemies, he pursued them so hard, that DECEVALVS, being in despaire, sent to him, humbly desiring peace, offering to accept any conditions

Warres made by Traian against the King of Dacia.

Deceualus demands peace of Traian.

Conditions prescribed to Decebalus.

conditions he should prescribe. And TRAIAN (who took as great glory in pardoning the humble and meeke, as in taming and subduing the proud and hautie) notwithstanding that hee had taken almost all his countrie, was contented to admit him to his grace and fauour; sending certaine conditions to be performed: which were, that he should presently deliuer vp all his instruments and engines of warre, and the engineirs and masters thereof, together with all fugitiues that were within his dominion, which were Romans, or their confederats, and ranne to the enemy. And that out of all the Castles and fortresses within his dominions, hee should withdraw the garrisons, and should throw downe such as should be appointed: and before all these things, that he should surrender certain lands which he held within the bounds of the Empire; and that he should euer hold for friends and enemies, those which the Senate of *Rome* held for such.

These articles and conditions the King of *Dacia* accepted and promised to accomplish, more through necessitie then for any good will; and hauing sworne to obserue them, he came to the Campe to the Emperor; where prostrating himselfe vpon the earth before him, he confessed himselfe to be ouercome, and to be his vassall. This solemnity being ended, and other things done which were expedient, TRAIAN returned victorious to *Rome*, where hee entred in triumph, as saith EVSEBIVS hauing raigned two yeeres, and brought with him the Ambassadors of the King of *Dacia*, to whom was giuen audience in the Senate; and the peace, which TRAIAN had granted, was there confirmed. And he for his victorie was called *Dacicus*, for that he had subdued the countrie of *Dacia*, as the Romans in former time had vsually done to some other excellent Captaines.

Traian came into Rome in triumph.

When TRAIAN had ordered all things in the prouince of *Dacia* in this maner, for ioy & honor of this victorie, and to please the Roman people, he made all manner of sports and games, which of custome were wont to be obserued by the Emperors (as is aboue said) adding thereto such other things as he thought good. But these games and sports did not withdraw him from doing iustice, neither from care of the gouernment: but rather so long as they lasted, he spent the greatest part of his time in dispatching of busines, and doing iustice, going himselfe in person to the Tribunal and publike audience, to iudge and determine many causes: which he did most iustly and wisely. Passing sometime in good quiet, rest, and generall peace, the King of *Dacia* being as vnable to endure subiection and seruitude, as his predecessors, began some combustions and alterations; first secretly, and afterwards publikely: repayring and fortifying his Castles, prouiding armes and engines, and leuying his neighbour forces against the Empire: whereof as soone as TRAIAN and the Senate had intelligence, he was adiudged the second time, an enemy to the Empire. And so with an equall armie, but much more incensed then formerly, TRAIAN went this second time to the warres in person: in which the King of *Dacia* taking warning by that which was past, refused to come to battaile, and vsed policies, stratagems and trecheries against TRAIAN; which were such and so many, as the Emperor was in danger to haue been either slaine or taken: and by trecherie (vpon a safe conduct) they took a singular good Captaine and a great fauorite of the Emperors called LONGINVS. The King of *Dacia* hauing so good a pawne, sent to TRAIAN to entreate a pardon, and to treate of peace, threatning that except he might obtaine the same, he would put the said LONGINVS to death. Whereto TRAIAN gaue such an answere, as the King vnderstood, that he preferred his honour and the publike good before any particular perill, and prosecuted the warres by all waies and meanes possible: During the which, within a very short space he built a bridge ouer the riuer *Danubius*, beyond which (parting from *Italy*) lieth the countrie of *Dacia*, which was one of the most stately bridges that euer was made in the world, all of squared stone of marueilous beautie. This bridge contained twentie Arches, each of which was one hundred and fiftie foote high, besides the foundation, and sixtie foote broad; the one Arch was distant from the other one hundred and sixtie foote, which was the compasse of the Arches of the bridge: which truely was a wonderfull worke, as well for the greatnesse thereof, as for the many difficulties, and the short space wherein it was made: Which among other things is an argument of the wealth and greatnesse of the Romane Emperours. Which bridge this Emperour made, to hold a free passage for his Armies to passe the riuer *Danubius*, against those barbarous nations: And ADRIAN his successor being of a contrarie opinion, to bereaue the barbarous of the like passage (as some say) commanded it to be broken. This bridge being finished, TRAIAN continuing the warre, did many things, wherein he shewed himselfe to be a valiant and excellent Captaine: and so oppressed the enemie (notwithstanding that

The king of Dacia rebels against the Empire.

A bridge ouer the riuer Danubius.

The death of the King of Dacia.

that the countrie was great, and the people very fierce and hardie) that he conquered and subdued it all, and put their King DECEVALVS to such a straight, that to escape taking, being in great danger thereof, he slew himselfe; and his head was caried to *Rome*, and the countrie of *Dacia* was made subiect and tributarie to the Romane Empire: the greatest part whereof at this time (for our sinnes) is subiect to the Turke. After this, taking such order for all things in those parts as was requisite, TRAIAN came to *Rome* with great honour, bringing with him an exceeding great summe of money and wealth taken from that King and countrie, being now (as EVSEBIVS testifieth) the fift yeere of his raigne. And his name and bountie was so famous through the world, that vpon the way Ambassadours met him from the *East Indies*, and diuers other parts to sue for peace, and to acknowledge him for their Lord. Being come to *Rome*, hee entred in great triumph: and afterwards there were made great shewes and feasts for ioy of his Victorie and Returne; which did laste 120 daies, which were foure whole moneths: which being ended, he applied himselfe to the administration of iustice, and the tranquillitie of the Empire. Remaining in *Rome* busied in these exercises, hee made many bridges, causeies, and other publike edifices both within *Italy* and without. About this time there died a great friend and fauorite of his, whose name was SVRA LICINIVS, whose death he took heauily and honoured his memoriall with publike statues, which he commaunded to be erected to him, and other honors then vsed. This SVRA was so good a man, and TRAIAN reposed such trust in him, that being told one day for certaine, that SVRA meant to kill him, hee went that night to sup at his house; and commanding his guard to returne, remained there alone amongst SVRA his friends and companions, and commanded his Barber to shaue his beard with a rasor, which the Emperors then held for a custome, vntill the time of his successour ADRIAN, who wore his beard somewhat long: and hauing so much trusted and tried this SVRA LICINIVS, he returned to his Palace; and calling those vnto him which had told him thereof, he said to them, that he had made tryall of LICINIVS loyaltie, and that they should no more hold him in suspicion: and so he euer after loued him both *aliue & dead*, as I haue said.

A feast of one hundred and twenty dayes continuance.

The death of Sura Licinius lamented by Traian.

TRAIAN liuing in this prosperitie without blemish or disorder in any thing that might deserue reproofe, being deluded by the diuell, or some of his ministers, he resolued to persecute the Christians, and made edicts and decrees against them, commanding them to adore his Idols; so as an infinite number of them were put to death vpon that occasion. This was the third generall persecution of the Christians, wherof EVSEBIVS treating saith, that it was in the tenth yeere of his raigne, and so doth OROSIVS and other Christian authors. Which persecution TRAIAN commaunded afterwards to cease, as it appeareth by some histories, and by the Letters written by PLINIE to TRAIAN, and from TRAIAN to PLINIE, which are extant to this day: Wherein he commaunded, that if the Christians were not accused of any other crimes, they should be suffered to liue at libertie, and according to their lawes. In these and other things, and in doing iustice, TRAIAN, busied himselfe in *Rome*, vntill that moued with desire of fame and glorie, he resolued to make war against the King of *Parthia*, and against the King of *Armenia*, making this his occasion; that the King of *Armenia* had receiued the crown and ensignes of a King, from the hands of the King of Parthia (acknowledging him for his superior and soueraigne) and not from the Emperour of *Rome*, as he was bound to haue done, as appeareth by that which is already said. And hauing ordered his troupes, and made such prouision, as for so great an enterprise was requisite: he parted from *Rome*, with a very great army both by sea and land; and arriuing in *Asia*, he inuaded *Armenia*, where the fame of his coming was such, and there was so great a feare ouer all the Countrie, that but in very few places he found any resistance, aswell in *Armenia* as in countries adioyning. And the greatest part of the *Kings*, Nobles and Gouernors of the prouinces bordering thereupon, came peaceably to him, humbly confessing themselues to be his subiects, and him to be their soueraigne Lord, and bringing him many presents they made great shew of subiection. Among many other things of great price which they presented vnto him, there was brought him a horse, in greatnes, colour and shape, one of the most faire in the world: which being taught before hand, as soone as he came in the Emperours presence, kneeled downe vpon both his knees, and bowed downe his head to the earth; which although it were knowne to be artificiall, yet it made a very good shewe, and did greatly delight the beholders, being a thing rare and vnthought of.

Traian made warre against the Parthians.

A horse giuen to Traian.

TRAIAN hauing in short time subdued *Armenia*, and gotten the King thereof into his power, PARTAMITASIRES by name, who had submitted himself, he seised all into his hand.

And so (as EVTROPIVS and SEXTVS RVFVS testifie) the countrie of *Armenia* was made a tributary prouince, and at that time he gratified and gaue gifts and rewards to those Kings and Tetrarchs, which had serued him in those wars, and to many others. And others he condemned in great sums of money, according as each one had deserued. And setting all things in good order, leauing sufficient garrisons to defend the same, he marched forward with his Armie, conquering the dominions of the King of *Parthia*, and particularly entred into the fertile country of *Mesopotamia*, and took the citie of *Nisibe*, and other places there, and made that prouince, like *Armenia*, tributary and subiect to the Empire; the King of *Parthia* being no way able to hinder the same, therein happening many skirmishes, encounters, assaults of cities, and feates of arms, TRAIAN shewing himselfe in all things an excellent Captain, as well in trauailes and dangers, as in directing his armie, in lodging it, in marshalling his men, and marching with them according to militarie gouernment and discipline. For whom the Senate (being aduertised of his great victories and good successe) commanded great sacrifices to be made, after the manner of the Gentiles; and sent him new titles and names, signifying his victories, calling him *Optimus*, *Armeniacus*, *Parthicus*, and other titles, for the conquest of *Armenia*, and other countries of the *Parthians*. Hauing had in all things good successe, encreasing and enlarging the Romane Empire, desiring, for some respects, to repose himselfe for some fewe dayes, hee came to passe the winter in the Prouince of *Soria*; where dispersing his Armie in those marches, he lodged himselfe in the Citie of *Antioch*, whither came Ambassadours from many parts of the East: And being there in great prosperitie and at rest, with a full determination to returne to the wars as afterwards he did, the whol citie being full of his Court, and of Ambassadors and Princes which came to see him, and to follow their suits vnto him, there happened an earth-quake which was in a manner generall, which in that citie and in a great part of *Asia* (but chiefly in those quarters) was the greatest that euer was seen or heard of, which began after this manner. On the 22 of October there did rise so furious and violent a winde, as it tare and turned vp trees, made the birds fall to the earth, vncouered the roofes, and made the houses shake: then followed lightning and thunder, in such abundance, as being yet night, it seemed noone day; after which there fell from heauen such fearefull thunderbolts, as with their violence they brake downe stately buildings, and slue many men, so as it seemed the world had been set on fire, and that the earth had opened. The Sea was also wonderfully troubled; after all which there was such a violent heate, as, not able to endure it, men stript themselues, and hid them vnder ground; and the skie was so darke, and the dust so great, as one could not see another, but shocking together fell downe dead: But he that will know the wonders which passed therein, let him reade DION, and COCCEIVS in the life of TRAIAN; for many cities were ruinated, much people perished; many mountains and hils sunke and became plaine; many riuers were dried vp; and many fountaines and waters sprang where neuer had been any before. And in the Citie of *Antioch*, almost all the houses and buildings thereof fell to the ground; and the Emperour TRAIAN, escaped by flight, and was driuen to leape out at a window into the fields, seeing that all his palaces fell downe: in which fieldes hee remained many dayes in Tents, vntill the earth-quake was past; so great feare possessed him for that which was already happened. This misfortune being past, and this Citie and others, which endured the like calamitie, being repaired by TRAIAN, and sommer being come, gathering together all his forces, he parted from *Antioch* to proceede in the warre which he had begun, directing his iourney towards the East, to make a conquest of *Assyria* and *Chaldea*, with the great Citie of *Babylon*, head of the ancient monarchy of the *Assyrians*. And being to passe the riuer *Euphrates*, at a great turning which it maketh, he vnderwent many difficulties and dangers; for the *Parthians* with all their whole power endeuoured to stoppe his passage: But TRAIAN knew so well how to vse such industrie, and to proceede so warily, as making boates and bringing them in carts, from the mountaines neerest at hand, he made a bridge, and passed his Armie in despite of his enemies, although not without great slaughter and daunger to both parts: And hauing passed the riuer, he marched forwards, conquering Cities and Castles on euery side, and among other the great Citie of *Arbela* in *Assyria*, which MARCELLINVS calleth *Gandabele*, in whose fields ALEXANDER the Great, ouerthrew King DARIVS. And from thence he went and took other countries, wherein neuer had any Romane ensignes been displayed: And from thence without finding any that durst to giue him battaile in his march, he came to the famous Citie of *Babylon*, of whose greatnesse and power we read maruels; and taking it by force of armes, he did the like by all the borders: and from thence he marched by

Armenia and Mesopotamia made tributarie to the Empire.

Newe titles giuē to Traian by the Senate.

An horrible and fearefull Earthquake in the citie of Antioch.

A bridge ouer the riuer Euphrates.

Arbela.

Babylon and Thesiphonte taken by Traian.

by land to the riuer *Tigris*, and assaulted and took by force the great citie of *Thesiphonte*, which is in *Persia*, and other townes in those parts. But in what manner TRAIAN took this Citie, and what happened in the many assaults and battailes giuen, and how long this warre continued, we finde it not written: for those authors which are come to our hands treate thereof succinctly; and the bookes of his life and famous exploites which FLAVIVS MARCELLVS and AVRELIVS VERVS wrote at large and copiously, are perished, with other notable works, which time hath consumed and wasted; by which meanes the acts of this Emperor are vnknowne. Neither is he compared with ALEXANDER the Great, or the greatest captaines of the world; notwithstanding that he was no lesse, considering the countries, the Seas, and Nations, which he trauelled, tamed and subdued, with his armie, his minde, his wisedome and bountie.

TRAIAN hauing made himselfe Lord of all those Countries, both on this side, and beyond the riuers *Tigris* and *Euphrates*, to wit, *Syria*, *Babylon*, *Chaldea*, and other countries and prouinces; thereto adioyning; DION writeth that he went downe the riuer *Tigris*, towards the Persian Sea, to subdue a mightie King, named ATHABILVS, who liued in an Iland (which that riuer maketh, diuiding it selfe into two arms) & comming to that countrie, the King and inhabitants of those countries not daring to make any resistance, yeelded all those places into his hands. But *here he was in the greatest trouble and danger of all others: for, winter* comming on, *there fell* so much raine, and there were such tempests, and the riuer *Tigris* made such inundations, as hee was in danger to haue lost the greatest part of his armie. After which, these authors affirme, that he rigged vp a great fleete, wherewith sayling along the *Persian* Sea, he came into the maine Ocean, conquering euen to the *Indies*, and subduing them to the Roman Empire: and finding by chance certain Merchants ships which sailed to the *Indies*, on this side the riuer *Ganges*, they write, that he informed himselfe thereof, and discoursed with such as were in those ships of all matters concerning those parts. And he sometimes said, that had it pleased God that hee had been a little yonger, and had more strength & health, he would not haue staied vntil that he had attained to the vttermost and most remote ends of the world: and that he accounted ALEXANDER the Great *for very happy, in that he began to raigne when he was but yong*; yet he purposed to passe further then he had done. And so he wrote from those Seas to the Senat of *Rome*, and sent them the relation and names of all the Nations which he had conquered and subdued; *the number whereof was so great, as they could hardly be reckoned and knowne.* Vpon which newes, there were made in *Rome* great ioys, new sacrifices, and many other things to his honor; among which was a most sumptuous Arch. But this attempt and enterprise of the *Indies* prospered not with TRAIAN, according to his expectation: for as those countries, which he left behinde him in the East, were newly conquered; while as he continued his Nauigation and conquest by Sea, many of those countries reuolted, and thrust out the Roman garrisons which were left in them. Besides this (wherof he was aduertised) he found not in those coasts and countries where he came, such fertilitie and abundance of victuals as he expected; neither were they answerable to the reports of writers, which fabled thereof: for he found there great scarcitie and want of many necessaries, and the enterprise seemed vnworthy of so great a Prince: for which causes, and for that that he was now old and vnwieldie, he resolued to return with his fleete to the place from whence he came.

Traian made warre in Persia and the Indies.

TRAIAN *returning in this manner by the Persian gulfe, and taking land neere to the riuer Tigris*, he speedily took order for the punishing of those which reuolted, and the recouerie of those countries which had rebelled, whither he sent two Captaines called LVCIVS and MAXIMVS, with two good armies, which *in the beginning prospered ill*; for MAXIMVS *in a* battaile against the Parthians was ouerthrowne and slaine: but LVCIVS afterwards reinforcing and relieuing his armie, obtained some victories against the enemie, wherein he repaired the losses receiued, and recouered againe by force of armes the citie of *Nisibe* in *Mesopotamia*, and others which had rebelled, and did the like by the citie of *Edessa* in the same prouince, which he set on fire and wholly ruined. While as LVCIVS was busie about these things, TRAIAN his other Captaines and Lieutenants, named EVRICIVS and CLARIVS, made warre in other parts against such as had reuolted, and took by force the citie of *Seleucia*, which standeth vpon the riuer *Tigris*, and other cities which the Parthians had recouered in those quarters: so as in short space TRAIAN not only recouered all those countries which had rebelled, but also conquered many other cities and prouinces: so as he was Lord of the greatest and best parts of *Asia*. His wisedome and valour was so great, that during all the time that hee followed these

warres and conquests, so remote and farre from *Rome*, yet there was not any tumult or disorder in the Citie.

But this sage and wise Emperour seeing himselfe now old and tired, and knowing how great the Romane Empire was, and that it seemed impossible (as indeed it was true) well to gouerne a state so large and great, chiefly those prouinces which hee had conquered from the Parthians, who were so hard to be tamed and kept vnder; he resolued to settle a King in *Parthia* and *Persia* of his choosing, and in some other countries which hee had taken from the Parthians, which King should rule and gouerne the same, as before they were ruled, yet as a King which should be subiect and a vassall to the Romane Empire; reseruing to himselfe the supreame iurisdiction and soueraigntie. And with this resolution he came to the great citie of *Thesiponte*, which is in *Persia*: and calling thither the principall men of the Parthians, hee conferred with them concerning the making them a King of their owne stocke and nation; they giuing him great securitie to serue and obey the Romane Empire. This being concluded, he placed and established, in the royall throne with great solemnitie, a great man of the royall house of the Parthians, whose name was PARTHENASPATES. And afterwards (as SEXTVS AVRELIVS and EVTROPIVS record) he did the like in the prouince of *Albania* in *Asia*, neere to the Caspian Sea, seating there a King to gouerne the same: and placing gouernours and Presidents in the other prouinces, he enlarged and extended the bounds & limits of the Romane Empire beyond the riuer *Tigris*, where before his time the name of Romane had scarcely been heard of. And hauing ended all things in good sort in the East, with great glorie and honour (for no place could defend it selfe against him, sauing one little citie in *Arabia deserta*, which the Agarenes had taken, which could not long be besieged for the great sterilitie and want of water in all the fields and marches thereabout) hee resolued to direct his iourney towards *Italy*, and so to *Rome*, with greater honour and triumph, then any of his predecessors had euer obtained.

Traian in Persia.

While as TRAIAN made prouision for his iourney towards *Italy*, it happened that the Iewes which inhabited the prouince of *Cyrene*, which is in *Africa*, to the East of *Syrtis Magna*, conspired and rebelled against the Romanes and Greekes which liued in that prouince, and slew most of them. The like did those Iewes which dwelled in *Egypt*, and both the one and the other committed such cruelties, as were neuer seene or heard of: So as PAVLVS OROSIVS writeth, that they left the land in a manner dispeopled; and that Nation was euer so readie and apt to rebell; as those Iewes which dwelt in the Ile of *Cyprus*, knowing what had passed in the prouince of *Cyrene*, and in *Egypt*, rebelled also, and committed greater cruelties and excesse, then the others had done: so as DION saith (although it seemeth incredible) that there were slaine by them 200000. persons, which inhabited that Iland. Which is confirmed and made credible by that which EVSEBIVS and PAVLVS OROSIVS report, who affirme, that they slew all those which dwelt in the citie of *Salamina*, which is in that Iland: vpon which occasion there was afterwards an Imperiall law made, that no Iew vpon paine of death should come within the Ile of *Cyprus*, vpon what occasion soeuer. This law was afterwards so seuerly executed, that if any of them came thither, although through mischance or fowle-weather at sea, they were presently put to death.

The Iewes rebelled against the Romanes.

The cruelties of the Iewes.

When the Emperour TRAIAN vnderstood of this great rebellion and cruelties (being vpon his way toward *Italie*) as a iust prince willing and desiring to giue condigne punishment, according to the qualitie of the crime, he sent Captaines with sufficient troupes of souldiers into diuers parts, to put to death all the Iewes they should finde in those countries before named, or in any other where soeuer: which they affirme, was the greatest execution and punishment that euer was done in the world, God permitting the same for their stubbornesse, and obstinacy. This great slaughter & punishment being executed, taking the best order that might be for matters in *Asia*, the good Emperour began his iourney towards *Italie*, leauing his Nephew AELIVS ADRIANVS, who was afterward Emperor, for General of the Armies in the East, and so continued his iourney with infinite honour and ioy; there being in *Rome* the greatest triumph and the most solemne reception prepared for him, that had euer beene made. Comming into the prouince of *Cilicia*, which is in *Asia* the lesse, as he was old and somewhat sickely, his disease increased vpon him in such sort, as staying in the citie of *Seleucia*, within few daies after, he died there, of a naturall sickne, although that some suspected that he was poisoned. And so ended this excellent Emperor, hauing raigned nineteene yeeres and a half, and liued sixtie and three, in the yeere of our Lord 119. leauing neither son nor daughter by his wife PLOTINA, with whom he was married; neither would he adopt or name anie one that should succeed him, which

A iust punishments inflicted by Traian vpon the Iewes.

The death of the Emperor Traian.

which hee did in some mens opinion (as SPARCIANVS writes) to imitate ALEXANDER the Great, whom he euer sought to excell in honour and renown. TRAIAN's ashes were afterwards brought to *Rome*, and set vpon the top of a Pillar, which he had commanded to bee erected in the market-place: which Pillar was of one whole piece, containing one hundreth and forty foot in height. This Prince subdued many Countries and Prouinces, and held the greater part of the world in subiection; or, to say better, was the greatest and mightiest Prince that euer was in the world, either before or after him; as he which is curious may finde by this our *History*. True it is, that discoursing indifferently touching valour in Armes, and many other parts, he was not to be paralleld in greatnes with IVLIVS CÆSAR. He gouerned the Empire with such authority and so much iustice, and his vertues were so many, as he therein excelled all those which had not the light of our faith: for, therein is no comparison. And this was held for a custome in *Rome* after him, that, when they poured out their blessing vpon their new-chosen Emperours, they would pray that he might be as fortunate as AVGVSTVS CÆSAR, and as good as TRAIAN; accounting him to haue attained to the height of all goodnes.

It is great pity To think that so excellent a man should be lost and damned, as doubtlesse hee was: for, hee not onely was an Idolater, and held not our Christian faith (without the which there is no saluation) neither did hee confesse or professe it; but, persecuted and oppressed the Christians. And some men, being moued more with pity and compassion, than with any wit or vnderstanding, fained a fable and jest; saying, that, through the praiers of S. GREGORY, TRAIAN's soule was released out of hell (from whence is no redemption) and carried to Paradise: whereof, besides that our faith doth controul it, there is no Historiographer either antient or modern, of any authority that euer I saw, that makes any mention thereof in their Treatises of TRAIAN, and of S. GREGORIE: whereby it is cleer, that those which maintain it bear false witnes both against heauen and hell. TRAIAN was of a bigge stature, of a swarth complexion, and had thin hair on his head and beard; and likewise had a hook nose, great broad shoulders, and long hands; and, aboue all, had a very louing aspect with his eyes. He was born the one and twentith day of May, in the second yeer of the Raign of the Emperor NERO.

THE LIFE OF PVBLIVS AELIVS ADRIANVS, ONELY OF THAT NAME, AND FIFTEENTH ROMAN EMPEROR.

THE ARGVMENT.

After Trajan, Adrian *was aduanced to the Empire, more through the policy of* Trajans *wife, than by the election of the people or the Senate, or for that* Trajan *had adopted him. Neuertheless, after he was preferred to the imperiall dignity, he gaue so good an account of himself, as Rome had no cause to repent for hauing made him her Lord. He made very great voiages; and in his person visited in a manner all the Roman Empire. He was very studious in all arts and sciences, and caused all such as were famous and excellent in any Art, to come to Rome. He happily ended all such warrs as he began; and was very seuere to the Christians. His many vertues were accompanied with many vices; neuertheless, he could so well dissemble the passions of his minde, as he seemed to contemn those things which he chiefly toued. He liued 62 yeers, and gouerned the Empire 12. In his old age he had so grieuous an infirmity, as he desired to dye, and intreated his familiars to kill him; who hauing not the heart to commit so brutish an act, he was finally aduised by his phisitions to abstaine from meat & drinke, so as following their counsell he hastened his death by hunger.*



He death of the good Emperor TRAIAN was much lamented and grieuously taken through all the Empire; beeing for his bounty and goodnes much beloued of all the people and nations subiect to the Empire. And, as he neuer had any son, either naturall or adopted, that might succeed him, and seeing his Nephew ADRIAN for his vertues, great wisdome, and the affinity between them, was much beloued and esteemed; PLOTINA, the Empresse, wife to TRAIAN, who was with him at his deceasse, for the great loue she bare vnto ADRIAN, sought means to aduance him to the Empire. To bring which her deuice to passe, she agreed with ADRIAN (who already was a man of great power, and had been very familiar with TRAIAN, and was his countriman) and took such order, that his death was concealed vntill hee had sounded the good will of the Army which he led, and of such other great Personages as were in the Emperors Court; faining (after some Writers) that TRAIAN had adopted him for his sonne, shewing a counterfeit instrument or Writing to that effect. Finally, the matter was so cunningly handled, that it took such effect as they desired, and the Army presently sware obedience and did homage to ADRIAN; notwithstanding that he was absent, in the City of *Antioch* in *Syria*, where he was left (as is said) Generall. Who being aduertised heerof, and the Legions whereof he was Generall consenting thereto, he presently wrote to the Senate, entreating to be confirmed in the Empire. When the Senate had receiued his Letters, and vnderstood what passed, his request was easily granted, and so was he of all men obeyed and held for Emperor.

Adrian being in Antioch, was chosen Emperour.

ADRIAN was TRAIAN's Nephew, as some say, by his mother; and some say, by his father: it may be that he was his kinsman of both sides, and so both the one and other may say the truth. He was also a Spaniard both by linage and birth, and according to EVTROPIVS and EVSEBIVS, was borne in the same citie of *Italica*: yet SPARTIANVS inferreth that his father in *Rome* was called ADRIAN as He was, but was borne in *Italica*, and his mother DOMITIA PAVLINA, was also natiue of *Spaine*, and borne in the citie of *Cales*. He was married to SABINA TRAIANS sisters daughter (as DION writeth.) And was a tall man of stature, of a good constitution and countenance; and of a very cleane strength, which he much exercised. He is reckoned among the good and excellent Emperours; and with great reason, considering his many vertues and excellencies, his knowledge and wisedome wherewith he gouerned, and the peace and iustice wherein he maintained the Empire two and twentie yeeres, that he liued therein; whereof for that all authors write briefly, I also purpose to treat therof in summe, seeing I spent so much time in the last, so as except I vse more breuitie then hitherto I haue done, the volume of this my booke will growe to a greater proportion then I purposed, or is conuenient. Wherefore I will doe, as he which within a lymited time hath determined to trauell a long iourney, and hauing taken leasure in the beginning, deeming that trauelling in this maner, he shall not bee able to attaine to that place at the time appointed, hasteneth his way with greater speede, vntill that he know that he may come to his iourneis end before the time be expired: So will I do from henceforth. At the least when I am past ADRIAN, I purpose to proceede with greater expedition then heretofore, vntill I come so farre on my way, that I may safely diuide the processe of this historie, and hold the proportion which I haue determined, presuming rather to make this inequalitie in the stile, then to make a worke so tedious and wearisome.

Adrian nephew to Traian and a Spaniard.

I say then, that when-as the barbarous nations vnderstood that TRAIAN was dead, notwithstanding they also knew of the election of his Nephew ADRIAN; the Parthians chiefly, and other nations which were lately subdued, began to mutine and rebell: and there were also some alterations in *Britanny*, and in some other parts. All which, ADRIAN might easily haue pacified and subdued by force of Arms, and wanted neither courage nor means thereto: but he would not seek it by the extremity of warre and rigor. For, truely, albeit these two Princes were both very valiant and excellent Captains and Gouerners, yet heerin they did much differ: for, TRAIAN, being greedy of honour and fame, desired by conquests and wars to increase and inlarge the Empire; but ADRIA's care was To preserue the antient limits without any greater ambition, and rather he diminished a great part thereof: and so presently in the beginning of his Raign, to the end he might liue in peace, he left to the Parthians, and to other Princes

The Parthians and other nations lately subdued, hearing of Traians death, rebelled.

ces of the East, all those Prouinces beyond the Riuer of *Euphrates* vnto the *Indies* which TRAIAN had conquered; nothing regarding *Armenia*, *Media*, *Assyria*, *Persia*, *Mesopotamia*, nor all the rest; and he set his bound and placed his Legions at the Riuer *Euphrates*. Some thought and also wrote, that he did it of purpose, enuying TRAIAN's honour: but I truely attribute it to that he held it for the better and most assured course. And hauing taken such order in the East (as is said) and left CATILLIVS SEVERVS for Gouernor of *Syria*, and pacified the troubles lately raised by the Iewes; he took his way by land towards *Italy*, and sent the ashes of TRAIAN by sea: and, coming neer to *Rome*, hee was aduertised that they had prepared a triumph for him in the same manner as it was prouided for his Vncle TRAIAN, for that hee was in the same wars and conquests with him. But he would not accept therof, cõmanding that the same triumph and entertainment should bee made and giuen to TRAIAN's Image; and so it was done; and he (as far as I haue read) was the onely man that euer triumphed after that hee was dead. And ADRIAN was receiued and obeyed with the greatest loue and applause that could be, and presently performed many parts of an excellent Prince, conformable to the course of his life past, and the hope conceiued of him for the time to com; so as all were glad and well satisfied with his gouernment, with his manners and conditions: and truely with great reason, for he deserued no lesse. And because that the graces and excellencies of this Emperour were in the highest degree, besides the vertues and wisdome wherewith hee was adorned, I hould it fit in this place to speak therof, to the end that they may serue for an example to other Princes; whereby they may make themselues the more respected by his imitation.

Adrian sent Traians ashes to Rome.

A triumph giuen to Traians statue after his death.

First, he was naturally enclined to learne all such sciences as apperteined to wit, and to the exercise both of mind and bodie, aswell in learning, as in the exercise of armes and other vertues, wherein he sought to excell all men. It is a wonderfull matter to consider how God endued this Prince with wit and vnderstanding, capable to comprehend whatsoeuer he desired, with skill, strength and abilitie in all exercises: whereby he grew very learned in both the tongues, Greek and Latine, and compiled excellentlie well, both in verse and in prose. He pleaded causes and exercised himselfe in the art Oratorie; and so much affected the stile & phrase of auncient times, that he preferred CATO before CICERO, ENNIVS before VIRGIL, and CELIVS before SALVST. He was as skilfull in other arts as herein: for he was a singular Mathematician, Arithmetician, Geometrician, and a great Astronomer, and took great delight in iudiciall Astrologie, and would giue his iudgement: so as SPARCIANVS writeth, that the first day of the yeere he would cast the reuolution of the whole, and foretold what would ensue, and did so by the same yeere wherein he died. Hee was very skilfull in Physick, and knew the vertues and properties of hearbs and stones. Hee was expert and very politick in warres and militarie discipline, and was very strong, able and skilfull in armes both on foot and horseback: And besides all this, he could play on instruments, and sing maruelouslie well. He coulde d raw and paint, aswell as the skilfulleſt maister workeman in that art. Finally, in all things he had so great skill, as any man could haue in any one thing particularly: wherein, besides his deepe vnderstanding, his exceeding memorie did much help him: for they affirme, that he forgat not any thing that he had either read or hard. He was of such capacitie (as SPARCIANVS writeth) that he would both endite, write, and confer of busines all at one instant, and had a singular grace & promptnes in vsing quick speeches and quips, either in earnest or in iest; and the like in answering vpon the sodain, if he were touch by any. Of his quick and sharp speeches which they write of him, I will recite one, as fitting this time, although it be none of the sharpest and subtilleſt of them, which was thus: A certaine Romane Knight came to intreate a fauour at his hands, who (according to his age) had a gray beard, and full of white haires: and failing of that which he desired, within few dayes after he came againe with a new petition to the same effect: But in the meane season (it seemeth that men were then as skilfull in painting as now they are) he had dyed his beard, and looked yong againe: which was noted by the Emperour; who to guird him therewith, answered to his request, I would be very glad to do you the pleasure which you require, but a few dayes past I denied it to your father who desired the same, wherefore it seemeth to me a matter vniust, to grant that to the sonne which I would not yeeld to the Father: and so the olde man departed with shame, and in this manner he vsed many such like iests. Besides all that is spoken of him, he was very strong, and able to endure any labour; and was so actiue of his body, as he ordinarily went the greatest part of his way on foote, and bare headed, in the sunne, in the raine and mists. He was much addicted to the chace, and was a great Hunter, and excellent therein: so as with his owne hands he killed Lions, Beares, wild Boares, and

Adrian was expert in all faculties.

and other most fierce Beasts; he was oftentimes in great danger, falling once vnawares from a rock; where he put one of his shoulders out of joint, and brake one of his legs, with some of his ribs. Finally, there was nothing wherein the Emperor ADRIAN was not excellent, and very able, and in all things presumed to excell the wisest; as truely he did in the most. And although hee were a great reprouer of Masters in all Arts, and did often put them to their shifts with his questions and arguments, yet he did much honour them, and bestowed many gifts and rewards vpon them; and had about him Philosophers, Astronomers, Poets, Rhetoricians, Grammarians, Musicians, Arithmeticians, Geometricians, and excellent Painters and Carvers: with all which he might compare, and the most of them he did farre excell; and did vse to say, that He had not forborn to learn any thing more than other men did, that might be needfull in peace or warre, either for an Emperour, or a man of any other condition whatsoeuer.

Being endued with these qualities aboue mentioned, he was not void of other vertues & gifts of the mind, which he shewed and put in practice during the time of his raigne, more, and better then before; although in the beginning he was noted of crueltie, for that some speciall men, by his commandement and permission, were put to death. There were also some vices and bad inclinations noted to be in him: but they all affirm he did suppresse and dissemble them, and was so much master of himself, as he easily masterd his naturall euill inclination; which well appeard in his manner of gouerning the Empire, and the good vsage of his subjects, bestowing fauors vpon all men; abating the tributes and subsidies through all the Empire; ministring justice with indifferency; doing all things by the aduice and counsell of the Senate, and of wise men which he kept about him, and caried with him whithersoeuer he went: for, he not only loued to be counselled, but also to be reproued and aduised. Hee entertained all men mildely and courteously: and although to the common sort he shewed greatnes and majesty, yet men of note he honoured much, and visited them in their sicknes, and inuited them, and went to them when they inuited him. And although he euer loued and procured peace, yet all his life-time he had exceeding great care of martiall discipline; punishing the liberty and vices of men of warre; reforming errors past, and prescribing rules for time to come. In this maner (as I haue said) he had liued when he was priuate, and followed the same course after he was Emperor.

Adrian taxed for cruelty.

Northern nations rose against the Empire.

ADRIAN hauing remained some space in *Rome*, gouerning the Empire in good form and order, many northern Nations rebelled against the Empire, to weet, the Alanes and Scythians of *Europe*; and the Sarmates, which are now the Inhabitants of *Russia*, *Muscouia*, and *Poland*, and other Countries thereto adjoyning; which, with intent to make war in the Empire, came down into the Prouinces of the vpper *Missia* (now called *Seruia*) and the lower *Bulgaria*, both which at this day are in subjection to the great Turk. Against which nations, the Emperor ADRIAN parted from *Rome* with a mighty Army: but, coming neer to those Prouinces where the enemies were, there were certain treaties of peace propounded; and ADRIAN, who was addicted thereto, granted the same: and, making his abode for some daies in those Quarters, hee returned to *Rome*, leauing MARCIVS TVRBO for Lieutenant and Gouernor of *Pannonia* and *Dacia*. In this journey ther was a certain conspiracy against him; which being discouerd, foure principall men which had been Consuls (being guilty thereof) were put to death: which execution the Emperor ADRIAN afterwards denied to haue been done by his will or consent. Being comn to *Rome* to purge himself of the infamy and enuy thereof, he made a great congiarie or distribution of money among the people, bestowing many graces and fauours vpon all men; and commanded also infinite games and sports to bee made, such as were accustomed in *Rome*; not forgetting (neuertheless) the execution of justice in his gouernment. Staying at this time a lesser space in *Rome* than at the first, he departed with a great Court and Army to visit *France*, and the Prouinces neer adioining; vpon the Cities whereof, hee bestowed many graces and fauours. And from thence he went to visit the Legions and Armies in *Germanie*; wherin hee set good order in many things concerning militarie discipline: and, hauing remained a while in those parts, hauing resolued to visit the whole Empire (as afterwards he did) he directed his iourney into *Flanders*, and from thence into *Britanny*; where hee reformed many things, and reconciled the Inhabitants, and the Romans which liued there; as well the garrisons, as the Inhabitants and Colonies. And, for their better quietnes and security, SPARCIANVS saith, that he caused a strong wall of foure score miles long to be built, to make a diuision of the lands of the one from the other; which was a marvellous great work. And, hauing made such prouision for all things in that Iland as he thought needfull, he return'd into *France*: where he erected some singular Buildings, and bestowed other graces and fauours in that Countrey.

Adrian visited the Empire.

After

After that the Emperour ADRIAN had visited *France* and the borders thereof, and the Ile of *Britannie*, he directed his iourney for *Spaine*; where he was ioyfully receiued, as a man native and borne in that countrie: and after that he had visited some places, he went to winter in the cittie of *Tarragona*, where he called a parliament of all the prouinces, and ordained many things for the publike good thereof. After that the furie of winter was past, he trauelled through all *Spaine*, visiting the cities, and bestowing benefits vpon them: principally vnto his owne countrie *Italica* and *Seuil*, he graunted many priuiledges and exemptions, and did many great fauours, as DION writeth; but would not come thither, notwithstanding that he was in the marches thereof. Thus hauing visited all *Spaine*, he returned towards *Rome*, & at this time he set downe the limits and bounds of the Empire, from the barbarous Nations: where there were no riuers, to diuide them with notable markes of stone, pillars, trees, and other things; and his authoritie & reputation at that time was so great, that to the high Germanes who were free, he appointed a King: and at that time some tumults were punished in *Africa*.

He come into Spaine, and doth many fauours to his Countrie.

The Emperour ADRIAN liuing now in peace, being the seauenth yeere of his raigne; the Parthians a fierce and turbulent nation, began to arme and to make warres against the Empire; and ADRIAN making prouision for all things accordingly, passed into the East, with a sufficient Armie to follow that warre in person: but seeing that he managed it himselfe, they propounded certaine treaties of peace; which being concluded, he trauelled peaceably through all the Easterne prouinces, and came into *Asia* the lesse, and from thence into *Grecia*, where he did many fauours to the Athenians, and other cities, where he remained some space. From thence he took his passage into the Ile of *Sicilia*, and visited the principall places of that Iland; and desired to see mount *Etna*, which is so famous for the fire which it continually casteth out. Setting all things in *Sicilia* in such order as he thought good, being very ioyfull he returned to *Rome*, now the fourth time after that he was Emperour. After his last comming, he staied not long: for he had vndertaken (for the better gouernment thereof) to visit the whole Empire in person; and to that purpose preparing shippes and gallies he passed into *Africa*: where the ioy is incredible that was conceiued for his comming. For besides that ADRIAN was very much beloued, it happened (as SPARCIANVS and others doe write) that *Africa* for fiue yeeres space had endured great want of raine, and by consequence hunger and famine; but as soone as he was arrived in that Countrie, raine fell plentifully: which made his comming most ioyfull. And the time that he was in that countrie, he spent in reforming of the gouernment, in ending controuersies, and commanding certaine publike buildings to be erected: among which was the reedifying of a great part of the citie of *Carthage*, which (according to my author) he commanded should be called *Adrianopolis*, after his owne name.

Adrian in Africa.

Carthage re-edified by Adrian.

And all matters being ended in *Africa* at his pleasure, and hauing staied there so long as to him seemed good, he returned prosperously to *Rome*, where hee prouided for all other matters of the Empire: yet the time was not long that he staied there; and when euery man thought least of any iourney, hee againe prouided for his passage into the East. And within short space he went into *Grecia*; and trauailing through it, staied in some cities, and made those buildings & temples to be finished, which before he had commanded to be begun, and enioyned others to be built: and so continuing his iourney he went into *Asia* the lesse, and did there as he had done in other prouinces where he had trauailed. Being come into *Syria*, by letters and messengers he inuited the Kings and Tetrarchs, as well those which were friends and subiects, as others which were neighbours and strangers, to come to see & speake with him. Among which; one was the King of Parthia, to whom he freely sent his daughter, whom the Emperor TRAIAN in the former wars had taken prisoner; for which generous act, manie came to his Court to visit him and to doe him honour: all which he so friendly and courteously entertained, as such which came not did exceedingly enuie those which came, grieuing very much that they had not done the like. These meetings and feasts being ended (which in truth were very great and memorable) ADRIAN took his way towards *Syria*, and came into *Palestina* and *Iudea*; visiting the principall cities thereof; and from thence went forwards, and did the like in *Arabia*. After which, he presently went into *Egypt*; where he remained longer than in any other part, and there commanded a most sumptuous Sepulchre to be built ouer the great POMPEY, for that his Tomb was ruined and decaied. He also caused a City to bee founded to the name and memoriall of a most fair young youth which died there, whom hee deerly loued. And at the same time he permitted and also commanded, that the holy City *Ierusalem*, which (as is before said) was destroyed & laid desolate, should be reedified & new built; which was presently done with

A Sepulcher made by Adrian ouer the great Pompey.

The power of the Roman Emperors.

with admirable expedition, principally by the Iewes; and commanded, that (leauing the first name) it ſhould be called *Ælia Adria Capitolina*: ſo great was then the power and wealth of the Roman Emperors, that it was as eaſie a matter for them then to build Cities, as now houſes, or things of leſſer moment. And although the Iewes did greatly reioyce for the new-building and reſtoring of *Ieruſalem*, yet afterwards they took it very grieuouſly, that the Gentils ſhould ſointly dwell there with them; who built Temples to their gods and idols, not ſuffering the Chriſtians freely to vſe their rites and ceremonies. And this is the cauſe of the rebellion which afterwards enſued.

The peruerſe perfidy of the obſtinate Iewes.

Truely, it is a thing much to be noted in this Nation; which became ſo ſtiffe-necked, that when they were bound to keep and obſerue their law, being good and holy; for very light occaſions they would forſake it, and take ſtrange religions, and become idolaters: but after that it was aboliſhed, and ought no longer to be obſerued, they would neuer leaue it, neither receiue the holy Catholike faith; and yet, vntill this day, ſome of that generation in ſundry parts of the world obſtinately perſeuere therein.

These and many other things being ended by ADRIAN in the time of his abode in *Aſia* and in *Egypt*, he returned into *Europe*: and, arriuing in *Gracia*, he ſtaied with his whole Court in the City of *Athens*. Being there (which was in the eighteenth yeer of his Raign) all the Iewes rebelled, and caſt the Roman garriſons out of their Prouinces of *Iudea*, *Galile*, and the reſt; killing as many of them as they could, with a very great number of Chriſtians. This was a very dangerous warre: for, with them did conſpire all the Iewes that dwelt in any other Prouinces, which were very many. ADRIAN conſidering the importance of this accident, prouided a new Army, whereof he made IVLIVS SEVERVS Generall againſt the Iewes, cauſing him to come from *Britanny*, where hee commanded the Army; who came with great power, and paſſed into *Syria*, and made moſt cruell warre: wherein, after the ſhedding of much bloud on both ſides, the Iewes were ouercomn and deſtroied, and the whole Countrey left in a manner deſolate. So (as writeth DION) there were fifty excellent ſtrong Caſtles and Forreſſes laied euen with the ground; and nine hundred, foureſcore and fiue Townes and populous Villages burnt; and there were ſlain in skirmiſhes and battels fifty thouſand fighting men, beſides thoſe which without number died of hunger, ſicknes, and miſery of the warre: and ſo was performed the ſubduing, and (in a manner) the totall deſtruction of the Iewiſh Nation. And ADRIAN gaue commandement and made an edict, that the Iewes ſhould be perpetually baniſhed from the new *Ieruſalem*, and prohibited to inhabite there.

The Iewes ouerthrown and deſtroied by Iulius Seuerus. and baniſht from the new Ieruſalem by Adrian.

Within few daies after the war againſt the Iewes was ended, the Alanes and Maſagets, which are barbarous and fierce Nations of *Scythia Aſiatica*, came with great fury, and entred into *Media* making war, and afterwards into *Armenia*, and came as far as *Cappadocia* (where FLAVIVS ARRIANVS was Generall for the Empire) putting all the Countries therabouts in great fear. But ADRIAN (who euer loued peace) vſed ſuch means, as through the gifts which hee ſent to their King VOLOGESVS by his Ambaſſadors, they returned peaceably to their houſes, loaden with ſpoils and riches which they got in other barbarous Countries.

ADRIAN, hauing ended all matters to his beſt liking; after he had beſtowed many gifts and fauours vpon the Cities of *Gracia*, came in the end to *Rome*, hauing (as I haue ſaid) trauelled a long time through the world; where his coming was very gratefull to all eſtates in that City: and although he were now old and vnwieldy, yet he failed not to prouide and take as good order for all things then, as when hee was of greateſt ſtrength. But, conſidering his age, which was now aboue threeſcore yeers, that he had not any ſonne, and that a diſeaſe he ordinarily had, which was much bleeding at the noſe, did now more oppreſſe him than euer; hee took great care who ſhould bee his Succeſſor, and therefore determined to adopt ſome excellent man to ſucceed him in the Empire; and heerupon took much counſell, and made many doubts before he would reſolue. In the end, contrary to the liking of moſt of his Councell, hee adopted one LVCIVS CECINIVS COMMODVS, intituling him CÆSAR, and nominated him for his Succeſſor; which (as SPARCIANVS reporteth) had not been vſed to be done in that manner vntill then: and changing his name, after his new Father he was called ÆLIVS VERVS. The ſame day he did this, he commanded SEVERIANVS to bee ſlain (who was a great man in *Rome*) and FVSCVS which was his nephew, for certain euident ſignes and ſuſpicions which he diſcouerd, that they practiſed to tyrannize & vſurp the Empire: and ſo likewiſe he commanded ſome others to be put to death, and made away. After this election and adoption, and great feaſting for the ſame, this new-adopted CÆSAR was ouertaken with an infirmity, which was ſo grie-

Lucius Cecinius adopted by Adrian to be his ſucceſſor.

grieuous, and of ſo long continuance, as ADRIAN found himſelfe deceiued: and ſeeing that now he could not liue long, he repented that he ſhould leaue ſo weake and feeble a ſucceſſor. It is written, that he often ſaid, he leaned to a rotten wall. But it ſo happened that within few daies, he was eaſed of that care: for this LVCIVS CECINIVS, whom he had adopted and called ÆLIVS VERVS, died. And notwithſtanding that this man left ſonnes behinde him, yet ADRIAN preſently adopted ANTONINVS or ANTONIVS (for I finde him written after both names) who was afterwards ſurnamed PIVS; vpon condition that he ſhould alſo adopt a ſonne of the ſayd ÆLIVS VERVS, who was called LVCIVS VERVS ANTONINVS, and MARCVS AVRELIVS alſo; but in the firſt place ANTONINVS, of whoſe linage hereafter mention ſhall be made, who were Noble, and verie excellent and vertuous men. This being done to the good liking, and with the conſent of the Senate, and of all the principall men in *Rome*, ADRIANS infirmitie encreaſing, he made himſelfe to be caried to the citie of *Baias*: where his griefe ſo extremely tormented him, and therewithall came ſo many paſſions and conuulſions, as he oftentimes deſired to die, and procured his owne death; and with gifts and flatteries, and ſometime with threatnings prouoked ſome to kill him: and ſeeing that no man would doe it, and that he wanted ſtrength to doe it himſelfe, for the laſt remedie of his infirmitie, by the aduice of ſome of his Phyſicians (for he had many about him) he reſolued to forbeare either to eate or drink, and ſo he died in the yeere of our Lord 140. vſing the common ſaying, *Turba Medicorum interfecit Regem*; which is, A multitude of Phyſicians killed the King.

The death of the Emperour Adrian.

ADRIAN at the time of his death was ſixtie two yeeres old and fiue moneths, & had raigned twentie one yeeres and eleuen moneths: he neither left behinde him, or euer had any ſonne; he was but once married, and then with a woman whoſe name was SABINA; and after her death, he married no more. He was a man tall of ſtature and of a good preſence, and did weare his beard and haire long, and took delight therein. Hee was as excellent a Prince as euer was any, although that he had ſome vices, which with his wiſedome he couered and kept ſecret. As concerning the Chriſtian faith, although in the beginning (as an Infidell) he did hate it, and was an enemie to it, yet afterwards he ſhewed himſelfe more temperate towards the Chriſtians: for as EVSEBIVS and others doe write, QVADRATVS a diſciple of the Apoſtles, and ARISTIDES a Philoſopher of *Athens* and a Chriſtian, did compile certaine notable bookes in defence of our faith: wherewith ADRIAN being moued, wrote to MINVCIVS FVNDANVS who was Proconſul in *Aſia*, and to other parts, that no Chriſtian ſhould be compelled to renounce his faith, neither puniſhed, except he were accuſed for ſome other offence. So as the Chriſtian faith was taught and preached freely, a great part of the raigne of the Emperour ADRIAN.

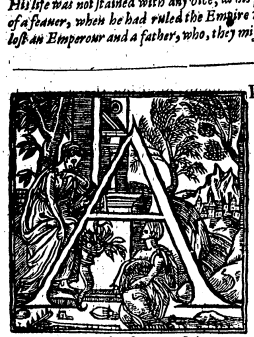
THE LIFE OF MARCVS ANTONINVS PIVS, FIRST OF THAT NAME, AND SIXTEENTH ROMANE EMPEROVR.

(**)

THE ARGVMENT.

ANTONINVS *was adopted by* ADRIAN; *and by reaſon of his adoption, ſucceeded him in the Empire: in which dignity hee liued ſo vertuouſly, as it may bee ſayd, that hee liued without example, and was compared to the good* NVMA POMPILIVS. *There was no great warre in the time of this good Emperour: for hee with his authority bridled all Nations, and to him came Ambaſſadours, in a manner from the furthermoſt parts of the World. Hee would neuer bee verie farre from Rome, in ſuch manner as his Predeceſſour had beene, beeing of opinion that it was moſt fit for the Emperour to remaine in that eitie, which was head of the Empire. He was liberall,*

courteous, iust and pitifull, and a great louer of vertuous men, so as it might be said, that he was father of the vertuous. His life was not stained with any vice, as his predecessors were. And being of the age of 72. yeeres he died in his Citie of a feauer, when he had ruled the Empire 23. yeeres whose death was much lamented by the world, for that they had lost an Emperour and a father, who, they might iustly say, was Pius.



DRIAN was not onely wise and fortunate in gouerning and ruling the Empire, the time that he held it; but he was also, in the succession whom he chose and left there: for hee prooued to be such, and so good, that after he had ended his daies, ADRIAN was not more praised and remembred for his wisedome and good gouernment, then for the succession which he left, by adopting ANTONINVS: who what he was we will presently tell you. The death of ADRIAN being knowne (which was greatly lamented) ANTONINVS PIVS, his adopted sonne, was presently without any contradiction admitted and obeyed for Emperour, accordingly as he had appointed by the consent of all the Senate, as in his life we haue written. This ANTONINVS was the sonne of AVRELIVS FVLVIVS, and Nephew of TITVS AVRELIVS FVLVIVS, who had been Consuls and had held other offices and dignities, and were Noble men and of an auncient Family, whose originall was in *Gallia Cisalpina*, now called *Lombardie*. His mothers name was ARRIA FATIDILLA, the daughter of ARRIVS ANTONINVS a Noble gentleman and wise Consul. This Emperour ANTONINVS was one of the most excellent princes in vertue and bountie, that euer was in the world; and who with greatest authoritie, iustice, liberalitie, and clemencie gouerned the Empire. Hee had a good aspect, was tall, and of a good constitution of body, of an excellent witte, mild of condition, moderate in eating and drinking, well learned, and singularly eloquent, very bountifull, and willing to giue of his owne, and very abstinent from taking from others. He was a great louer of husbandrie, and delighted much in hunting; and he was so free from all manner of vices, as therein neither TRAIAN, ADRIAN, nor any of his predeecessors could compare with him: Wherefore the wisemen of his time compared him with NVMA POMPILIVS, who was second King of *Rome*, and deserued to bee called PIVS, for which they shew many reasons. Before that he was Emperor he had bin Questor, Pretor, and Consul, and had held some other charges and magistracies. In his time their was little warre, or at least little spoken of; and those troubles which were, he easily pacified by his Captaines: and therefore the most that Historiographers write of him, is of his good conditions and bountie: and so will I; although it will not be so pleasing to the Reader as to discourse of warres; yet to follow the truth, and principally to shew the fruite which is to be gathred out of this historie, which are examples to liue well: as for the rest there will bee sufficiently enough found in the processe of this booke, and that is not a little which is alreadie written.

Antoninus *his descent.*

Antoninus *compared with* Numa Pompilius.

ANTONINVS, as soone as he began to rule, he presently made shew of his naturall goodnesse: for he remoued not any of those from their offices and charges, which he found placed and established by ADRIAN; but rather confirmed them therein: and euer held it best, to suffer those which prooued good Gouernours to continue long in their charges and gouernments. He commanded also his rents and seruices (besides that they should be moderated) to be fauorably and temperately collected. He presently did so many fauours, and gaue so many gifts of his owne goods which he had before, that his wife ANIA FAVSTINA daughter to ANIVS VERVS reprooued him for it: to whom he made answere that she knew not what she said, and therefore he did let her know, that at what time he attained the Empire, he had lost all that which before he enioyed liuing priuate. In matters of equitie and gouernment, he was as vigilant, and took as good order as ADRIAN did. He resolued neuer to depart from *Rome* during his raigne, except it were to recreate himselfe, and sometime to hunt, being herein contrarie in opinion to his Predeecessor ADRIAN: for he sayd that the Court and people, which trauelled with the Emperour, were troublesome and preiudiciall to the Countries and Cities by which they passed: and that in visiting some parts, he was far from others; and therefore the most fit and conuenient place for the Emperor to stay and make his abode in, was in *Rome*,

Antoninus *answere to Faustine.*

Rome, which was the Lady and head of the Empire, and in the midst thereof, and most fit to receiue Ambassadours and messages from all parts. So as following this counsell (which indeed prooued not ill) the Warres and Insurrections which happened, he suppressed and pacified by his Captaines; as the Britaines, which rebelling in part of that Iland, the Rebels were defeated by his Captaines, and the Iland brought to subiection.

And within a little afterwards, the like happened in the Country of *Dacia*, and also in *Germanie*, which tooke Arms; but through the victory of his Legions, peace was established: whereby he wanne so great reputation, that during the rest of his raigne, there hapned no dangerous warre, and all men feared and honoured him for his goodnesse, and therewith he was so much beloued, as he was held and esteemed, for Father, Lord and Emperor. The barbarous Nations which were vnknowne to the Romanes, did so much loue and esteeme him, as in contentions and matters in controuersie which fell out betweene them, they chose him for their Iudge and Arbitrator, submitting themselues to his censure. And so those of *Hircania*, (which is a Prouince of *Asia*, neere to the *Caspian* Sea) and the Bactrians which are more to the Eastwards, and both very farre and remote; and also the East Indians sent to him their Ambassadors, offering amity and obedience. And from other Countries which were exceeding far, there came some Kings to doe him honour: among which, they make mention of STANGORVS from *India*, and of King PHARASMANES, and others. And in other Countries, he settled Kings at his pleasure; whereto the Inhabitants did consent, notwithstanding that they were not subiect to the Empire. And the King of *Parthia* resoluing to make warre, being with a great power entred into *Armenia*, one Letter from the Emperor sufficed to make him retire and to discharge his Armie.

Ambassadours and presents from far countries came to see Antoninus.

ANTONINVS being in this manner beloued and feared by Strangers, was no lesse esteemed and beloued by his Subiects and Vassals, but rather without comparison farre more; as by those which knew and enioyed his goodnesse and equity: and seeing that he was such, he was by the whole Senate intituled, Father of his Countrie, which he much refused, but yet in the end hee accepted thereof, with great courtesie and humility: for hee was naturally milde, and Noble of condition; and therewith so courteous, as he entertained the Senators and principall men gently and louingly, with great honour and courtesie; and neuer did any thing of importance, without their counsell and consent, and towards all men generally he sought to moderate the state and maiesty of an Emperor, shewing himselfe affable and pleasant. And aboue all, he tooke order that no man should make benefit of his fauour to another; neither take bribes from such as were Suters vnto him: for he gaue audience and answere to all men himselfe in person, and in this he knew the quality and difference betweene men, vsing herein sometime the opinion of others when need required. Whereto, besides the ordinary counsell of the Senate, and his owne skill and knowledge in the lawes, he had alwaies some excellent Lawyers neere vnto him, as VLPIANVS, MARCELLVS, IABOLENVS and others: By which meanes and such others as shall be declared, the Prouinces and Cities in his time florished and grew rich, which he relieued with his owne rents towards the buildings thereof, aswell such as were necessary as others, to beautifie and adorne the same. And when any misfortune or calamity hapned, he repaired and reedefied it with mony out of his Eschequer: as, a great fire which hapned in *Rome*, wherewith were burnt three hundred and forty principall houses, and a great part of the Citie of *Narbone* in *France*, and the Citie of *Antioch* in *Asia*, with the Market-place in the City of *Carthage*. In time of great famine which was in *Rome*, hee prouided for their vvants, and maintained the people with bread and wine, the most of the time that the famine lasted, making Victuals to be brought from all parts, paying for the same at his proper cost: so as generally through the whole Empire, all men were well content vvith him; for he maintained them in peace, quietnesse and equity.

Great harme done by fire in seuerall places.

And doubtlesse in this place there is to be obserued (as touching the power and gouernment of humane things) how great and potent the Romane Empire then was; and how contentedly, and at what liberty the Subiect liued in the time of ANTONINVS, TRAIAN, ADRIAN, and other good Emperours; and to see the greatnesse and riches of that Court frequented by the worthiest and best men in the world: and to obserue the greatnes, buildings & wealth of that most populous Citie of *Rome*, beautified with the goodliest Statues and Pictures that euer Eye had seene; so as at this day her ruines are more esteemed then all the stately buildings in the world: and to consider the liberty and security wherin men might trauaile, through the world, no man being tyed to obey more then one Lord and King, and he good and iust,

A wonderfull obedience, and vniuersall peace.

without feare of warres, theeues by Sea or Land, without finding euety where new Lawes, new Lords, Kings and Tyrants, needing no security or safe Conducts, without being taken prisoners, and made Captiues, or ill vsed by enemies, strangers and vnknowne persons; but vsing all men as friends and neighbours in the greatest and best parts of the World, which as a little Kingdome was quietly and iustly gouerned. One Countrey was furnished from another, with such things as in the one did abound, and the other wanted; Merchandize and Trafficke passing through the World without so many Impositions, molestations and troubles, as we see now adayes, all liuing then vnder one lawe; being in the best and most habitable parts of the Earth in vnion and peace: which they more perfectly enioyed, after that the Emperours were Christians, as hereafter shall be declared. But as this was but humane power, so could it not continue long without alteration and change: for such is the condition of this world; nothing can continue long in one estate.

But returning to our ANTONINVS, among his other vertues wherwith he made the time of his raigne happie and pleasing, one was his clemencie; wherewith he greatly moderated the rigor of the lawes, punishing offences with pitie, or pardoning them, euer desiring and procuring peace: So as to such as sometimes discoursed with him of the valour of IVLIVS CÆSAR and HANNIBALL, he did commonly answere with that saying of SCIPIO, that he more desired the preseruation of one friends or subiects life, then the death of an hundred enemies. This Emperour ANTONINVS was a great friend to Learning, and much honoured learned men, giuing them great rewards and pensions, drawing them from all the parts of the world; among which he caused to come from *Chalcide* a great Philosopher which was a Stoick, whose name was APOLLONIVS, whom he sent for to be Maister to his adopted sonne MARCVS ANTONINVS, who afterwards was Emperor. This Philosopher being come to *Rome*, ANTONINVS sent for him to come to see him, seeing that he staied long ere he did it of himselfe: whereto the Philosopher made answere, that with greater reason the scholler ought to come to the maister, then the maister to the scholler. This arrogancie did nothing offend ANTONINVS: but laughing thereat, he said to those which were with him, that he maruelled that APOLLONIVS should deeme it a shorter way from *Chalcide* to *Rome*, then from his lodging in *Rome* to his Palace. This Emperour, among the waightie affaires and matters of importance, forgot not to please and recreate the people; but (as the custome then was in *Rome*) at certaine times caused feasts and solemne sports to be made. In conclusion, he was an excellent Prince, and left nothing vndone, that was behouefull for the good gouernment of the Empire: and hauing ruled the same 23. yeeres, being aboue threescore and ten yeeres old, he was taken with a burning feauer, whereof within three dayes he died in peace and rest; first recommending the Empire to MARCVS ANTONINVS, who was his sonne in law, and married to his daughter FAVSTINA, and is commonly called MARCVS AVRELIVS, commaunding that the image of FORTVNE which the Emperours did vse to haue in their chambers, should be caried to ANTONINVS chamber, which hapned in the yeere of our Lord 163. Some time before he dyed, being a man of great stature, and by reason of his age vnable to goe vpright, but stooping, he ware vpon his breast certaine thinne boords, whereupon he made fast his clothes with such art, that it couered the defect of nature. His death was generally lamented, and the Romanes did him great honour, and made sacrifices vnto him, canonizing him for a god, and builded a Temple also vnto him, as they did to the vanitie of their other superstitious gods.

Proud speeches of Apollonius a Philosopher, with Antoninus his answer.

The death of Antoninus Pius.

Ann. Dom. 163.

THE

THE LIFE OF MARCVS AVRELIVS, ONLY OF THAT NAME, ALTHOVGH SECOND OF THE ANTONINES, CALLED THE Philosopher, and of LVCIVS COMMODVS VERVS, ANTONINVS *his companion, and seuenteenth* Emperour of ROME.

THE ARGVMENT.

MArcus Aurelius *being adopted by* Antoninus Pius, *succeeded in the Empire, and was endued with so much bountie and vertue, as he was worthily called the Philosopher: and considering the many calamities which in his time oppressed the Romane commonwealth, there needed a man no lesse good and vertuous. In his time were most dangerous warres, very great earthquakes, inundations of Riuers, pestilence, and most extreame famine; all which he, through his singular wisdome, remedied. He made the Christians to be persecuted, whereby the Church indured much. He was vnhappy in his wife, and in wise children: and notwithstanding that shee was dishonest, yet he would not put her away, accounting to haue had the Empire for her dowry. This good Emperour dyed in the warres against the Germanes, taken with a most grieuous infirmitie, when hee had reigned 18. yeeres. His death was deplored through the whole Romane Empire, where he had euer shewed himselfe a good Prince, and louing father.*

WHen as the Emperour ANTONINVS PIVS was dead, MARCVS AVRELIVS ANTONINVS VERVS, without any contradiction succeeded him, who was called the Philosopher, whom (as we haue said) ANTONINVS PIVS had adopted for his sonne in the time of the Emperour ADRIAN, and afterwards married him to his daughter FAVSTINA. This man when as he was confirmed in the Empire, and began to gouerne, took for his companion and equall, LVCIVS VERVS COMMODVS ANTONINVS: who together with him, was adopted, by ANTONINVS, by the cõmandement of the Emperour ADRIAN, being the sonne of LVCIVS CEIONIVS COMMODVS, whom ADRIAN had first adopted, but died before him. These two were the first that euer ruled in *Rome* together with equall power. This excellent Emperour MARCVS ANTONINVS was also called AVRELIVS ANTONINVS. I would that the Reader should vnderstand, that this confusion and varietie of names is caused by reason of the adoptions which then were made: for the Romanes did vse to haue three names, a forename, a name, and a surname. And to declare it more plainely, when any one was adopted for a sonne, he receiued the name and surname, and sometime changed all the three names. Sometime they held one, and changed the rest, to continue the memorie of both fathers: and from hence grew so many names, which obscure the historie, and oftentimes deceiue the Reader. To be eased of this trouble, I will call this excellent Emperour, MARCVS AVRELIVS; and his brother and companion, LVCIVS VERVS, giuing to them both sometime the surname of ANTONINVS.

Marcus Aurelius called the Philosopher.

Lucius Commodus taken by Marcus Aurelius for his companion in the Empire.

Adoption in what manner.

The origine of Marcus Aurelius.

MARCVS AVRELIVS was the naturall and true sonne of ELIVS VERVS, who died Pretor. And his Grandfathers name was ELIVS VERVS, who had been twise Consul and Prefect in *Rome*, and was enobled and made Patrician by the Emperour VESPASIAN, as IVLIVS CAPITOLINVS relateth. His mothers name was DOMITIA CAMILLA and was the daughter of CALVISIVS TVLLVS, who had been twice Consul. By his fathers side he was of so ancient a linage, as it was reported that he was descended from NVMA POMPILIVS the second King of the Romanes. This Emperor was indued with so many vertues, good qualities, and rare parts, as there will not any be found that hath excelled him, and hardly any to be compared vnto him. In his time there were such dangerous warres, and so many calamities, as there was great neede of his vertue, wisedome and valour, to resist so many perils, and to preuent so may ill fortunes. He was so addicted to the studie of Philosophie, and all Arts and Sciences, as he was surnamed the *Philosopher*, and he did honour and greatly enrich wise and learned men. His chief masters in Philosophie amongst others, were APOLLONIVS CHALCIDONENSIS; in the Greek tongue, SEXTVS CHERONENSIS, nephew to PLVTARCH; and in Rhetorick, FRONTO an excellent Orator in that time, by whose instructions he greatly profited. And beginning to gouerne in companie of his adopted brother L. VERVS ANTONINVS, as he did in all things farre excell him, so (in a manner) he had the administration of all matters: for which cause, of him chiefest mention is made; as also for that he liued longer, and remained alone in the Empire; gouerning them with the good liking and contentment of the whole Senate and people of *Rome*, for the great experience they had of his vertue and bountie. In the beginning of his raigne, there happened so great an inundation and ouerflowing of the riuer *Tiber*, as it ouerthrew many buildings in *Rome*, and drowned many people, with a great number of cattell; and spoiling the fields caused an extreame dearth and famine. Which, MARCVS AVRELIVS through his great liberalitie, with the consent of his brother LVCIVS VERVS, sufficiently repaired, relieuing and victualling the Citie at their owne proper cost and charges, making prouision of corne to be brought from all parts.

The ouerflowing of Tiber.

Warre with the Parthians.

After this, in the third yeere of his raigne, followed the dangerous warre against the Parthians (a nation which the Romans euer feared) which warre was raised by their king VOLOGESVS; who, leuying an exceeding huge Armie, came against the ordinary legions in *Syria*, where ATIODIVS CORNELIANVS was Captaine, and gouerned that countrie for the Empire: who hauing no sufficient Armie to make head against the Parthians, was driuen to retire, and VOLOGESVS took some Prouinces. At that time also rebelled a certaine people in the Ile of *Britanny*, and in *Germany* in like manner: and northern people called Catti, inuaded the borders of the Empire, against all which MARCVS AVRELIVS made speedie prouision. Into *Britanny* was sent CALPHVRNIVS AGRICOLA with new supplies; who ioyning with the ordinary legions of that Iland, pacified those troubles. Against the Catti, was sent AVFIDIVS VICTORINVS for Generall. To the warre against the Parthians, because it was important and more dangerous, it seemed requisite to the Emperors and to the Senate, that one of them two should goe, and it was concluded that LVCIVS VERVS ANTONINVS should vndertake the charge, because that MARCVS AVRELIVS could not be spared: for his presence was very needefull in *Rome* for the generall gouernment, and to prouide for all occurrents. And so LVCIVS VERVS with great prouision, and a great Court, departed, whom MARCVS AVRELIVS accompanied to the Citie of *Capua*: but LVCIVS fell sick by the way (as some write) through his disorders, riot, & surfetting; by reason whereof and his long lingering, the Roman legions were put to the worse, and were ouerthrowne by the Parthians, and their Generall slaine in a battaile which was fought betweene them. But LVCIVS VERVS being arriued with his great Armie, the warre was managed with apparant aduantage to the Romanes; not by the endeuour of LVCIVS VERVS, but of his Captaines ESTACIVS PRISCVS, AVIDIVS CASSIVS, and MARCIVS VERVS, valiant commanders; he giuing himselfe to his pleasures and pastimes; in Summer, in the Citie of *Antioch*; and in winter, in *Laodicea*, for foure yeeeres space, that these warres continued: wherein passed many great conflicts, skirmishes and battailes betweene the said Captaines, and the King and Nation of the Parthians. But succeeding prosperously with the Romanes, they obtained many victories in diuers parts: so as recouering what was lost in *Syria*, they did the like in *Armenia*, and entred the prouince of *Media*: finally, being masters of the field, they came with their Ensignes displayed, euen to the Citie of *Babylon*. While as these things were in action, the Emperor MARCVS

Lucius Verus against the Parthians.

CVS AVRELIVS continued in *Rome*, applying himself with great care to the good gouernment, prouiding all things necessary for the warres, with great wisdome and foresight; dissembling and with patience enduring the vices and neglect of his Companion LVCIVS VERVS, to whom at that time he sent his daughter LVCILLA to bee married vnto him in *Syria*, where he then was; which he did, the better to confirm the friendship and brotherhood betwixt them. And, during the time of these warres with the Parthians, EVSEBIVS and PAVLVS OROSIVS write, that the Christians were persecuted by the commandement of the Emperour, chiefly in *Asia* where LVCIVS VERVS was: which was the fourth persecution the Church endured. Wherefore (as it is to be supposed) God sent a generall pestilence, and other calamities, which afterwards ensued.

The fourth persecution of the primitiue church.

Hauing obtained so many victories against the Parthians, LVCIVS VERVS ANTONINVS resolued to come to *Rome*; leauing that Countrey quiet and in subiection: and, setting the affairs of *Asia* in good order, he diuided the Kingdoms among those which to him seemed to haue most right, leauing them as subjects and vassals to the Empire; and in other Prouinces and Countries hee made the Officers of his House and Court, Gouerners; which were called *Comites* or *Earles*: from whence the title and dignity of Earles now-adaies might haue the Originall. Being comn into *Italie*, with the new surname of PARTHICVS, for the victory attained against the Parthians, which was also giuen to MARCVS AVRELIVS, with the triumph, they both together triumphed with great solemnity: and so this enterprise was happily atchieued and ended. And although this coming of LVCIVS VERVS from the East was very joyfull, by reason of the many victories obtained by his Armies, yet was it otherwise the cause of much sorrow and heauinesse: for, when he came out of *Syria*, the plague was very sore there, and he dispersed the same into sundry places by the way as hee came; so as many of his Souldiers, and of his Court and Company, died thereof: and, doing the like in *Italie* and *Rome*, he infected the whole Country; in such sort, that it was the greatest and most furious pestilence that euer was seen vntill that day. For remedy whereof, MARCVS AVRELIVS vsed all care and diligence possible, as well in preseruing those which were infected, and auoiding further infection, as in curing the liuing, and burying the dead; to his great cost and hazard of his life. This calamitie being past, before it, and whil'st it continued, he omitted no time nor care that was necessary for the gouernment and good of the common-wealth; hearing and dispatching all causes in generall; seeing in person what was done in the Senate; without whose opinion (and of the principall and wisest men) hee did nothing: for, hee vsed to say, that there was greater reason he should follow the counsell of so many and so good friends, than that so many and so wise men should do after his will alone. At the meetings wherein Magistrates were chosen, he was euer present; and in all things caused the antient order and liberty to bee obserued. In Courts and Iudgements he encreased the number of the Iudges and the judiciall daies. Hee also increased the alms and rewards of his Palace; and, in a time of famine and want of corn, he spent an infinite treasure, prouiding for many Cities a sufficient quantity of grain. And in *Spain* (being more fruitfull than the rest) where his Predecessors had too much gleaned, he mitigated great part of the tributes, releasing many taxes and seruices.

A great plague in Rome and all Italie.

Marcus Aurelius relieued many cities with corn in time of dearth.

And herein hee was so temperate and pitifull towards his subjects, that whatsoeuer briberies and extortions were committed by his Collectors and Receiuers, hee most seuerely punished: yet in all other crimes and offenses he euer vsed great clemency, and euer inflicted lesse punishment than the lawes commanded. This Emperor not onely tasted of aduersities (as wee haue said) as, famine and pestilence, with inundations and earthquakes; but within his owne house he endured a greater plague with his wife FAVSTINA, who was (as all Writers affirm) dishonest and wonderfull dissolute; which hee sought by all means possible to reclaim, although not by such rigorous punishment as she deserued. And, being by some perswaded to put her away, and to diuorce himself from her, seeing that he would not put her to death; he remembring, she was ANTONINVS PIVS his daughter, who had left him the Empire, they write that he answered them in this manner:

Faustina, Marcus Aurelius wife, dishonest and dissolute.

If We put away FAVSTINA, We are also bound to leaue the Empire; which was the dowrie We had with her at our mariage.

There ensued so many calamities after that LVCIVS VERVS ANTONINVS came from the East, as well by means of the generall and cruell pestilence, as by earthquakes, famine, inundations, and caterpillers, not onely in *Italie*, but in other Prouinces of the Empire; as that all Writers affirm, that if it had not hapned that MARCVS AVRELIVS had been so diligent, so

wise, and worthie an Emperour as he was, the Romane Empire had been ruined and rent in sunder, and barbarous Nations had subdued the greatest part thereof. For taking occasion of that which is aforesaide, seeing the Countries wasted and vnpeopled, many northren Nations conspired against it, as the Sarmates, Vandales, Marcomans, Sueuians, and in a manner all *Germany*: who seised vpon the Prouinces of *Pannonia*, which were *Austria*, *Hungary* and other countries, threatning *Italy* and *France*. Whereto the Emperour MARCVS AVRELIVS desirous to yeeld redresse, thought it not sufficient to send thither his companion, and much lesse durst he leaue him in *Rome*, he was so retchlesse and vicious, and therefore resolued that they would both go togither: Which putting in execution, with all prouision necessarie, it happened that vpon the way, LVCIVS VERVS ANTONINVS was taken with an Apoplexie, whereof he died suddainly, hauing raigned about nine or ten yeeres in company with his brother. And so MARCVS AVRELIVS remained alone in the Empire, who only was worthy thereof, prosecuting his iourney with his Armie, and began the warre with great courage and iudgement: in which, the infection did greater harme to his Army, then the force of his enemies; although it passed not without many battailes and encounters. And so with great difficultie by reason of the pestilence, he maintained this warre three yeeres: and wanting money to pay his souldiers (for the Prouinces, by reason of the miseries past, could not pay their taxes) he was constrained to sell all his iewels, vessels of gold and siluer, the furniture of his chamber, and his owne proper possessions, therewith to pay his Armie, which was greatly diminished of the chief commanders and valiantest men which died of the plague, whereby it receiued much more harme then by the enemie: Wherfore he was often counselled to leaue the wars and to returne. But he, willing rather to die then to lose any iot of his honour, continued it with a very great resolution, vntill that (after many great perils and extremities, which were such that Historiographers describe this warre to be as dangerous as the warres of *Hannibal*) he obtained the victorie, which he throughly accomplished in a great battaile. Wherein (as it was thought) through the praiers of the Christians which were in his Armie, vnto which he recommended himselfe, God shewed a most euident miracle; which was, That he and his people being ready to perish through want of water (the passages being on euery side stopt by his enemies) there fell such abundance of raine from heauen, that his Armie was sufficiently relieued with drinke: and therewith there fell such lightning and so cruell a tempest amongst his enemies, that he then setting vpon them ouerthrew and slew a great number; as EVSEBIVS and IVLIVS CAPITOLINVS report. And this being past, he recouered the *Pannonies*, and the rest which they had vsurped, and had done much more, but that at that instant AVIDIVS CASSIVS, before named, who was Captaine and Gouernour in the East, rose against MARCVS AVRELIVS, proclayming himselfe Emperour, taking occasion for that he was so much troubled in so doubtfull a warre: Wherefore the Emperour was constrained to leaue the best order hee could, concerning *Germanie*, and to returne into *Italy*, from thence to take his way towards AVIDIVS CASSIVS; whereupon he came to *Rome*, and he entred in triumph for the Germans, and ioyntly with him his sonne COMMODVS, whom he had made CÆSAR, and nominated for his successor.

Northerly nations conspired against the Empire.

The death of Lucius Verus.

A most manifest miracle.

A rebellion against Marcus Aurelius.

The triumph being ended, and leauing in *Rome* such order for the gouernment as was most expedient, with part of his victorious Armie which he brought with him out of *Germanie*, and with other forces which he had newly leuied, he departed towards the East, against AVIDIVS CASSIVS; where being arriued, the matter went so well of his side, as before that hee came to any conflict or battaile, the same Legions which AVIDIVS CASSIVS commanded, rebelled against him, and slew him, without the commandement or knowledge of MARCVS AVRELIVS: For, he was rather displeased therewith then otherwise; so milde and noble he was. And his head being brought vnto him, he commanded it to be honorably buried, and therewith seemed to be very sorrowfull, saying, That they had bereaued him of all meanes to shew him mercie; and that he much desired to haue had him in his power aliue, to haue giuen him his life, and to haue reproued him of his ingratitude. And those Cities which had conspired with him, he easily pardoned, and commanded that they should not be rigorously dealt withall. And of their goods, which the Senate had commanded to be confiscated, and put into his Exchequer, he would not receiue any part; but commanded that they should bee put into the publike treasurie of *Rome*. And being by one of the Councell reproued, for shewing such clemency in a crime so notorious, telling him that he ought not to haue done so, and that AVIDIVV CASSIVS would not haue dealt so by him if he had been ouercome, he answered

Marcus Aurelius pitty towards Cassius rebell.

swered with great constancy and assurance, that AVIDIVS had not so well serued the gods, nor liued in such sort, as to be able to haue ouerthrowne him.

BVLGACIVS GALLICANVS, who is an Author very antient, and liued in the time of the Emperor DIOCLESIAN, in the life which hee wrote of this AVIDIVS CASSIVS, reporteth, that the Emperor commanded to be giuen to his sonnes and daughters the one half of their fathers goods, and that there should not any injury or disgrace be done vnto them; and that they should be admitted to magistracies and dignities, if they were thereto chosen: and so to others which were guilty, he vsed the like clemency and grace.

This rebellion being pacified, MARCVS AVRELIVS withdrew himself to the City of *Antioch* in *Syria*, now called *Soria*; whither came vnto him many Kings and Ambassadors from the East; where, treating of peace & amity, and concluding the same with them, he was greatly esteemed and beloued of all men. And, setting all matters of the East in good order, being now old and wearied, hee made his return into *Italie*; and by the way, his wife the Empresse FAVSTINA died, whom he buried sumptuously and with great honour. Being comne to *Rome*, hee entred in triumph for the victory obtained against AVIDIVS; and returned to his accustomed goodnes; and vpright gouernment of the Empire, as he was wont to doo. When he thought he should now haue rested from his former toils, there began new alterations and insurrections in *Germanie*: which he fearing (as was reason: for, that Nation had alwaies been feared & doubted) determined in person to go to that war, and did so with a very great power, and prosecuted the same for the space of three yeers together; wherein were done many feats of Arms on either side, and he obtained some notable victories. But, being ready to haue fully concluded his conquests (they being as it were in his hand) hee was taken with a grieuous pestilent Feuer; which perceiuing to be mortall, he commanded all the principall men which were with him to come before him: to whom he made a notable speech, which HERODIANVS reciteth: wherein hee recommended vnto them the Roman Common-wealth, and his onely son COMMODVS, whom he left for his Successor; and him hee charged very effectually to end that warre which he left in so good tearms; concluding, that he should not suffer the enemy which was brought lowe, and well-nigh to confusion, to recouer force and courage. And then, being no longer able to resist his sicknes, hee died, hauing raigned eighteen yeers, in the yeer of our Lord (as EVSEBIVS recconeth) one hundred, fourescore and two, being threescore and one yeer old. Yet SEXTVS AVRELIVS saith, two yeers lesse.

Faustina the Empresse dieth.

The death of Marcus Aurelius, Anno Domini 182.

His death was extremely lamented and bewailed through the whole Army, and afterwards in *Rome*, and generally through all the Prouinces of the Empire: for, in them all hee was infinitely well beloued. MARCVS AVRELIVS had had another son, whose name was ANTONINVS or VERISIMVS, who died yong; and one daughter named LVCILLA, who married with a great and mighty man called POMPEIANVS.

THE LIFE OF COMMODVS ANTONINVS, ONELY OF THIS NAME, AND EIGHTEENTH ROMAN EMPEROVR.

THE ARGVMENT.

After the good Marcus Aurelius, *succeeded his wicked son* Commodus: *who, for that he was held to be the Son of so good Father, was without any difficulty saluted Emperor: and for that when his Father died he was in Germany, when he returned to Rome all the City made great ioy. But, being come to the City, giuing himself ouer to all the wickednes that man could imagine, hee behaued himself so, as some conspired against him; which escaping, he took occasion to shew his cruelty. He was very active of his body, and so expert in casting of darts, as he would openly kill wilde beasts in the Amphitheatre. Finally, his wife* Mar-

tin, finding a book wherein were written the names of such as he had resolued to put to death, and her owne name among the rest, she took order for his dispatch: and giuing him poison, whilst he was vomiting it vp again, she made him to bee stabbed. And so died that monster; to the great contentment of the whole Empire, which hee had wickedly gouerned thirteen yeers.



Commodus *suspected to be a bastard.*

HE good MARCVS AVRELIVS beeing dead, his Son COMMODVS was by the whole Armie obeyed and acknowledged for their Lord and Emperor; and so he was afterwards by the Senate and people of *Rome*, and likewise by all the Prouinces: for, no man would deny obedience to the Sonne of so good a Father. But hee proued so lewd and wicked, as he seemed not to be his sonne: and, considering the adultery of his mother FAVSTINA, hee was suspected to bee the sonne of some base fellow. The antient Authors which write of him (which are many) in a manner treat of nothing else but of his abominable vices and cruelties; which were so great, as it seemeth he exercised himself in no other thing, neither left any other memory behinde him. He came to the Empire being of the age of nineteen yeers, and was of a good constitution of body, of a very fair complexion, cleer-eied, and had a flaxen hair; all (in truth) ill bestowed vpon him, seeing that these gifts and such exquisite corporall beauty, he imployed so filthily & dishonestly; being a Gamester, incontinent, negligent, slothfull, a glutton, a drunkeard, and (aboue all) cruell.

Within some fewe daies after his Father was dead, hee came to the Camp where the Armie lay, accompanied with all the Roman Nobility; and made a good speech to the souldiers, promising a good hope of him, and matters clean contrary to that which followed; and hee gaue such donatiues to the souldiers as the new Emperors were accustomed to giue.

In these good beginnings hee continued some few daies: which being expired, through the the counsell of some lewd persons, he resolued to leaue the warres, and to return to *Rome*. And the aduice and counsell of POMPEIANVS, being his brother-in-law, a man of great authority, could no way perswade him to stay, neither other wise men and his loyall seruants; who were of opinion that he ought to stay, and to see an end of the war.

With this resolution he presently wrot to *Rome*, aduertising them of his coming; making such a truce or peace with his enemies, as was rather to their aduantage than his. HERODIANVS writes, that he bought it with mony: yet onely EVTROPIVS affirms, that he first wan a great battell. He then, leauing Captains on the Frontiers of *Germany*, held on his way towards *Rome*; and in all the Cities through which he passed, was receiued with incredible joy and solemnity, for the great loue they bare to his father, and for the hope they conceiued of him; not yet knowing his conditions. In *Rome* hee was receiued with exceeding great joy, triumph and blessings, generally of all men; they strewing the wayes with flowers where he went, making all the demonstratiues of joy that were possible; hoping and assuring themselues that they should haue a good Prince, being the sonne of MARCVS AVRELIVS ANTONINVS, and nephew to ANTONINVS PIVS; who were good and excellent Emperors. But it was not long before he put them out of doubt, making frustrate their good hope: for, hee openly gaue himself to vice and incontinency, going by night with others of his condition (as there neuer want those which will imitate the prince, although in doing euill) to brothell houses, and publike tauerns; spending also whole daies and nights in banqueting, feasting, bathings and most abominable luxurie. And as wicked men neuer loue any, but such as are like themselues; so hee sent for Gouernors into the Prouinces, such as were his companions in his villanies: whereto he was so much addicted, and spent so much time in them, as he took no care for the gouernment; leauing all to the disposition of a Fauourite of his, whose name was PERENIVS (whom he afterward made Pretorian Prefect, which is, Captain of the Pretorian Cohorts) who was a most couetous, vitious, and cruell man; yet very expert in the wars. This man gouerning all things, the accursed Emperor COMMODVS encreased so much in his vices and lewd life, as they write he kept three hundred Concubines, and as many boyes, for detestable vses: for which cause he grew

odus, ears , Germany, re- turned to Rome.

Commodus *his concubines.*

grew to be so odious, that certaine eminent men conspired against him, resoluing secretly to haue slaine him, his sister LVCILLA who was wife to POMPEIANVS being a partaker in the action: Whereby it may well be imagined what he was; seeing that his owne sister held him worthie of death.

Lucilla, Commodus *his owne sister, conspired against him.*

All being concluded how it should be done, and the charge of the execution being giuen to one, whose name was QVINCIANVS (as HERODIANVS reporteth) yet LAMPRIDIVS saith, that the charge was giuen to POMPEIANVS, that he should first strike him, and should haue beene seconded by the rest of the conspirators; It happened that this man, as he was very bold and hardy, fayled in the action: for hauing had sufficient oportunitie to haue slain him, and being come neere, he would not so dispatch him, but in a brauing manner, being somwhat farre from him, he set his hand vpon his poiniard; and going towards him, said, here COMMODVS, the Senate hath sent thee this poiniard; and for any haste that he could make to stab him, with greater haste he was preuented by some of the Emperors guard, and by them was taken; so as the conspiracie was presently discouered, and a great way laid open to COMMODVS his cruelties. For after that all such as were guiltie, had been executed, together with his own sister LVCILLA, and her husband POMPEIANVS, by the hand and direction of PERENIVS, many Senators and a great number of other Noble and prime men, were also put to death, and their goods seized vpon, by producing false witnesses, which were suborned to accuse them: Wherewith PERENIVS became so rich, as he practised, and was in hope to haue made himselfe Emperour. But COMMODVS being aduertised of these and other his treacheries, made him and a sonne of his to be slaine. After which he suffered himselfe to bee gouerned by another fauorite, named CLEANDER; who was so wicked and extreme in cruelties, rapine, and briberie, that he surpassed PERENIVS. And this fellow did so exceede, as the people of *Rome* vnable to endure him, took Arms, and in a tumult, went to a house of pleasure in *Rome*, where the Emperour was, and required to haue CLEANDERS head; and notwithstanding that the Emperors guard began to make resistance, yet the matter came to such issue, that COMMODVS was constrained in despite of himselfe to deliuer him, and so were both he and his two sonnes slaine.

Commodus *slew his fauorite Perenius and his sonne.*

Cleander *slain by the people.*

This tumult being pacified, which COMMODVS durst not punish, he was so incensed and therewith so fearefull, that from thenceforth he trusted no man: but as a Swine drawne out of the mire, so returned he to his abominable vices, taking care for no other thing. Within a while after, according to his accustomed manner, he suffered himselfe to be abused by another fauorite, whose name was IVLIANVS, and another called REGILIVS, both which he afterwards caused to be put to death, with other his fauorites which succeeded them; together with a multitude of great men, which LAMPRIDIVS reciteth: and all things were so farre out of order, that magistracies and the gouernements of Prouinces were sold for money; and they which bought them were oftentimes slaine. Matters being thus managed by the Emperour, and by those which ruled him, he spent his time only in vices, and most dishonest and effeminate pleasures; colouring his hayre, and often bathing himselfe in company of others of his condition: whom he called by most dishonest names, to the end they should be conformable to their liues and actions. And he was not ashamed (notwithstanding these his vicious and abominable courses) to take the name and habit of a man who was a great enemy to those vices, which was HERCVLES: so as for COMMODVS ANTONINVS, sonne to MARCVS AVRELIVS ANTONINVS, he commanded himselfe to be called HERCVLES the sonne of IVPITER; and cladding himselfe in a most ridiculous manner with the skin of a Lion, and a club in his hand, like HERCVLES, he so vsed to goe abroade; whereat some laughed, and others murmured. And sometimes he went cloathed like an Amazon woman, which was more correspondent to his condition: which he did for the loue of one of his Concubines whom he much loued, whose name was MARTIA, whose picture he ware, drawne at life, vpon that habit. After this, as if he had as well deserued it as AVGVSTVS CÆSAR, he commanded the moneth of August should be called Commodus; and September Hercules; for he had taken that name: and December Amazonius, after the name of an Amazon: But this was obserued no longer then he liued.

Commodus *changed his name.*

Commodus *attired like an Amazon.*

This accursed man, among his vitious parts, had a strange abilitie of body, which was, to cast or hurle a dart or a launce, better then any man of his time: he was a most certaine shooter, eyther in crosse-bow, or long bow; and so skilfull, that (in certaine feasts and huntings, which according to the custome were then made in *Rome*, whither came an infinite number of people to

to behold the same) he commanded a gallerie to be made round about the Amphitheater; within which he might runne freely and in safety; and there running round about with exceeding swiftnesse, hurling his darts or iauelins, he killed almost all the Stagges and Harts that were let loose, without missing one throw, or needing any more then one shotte; he was so sure to strike them, eyther in the heart, in the forehead, or any other part whersoeuer he would: and he did the like by Lions, Panthers, and Ounces, which to that end, were brought thither that day. With his bowe and arrowes he would kill birds flying in the ayre, and did such other actiue exercises, as in truth were very strange: Whereby it appeareth that this man wanted not witte and abilitie to haue applied himselfe to goodnesse, as well as to sinne and wickednesse. And as cruelties was the thing wherein he did principally delight, so it pleased the most mercifull King of heauen, that the same was the cause of his death. For it happened, that hauing resolued to put a great number of the best reputed Cittizens to death, he wrote a memoriall of those which he purposed should die, amongst which was his louing friend MARCIA, and AELIVS LETVS Captaine of the Pretorian Cohorts: it happened that this his beloued MARCIA vpon some occasion came to the sight of this note; who seeing her selfe condemned to death, determined with her selfe to assure her life by the death of COMMODVS. And taking counsell with AELIVS LETVS, and with another whose name was ELECTVS, who was also condemned, concerning the contents; they agreed among themselues to poyson him, which as speedily as might be, was giuen him by the same MARCIA in a cuppe of mingled wine which hee did vse to drinke: and being presently taken with a heauie slumber, MARCIA commanded all the company to goe forth of the chamber, vnder colour to suffer him to take his rest. This being done, within a little while after he awoke, extremely vomiting; and MARCIA and the rest fearing that he would again haue cast vp the poyson, in all haste called in a valiant yong man named NARCISSVS, shewing him the note, and how the Emperor would haue put him to death also; and making him large promises, they concluded that he should goe in and kill him, which he did: and so this vnhappy and wretched COMMODVS vomiting and strangely tormented with the poison, was by this NARCISSVS stabd and slaine, to the good liking of the Roman people, and generally of all the world. When his death was knowne, there was o man but did commend and approue the fact. He died, being of the age of 32 yeeres, and in the yeere of our Lord 194. hauing raigned twelue yeeres and eight moneths. The ioy which afterwards was conceiued in *Rome* when his death was published, was incredible: and although that at the present it was not certainly knowne, but that he died sodainly of an Apoplexie, which EVTROPIVS affirmeth in his life; They ran vp and downe the streetes that night, crying and calling one to another with ioy, and went to the Temples to render thanks to the gods for so great a benefit: and others went to the Palace to behold his dead carcasse. The Senate and Roman Nobilitie conceiued no lesse ioy then did the people, which may sufficiently appeare by the number of cursings which the Senate gaue him, when PERTINAX was chosen Emperor, and his successor: which M. MAXIMVS writeth, and AELIVS LAMPRIDIVS maketh relation thereof, which is a pleasing thing to reade.

The cruelties of Commodus was the cause of his death.

Commodus poysoned by his friend Marcia.

Commodus slaine by Narcissus.

An. Dom. 194.

Ioy conceiued by the Romans for the death of Commodus.

THE LIFE OF PVBLIVS AELIVS *PERTINAX*, ONELY OF THIS NAME, AND NINETEENTH ROMAN EMPEROVR.

THE ARGVMENT.

AFter Commodus, Pertinax *was Emperor: who being borne of base condition attained to the Imperiall dignitie, more by his vertues, then the Nobilitie of his bloud, or the glory of his auceſtors; being the ſonne of a Libertine. He was firſt a Doctor of the Law; and afterwards leauing that profeſſion, he gaue himſelf to Armes; wherein he behaued himſelfe ſo excellently, as he deſerued to be made Emperour, to which dignitie thoſe which conſpired againſt* Commodus *aduanced him; who went to him, he lying in his bed, expecting death*

death rather than the Empire. And, notwithſtanding that he carried himſelf excellently well in the gouernment of the Empire, and neuer ſought to be reuenged on thoſe which had offended him, yet there failed not ſome which enuied his goodnes, and deſired his death; which was giuen him with many wounds, when he had raigned the ſpace of three months, being of the age of ſixty ſeuen yeers: for whoſe vertues, the Senate reſolued to place him in the number of their gods.



THE good and valiant PVBLIVS ÆLIVS PERTINAX ſucceeded the wicked and tyrannous Emperor COMMODVS, being almoſt threeſcore and ten yeers old; and held the ſame but three months. The manner how he attain'd therto, I will preſently ſhew you, when we ſhall briefly haue declared the wars, the offices and troubles, which he firſt paſſed: for, they were ſuch and ſo diuerſe, as he was therefore called The wheel of Fortune. Truely this Emperor was a notable example of humane changes. He was the ſonne of a Libertine, which had been a ſlaue and made free, called ÆLIVS; and being a childe was taught to write and reade, and caſt account; which his father did, to the end hee ſhould help him in his poor Mercery-ſhop. Afterwards hee came to learne the Greek and Latine Gammar; ſo as he came to be a Maſter, and to keep a ſchool in *Rome*. After this he gaue himſelf to the ſtudy of the Lawes; and, by the interceſſion of LOLIANVS AVITVS who had been Conſul, and his fathers maſter, he obtained liberty to plead, and to defend mens cauſes; which hee did for ſome ſpace. But, being naturally a man of ſtrength and courage, and more inclined to Arms than Letters, he gaue ouer that exerciſe, and went to the wars; wherin he caried himſelf ſo well, as within few daies he was made Captain of a Cohort in *Syria* againſt the Parthians: and, increaſing in credit or eſtimation, he was ſent to the wars in *Britanny*, and afterwards to the warres of *Miſsia*, and was made a Captain of horſemen in the wars which MARCVS AVRELIVS waged againſt the Germans; and afterwards was Admirall of a Fleet in the Flemiſh Seas: and, that charge being ended, he continued in the warres of *Dacia*; where through ſiniſter informations he was depriued of the charge hee held, by MARCVS AVRELIVS: although afterwards he returned into grace by the interceſſion of POMPEIANVS the Emperors ſonne-in-law, and was made a Senator, but then he vſed it not: and, in recompenſe of the diſgrace paſt, the Emperour made him Colonel of a Legion; ſo as in the warres which were in the time of MARCVS AVRELIVS he performed many notable feats of Arms, as well againſt ſtrange and barbarous nations, as againſt AVIDIVS CASSIVS; who (as wee ſaid) rebelled againſt MARCVS AVRELIVS. His valiant acts were ſo many and ſuch, that hee was many times publiquely praiſed by him, and made Conſul of *Rome*. After that, hee had the gouernment of both the *Miſsias*, and of *Dacia*; in all which charges he caried himſelf ſo valiantly, and with ſuch equity, as the ſame Emperor honored him with the gouernment of all *Syria* & *Aſia*; which was the greateſt charge the Emperors gaue. And, MARCVS AVRELIVS being dead, and the time of his office expired, he came to *Rome*, after that he had gouerned foure conſulary Prouinces, and had himſelf bin Conſul; beſides other commands, gouernments, and charges of greater quality, with great renown and fame of bounty and valour. But, comming to *Rome* during the Raign of the wicked Emperor COMMODVS; by the inſtigation of a certain fauourite of his, he was baniſht from *Rome*. But, hee being dead, who was the cauſer of his baniſhment, COMMODVS ſent him into the Ile of *Britanny*, to reform the abuſes of an Army and certain Legions which were there; whither he went, and ſetled all in good order; but he was firſt in great danger, and hardly eſcaped with his life: for, a Legion being in mutinie ſlue ſome of his people, and vſed him in ſuch manner that hee was left for dead in the field among the dead: and, hauing eſcaped this danger, he reſolutely puniſhed the offenders, and pacified the Legions. At his eſpeciall requeſt there was one ſent to ſucceed him, and hee was ſent Proconſul into the Prouince of *Africa*: wherein he likewiſe paſſed many dangers in mutinies, in ſeditions of the people, and of the ordinary Legions; for, as long as COMMODVS was Emperor, there was no ſuch order in any place as was conuenient. And Writers affirm, that had it not bin for PERTINAX & ſuch other Captains as liued after the death of his father M. AVRELIVS, the Roman Empire had bin ex-

Pertinax called the wheel of Fortune.

Pertinax depoſed from his charge by Marcus Aurelius.

Pertinax made conſul by Marcus Aurelius.

Pertinax baniſhed from Rome by Cómodus.

Pertinax Proconſul in Africa

posed to great daunger. But hauing performed his charge in *Africa* with honour, although not without much trouble & difficultie, being now old and spent, he came to *Rome*, and COMMODVS made him Prefect thereof; being in this estate, death seised vpon COMMODVS by reason of his cruelties, PERTINAX dayly expecting when COMMODVS would haue bereaued him of life. This valiant man lying one night careleslie sleeping in his bed when COMMODVS was dead; MARTIA, his friend, which had plotted his death, and AELIVS LETVS Captaine of the Pretorian Cohorts, and those which conspired with them, agreed together to cause PERTINAX to be chosen Emperour. And to this effect about midnight, before that the death of COMMODVS was published, the said Captaine AELIVS LETVS with some of his souldiers of the Cohorts, came to the house of PERTINAX, who (as I said) lay secure in his bed; and in great haste causing the dore to be opened, went vp into his chamber: whom when he saw, yea and before, when he but vnderstood that he was comming vp, he assured himselfe that by COMMODVS his commandement he came to kill him, not knowing him to be dead: and resoluing to suffer death with courage and patience, he lay still, without any shew to be moued thereat, but said vnto AELIVS LETVS; I haue for manie daies expected to end my life in this manner, and I marueiled that COMMODVS hath deferred it so long: and seeing it is so, why stand you still? Make an end with me, and do that which you are commanded.

Pertinax made Prefect of Rome by Commodus.

The speeche and great courage of Pertinax.

Whereto AELIVS LETVS answered, perswading him to put away all such feare, and not to thinke that he came to kill him, but to desire safetie of his owne life, for that the tyrannous Emperour COMMODVS was dead, and that they came to offer the Empire vnto him, who was onely worthie thereof. PERTINAX could hardlie believe what he heard with his eares: but in the end the matter being declared vnto him more at large, and the occasion which induced them to kill the Emperour, he accepted of their offer; and was carried by them to the Cohorts Camp: where the souldiers being assembled, their Captaine made a speech vnto them, conteining the wickednes and vices of the Emperour COMMODVS, and how that he by meanes of his excesse was dead of an Apoplexy; and reciting the vertues and excellencies of PERTINAX, counselled them to make him Emperour. Which they presently performed ioyfullie, and calling him AVGVSTVS, sware to him as the custome was; yet PERTINAX remained still doubtfull, and accepted thereof with feare, and against his will.

This being ended, and the day comming on, they came with him into the citie: and assembling the Senate, this old new Emperour came thither, vnwilling they should beare before him the Imperiall Ensignes, neither the fire, as the custome was; vntill such time as the Senate had agreed and giuen their consent. But when as he came into the Senate house, all the Senators saluted him Emperour, CÆSAR AVGVSTVS, and with great acclamations and blessings sware and yeelded to him obedience: which he still withstood, saying, that he deserued it not, alleaging his old age, and nominating others, which hee said were more worthie of that dignity. But in the end being ouercome and forced by them, he sate downe in the Imperiall chaire, and made vnto them a solemne oration (which HERODIANVS writeth). His oration being ended, he went forth of the Senate house (accompanied with all the Senators and Romane Nobilitie, with an infinite number of others, to the exceeding ioy of all men) to the Temples, as the custome was, and from thence to the Imperiall Palace. And so he began his raigne and obtained the Empire, to the generall good liking and contentment of all men, and was obeyed in like manner in all the prouinces of the Empire, in all which he was well knowne: and truly they had not been deceiued in their opinion and great hope which they had of him, if the wickednes of the Pretorian Souldiers had not hindred his good thoughts and resolutions.

Pertinax after many chaunges of fortune is made Emperor.

The first thing he attempted in the gouernment of the Empire, was to bridle the licentiousnes of the Pretorian Cohorts, and the insolencies and wrongs which they did to the citizens and people of *Rome*; by meanes of the fauour and loose life of COMMODVS. The like he also performed in all other disorders and abuses which in his time were tolerated; seeking to reduce all things to that forme and manner of gouernment which was vsed in the time of his father MARCVS AVRELIVS ANTONINVS. He entertained all men honourably and louingly, which had any occasion to negotiate with him: and he diuided the fields of *Rome*, and of the prouinces which lay vntilled and waste, granting that for tenne yeeres space no rent or tribute should be paid for the same. With these and such other things, this excellent and gracious Emperour so wanne the harts and loue of the common people, that al men held themselues happie in such an Emperour: for which occasion, besides the honourable titles which were giuen him by the consent of the Senate, the same Senate intituled his son, CÆSAR, and

to his wife LICINIA was added the name of AVGVSTA: the good Emperour said, That his wiues name hee did accept, because her vertue was worthie thereof: But for his sonnes name, hee would that it should rest vntill that he had better deserued it. Perseuering in his good workes, all the goods and moueables, which COMMODVS had escheated and taken, he made to be restored to their owners, for which they should pay some small matter in exchange.

The Senate made Pertinax his sonne Cæsar, and his wife Augusta.

Euery day when the Senate did ordinarily sit, he went thither; and in his house he neuer refused to giue audience to any person at what time soeuer. When as the barbarous Nations and enemies to the Roman Empire had intelligence, and did certainly know that he was Emperour, they laid downe their Armes, and ceased to make warre against the Empire; and many sent Ambassadors vnto him (if they had found him liuing) to treate of peace and friendship: so as the small time he raigned, was to the generall good liking and contentment of all the world; excepting the men of warre, principally of the Pretorian Cohorts which lay about *Rome*; who presently began to abhorre him for that he kept them in quiet, bridling them with iustice, not suffering them to commit such riots, abuses and outrages as they did in the time of COMMODVS: and in like manner he was not beloued by the officers and ministers of the Imperiall Palace, for the like reasons. The shameleſse audaciousnesse of the souldiers grew to this height, that one day they would haue taken a Senator of a very Noble & ancient house, named TVLIANVS MATERNVS, and haue carried him to the Campe to haue made him Emperor, to the end he should haue rebelled against PERTINAX. But this MATERNVS (as a good and loyall seruant) escaping out of their hands, came to PERTINAX, and thence fled from *Rome*: which put the Emperor in great feare and amazement. And to content and pacifie them, hee made donatiues and distributions amongst them. But that little auailed: for they esteemed it not, but sought meanes to liue dissolutely at their libertie.

Pertinax hated by the Pretorian Cohorts.

Triarius Maternus, not to yeeld to the will of the souldiers which would haue made him Emperor, fled to Pertinax, and so from Rome.

PERTINAX raigned about three moneths: in which small time he had set all things in so good order, as the state of the Empire seemed to be changed, and not the same. And although he were so good, yet was there one whose name was FALCO, which practised his death, with a conceite to haue been Emperor: which being discouered to him, he came to the Senate, and would not endure they should proceede against him as against a tyrant. And notwithstanding that the prooфes were so plaine and manifest, as the offence was apparant, yet he pardoned him: but iustice was done vpon certain souldiers which had practised this treason; which the souldiers took so ill (their hatred and presumption daily increasing) as they concluded to kill him; and being so resolued, they cared not to conspire, or to vse any cunning or deceite. But openly a great troupe of them went from their lodgings in a tumult with their Swordes drawn, and with Halberds and other weapons, and came into *Rome*; and without resistance (as the matter was suddaine) they entred the Palace.

The Emperor being aduertised hereof, sent AELIVS LETVS to stay and pacifie them; who forgetting that he had made PERTINAX Emperour, cared not to performe his commandement, but rather approuing the fact, being (as some say) a partaker in the action, went forth another way to his owne lodging, at such time as the souldiers came into the Palace, where there was no meanes to make any resistance, being taken sodainly and disarmed. Wherfore the greatest part abandoned the Emperor and fled; and those which remained counselled him to flie, which he might easily haue done, and the people would haue defended him. But notwithstanding that he knew their counsell to be good and profitable, and that they spake the truth; yet would he not follow the same, alleaging it to be vnworthy the maiestie of an Emperor and his acts and life past, to saue his life by flight, or by hiding himselfe: and so he resolued to goe forth vnto them; conceiuing, that with his presence they would be ashamed, and so returne. And truely this conceite was ready to haue taken effect: for, comming forth of his chamber, and meeting with a multitude of them in the Court, they made a stand, and gaue him place to speake vnto them; which he did with great courage, without any shew of alteration; First, asking them what might bee the occasion of their comming in such a tumult, and without any respect: And afterward (without shew of any humilitie or fearefulnesse, but with as great grauitie and authoritie, as best fitted the dignity of his person) he began to say to them:

The wickednesse of Ælius Letus

The high minde of Pertinax being assailed by

Souldiers and companions, if you come to kill me, and doe put in execution what you haue determined, you shall performe no act that is valiant, great, or commendable; neither very grieuous vnto me, which am now so old, and haue gotten so much honour and fame, that I regard not my life: for euery mans life hath an end. But you to whom belongeth the guard and

Speeches vsed by Pertinax to the Souldiers.

defence of my Person, seeing your charge is to free and deliuer the Emperour from perils and treason, and shall be the first to lay your hands vpon him, consider, that for the present, it will be shamefull and odious, and hereafter in time to come, dangerous, and preiudiciall: For I haue done you no displeasure nor iniurie. If the death of COMMODVS offend you, it was no new matter to dye, seeing that he was a man: if you suspect that he was murthered, I am guiltlesse thereof; and you know that I am free from all suspicion in this case: what then passed, you knew before me; if there be any suspicion of his death, it concerneth others, and not me. But I say this, and assure you, that by reason of his death, there shall nothing be taken from you that you shall require, or that shall seeme necessary for you; requiring such things as are honest and possible, and not by force and violence.

PERTINAX hereuvith ending his speech, some of them began to alter their mindes and to depart, mooued thereto by his vvords and grauitie: but the furie of those which came behind them was so great, as they could not doe it nor defend him; so as one of them called TAVSIVS charged him and wounded him in the breast with a Launce: and hee seeing their determination, couered his head with his Robe, suffering himselfe to bee wounded by them all; and so they slew the poore and innocent Emperour. And EGNIVS LAETVS, who had been one of the chiefest in making him Emperour, going about to help to defend him, was also slaine; hauing first with great courage and resolution slaine two souldiers: and so they also slew some others which were his chamberlaines and other officers. A sonne and a daughter of his escaped, for that they were not lodged in the palace.

The miserable death of Pertinax.

This Prince in his gesture, shewed great grace and maiestie: his stature and constitution did well represent his state and dignitie. Hee ware his beard long, and his haire curled, his brest was large and full of flesh, and he was indifferently eloquent, vsing smooth and louing speeches. This Accident was so sudden, that he was slain before the people knew of any mutinie, or the coming of the souldiers: and the souldiers fearing the people, who they knew would take it grieuously, returned with as much or greater haste than they cam; and, fortifying their Camp, they set out sentinels, and held guards in the Bulwarks and Towers, fearing to be assaulted.

As soon as the death of the Emperour was knowne in the City, the sorrow and lamentation which was made for him was extreme; the people running vp and down the streets with incredible wrath and fury, seeking the murderers to be reuenged of his death. Thus they went vnaduisedly, without any certain knowledge of what passed, doing nothing but weep and complain one to another. But, when they vnderstood what hapned, they saw they neither could or durst proceed any further.

This Emperor died in the yeer of our Lord 195: some say lesse. Hee gouerned the Empire (according to EVSEBIVS) six months: IVLIVS CAPITOLINVS in his life saith, 85 daies, and no more; with whom agrees SEXTVS AVRELIVS VICTOR. All which write, that his Successor IVLIANVS was of counsell and accessary to his death.

THE

THE LIFE OF DIDIVS IVLIANVS, ONELY OF THIS NAME, AND TWENTITH ROMAN EMPEROR.

THE ARGVMENT.

DIdius Iulianus took the Empire, being a man proud, rich and ambitious; and, seeing that the Empire was set to sale by the souldiers which murthered Pertinax, *was so presumptuous, as to go to buy it, with one other who would haue had the same for money; who was son-in-law to the murdered Emperor. But the souldiers doubting, that, making* Pertinax *his son-in-law Emperor, he would reuenge his death, they agreed to sell it to* Iulianus; *who was confirmed contrary to the will of the Senate, and in worse manner accepted by the people. Nevertheless, as though he had obtained that dignity by his vertue, or that it came to him by inheritance, he gaue himself to pleasure, respecting no mans enuie. But* Septimius Seuerus, *a man of much wisdome and great power, being Captain of the Legions in Germanie, hoping to be able to gette the Empire by force of Armes, came to Rome with his Army: of whom* Iulianus *standing in fear, would haue sent the Vestall virgins for Ambassadors vnto him. But the Senate, refusing to yeeld thereto, deprined him of the Empire, and proclaimed* Septimius Seuerus, *Emperor: who sending to* Iulianus *(the palace being abandoned, and he retired to weep) caused him to be slain, hauing been 7 months Emperor.*

AFter the good ould PERTINAX, IVLIANVS succeeded in the Empire; hauing obtained the same for money from those souldiers which slue the Emperor PERTINAX. This IVLIANVS was natiue of *Milan* by his Fathers linage, who was called PETRONIVS DIDIVS SEVERVS: his mothers name was CLARA EMILIA: his grandfathers name was SALVIVS IVLIANVS, who had been Prefect of *Rome*, and twice Consul; which did enoble his house. This IVLIANVS was brought vp in the house and seruice of DOMICIA LVCILLA, mother to MARCVS AVRELIVS ANTONINVS the Philosopher; by whose fauour he attained to offices, and was made Questor, Edil and Pretor, in *Rome*. Afterwards hee followed the warres, and prooued a good Captain, performing many notable exploits, which in the time of MARCVS AVRELIVS were in *Germany* and other parts. Hee was in the beginning Captain of a Legion, and afterwards with an Army he had the charge and gouernment of *Dalmatia*; and then of lowe *Germany*; and, after that, he was made Gouerner of *Bithynia* in *Asia*, although in this gouernment hee did not bear himself with so good fame as in the rest. Hee was joyntly Consul with PERTINAX, and afterwards Proconsul in *Africa*; and, hauing executed these charges and offices, was now growne old, and very rich by means of his possessions and money which hee had in *Rome*.

The line of Didius Iulianus.

When PERTINAX was dead, hee obtained the Empire in such manner as was shamefull, and vnbefitting the greatnes of *Rome*. For, after that the souldiers had murdered the Emperor PERTINAX (as is said) they fortified their camp and lodgings for fear of the people: and the people durst not assail them, for that they were too strongly defensed with great bulwarks and turrets. The Senatours and Nobility knew not what to doo in this so cruell an Accident; but retired themselues to their houses, wherein they fortified themselues; and many of them went to their Castles and Possessions in the Country, holding themselues not very safe in *Rome*:

and so they passed that day, and the next after PERTINAX death.

The Pretorian Souldiers (as writeth HERODIANVS) seeing no man durst attempt to offend them, became yet more audacious: for, some of them, standing vpon the Ramparts of their Camp, cried out with loud exclamations, that they would giue the Empire to whosoeuer would buy the same, and pay best for it. This sale was presently published in the City, and this Proclamation was so odious and full of scandall and reproach, and also there were so few rich men left in *Rome* by reason of COMMODVS his cruelty and tyranny, that ther were but two merchants to be found to buy the Empire that was to be sould. The one was SVLPITIANVS at that time Prefect of *Rome*, a man who had been Consul, and was sonne-in-law to the late Emperor PERTINAX; and the other was DIDIVS IVLIANVS, of whom wee now speak. Truely, it is a matter worthy of great consideration, and a notable example for Princes: whereby it plainly appeares, how little constancy there is in their greatnes, and generally in all things in this life; and how little they ought to esteem the power, the kingdoms and dominions of this world, and all those other things called goods which are gotten in this world. For, considering that a Roman Emperor, being a wise old man, redoubted, beloued, and knowne to bee good and valiant by long experience, who (as we may say) was Lord of all the world (for, hee peaceably gouerned (in a manner) all that which the Kings in Christendome hould in *Europe*, and the Infidels in *Africa*, and as much as the great Turk possesseth in *Asia*, *Gracia*, and *Egypt*, and many other Princes and Lords besides) onely three hundred, or fewe more souldiers, sufficed to bereaue him of his life & dominion; being in *Rome* it self, which was the head & strength of all the Empire; and that they should escape free without any punishment, no man then seeking any reuenge of his death.

Who would regard or greatly esteem the riches and dominions of this world, or account the dignities, estates, and riches thereof to be great, and lose his owne life, and pawne his soule to get them; seeing that a Throne, and so great a power and majesty as was the Roman Empire, was set to sale at an Outcry; and there were but onely two that came to buy it, and it was sould for a little money? Truely, in my judgement, it was handled as it deserued.

And this may suffice for a warning and example to vs, that there is nothing in this world that is ought-worth, and to bee held of price; nor ought to bee gotten and held with the danger of the soule: and therefore men ought lightely to regard the losing or winning of the goods of this world, so as they may encrease the riches of the soule, and liue vertuously as Christians ought to doo. He that can attaine heerto, is rich and mighty: and all the rest without this are miserable, beggerly and vnhappy, although they command and raign ouer the whole world.

To return to our History: HERODIANVS writeth, that the fame of the souldiers proclamation cam to the house of DIDIVS IVLIANVS, being held the richest man in *Rome*: who with his wife and daughter sitting at dinner, very merry and pleasant in the midst of his fauourites and pleasant company, was by them all counselled, that, seeing hee had more money than any other man in *Rome*, he should not let slip so good a bargain, and so precious a Iewell as was the Roman Empire; but that he should go to the Camp to conferre with the souldiers, and to procure himself to be chosen and sworn Emperor: Who, presently arising from the table, went thither accompanied with his friends and seruants. ELIVS SPARCIANVS (who wrote his life) saith, that the first which perswaded him heerto, were PVBLIVS FLORIANVS, and VECTIVS APER, Tribunes. But, whosoeuer were his counsellers, they all agree, that when he came thither he found SVLPICIANVS the Prefect of *Rome* there before him, soliciting the soldiers to make him Emperor; promising them a great sum of mony, with other fauours and rewards: And the reason why his offers were not accepted, was, for that he was sonin-law to PERTINAX whom they had slain, and therefore they suspected him. Whereof, DIDIVS IVLIANVS put them also in minde; willing them to take heed that they made not choice of one who another day would reuenge the death of PERTINAX; Hee promising to giue them an infinite summe of money which he had in a readinesse; and that hee would restore all things to that order and form wherein COMMODVS had left the same, and would presently bring them a great summe of money to be diuided among them. His offer at last was accepted by the souldiers, and hee with ladders was receiued into the Fort, where they sware obedience vnto him: and, there hauing done certain ordinary ceremonies and sacrifices, hee went into the City, accompanied with the Pretorian Cohorts in Arms; ranged in so good order, as if they had been going to a battell: for, they were in great fear of the people. And so IVLIANVS entred the City, all the souldiers proclaiming his name, and calling him Emperor:

Didius Iulianus went to buy the Empire.

Iulianus being made Emperour came into Rome.

ror: the citizens durst not make any resistance, neither did they approue his election, as they vsed to do by other Emperors, but cursed him and threw stones at him.

IVLIANVS then went to the Senate: where assembling such Senators as were present, by their decree he was proclaimed Emperor, and they presently made his sonne in law CORNELIVS REPENTINVS Prefect of *Rome*, putting SVLPITIANVS out of that office: and from thence he was carried to the Imperiall Palace, and held for Emperor, more through force, then the good will of any honest men. And he as though that the Empire had descended to him by inheritance from his father, and that he had peaceably obtained the same with the good will of all men, gaue himselfe to riot and pleasures, shewing himself negligent and retchlesse in matters of gouernment. And notwithstanding that he was milde and affable, and did no harme to any man in all the time of his raigne; yet he presently began to be hated of the souldiers, for that he did not performe that which he had promised. The people of *Rome* hated him, because he was chosen and made Emperor by those which murthered PERTINAX whom all the world loued; and they were of opinion that he was guiltie and accessarie to his death. So as whensoeuer he went out of his Palace, the people openly powred out their curses against him; which he patiently endured, sometimes with laughter, beckening with his hand that they should come to him, making shew of loue and good will vnto them: yet it little auailed him, but rather increased their hatred; in such manner, as standing one day to behold certaine games and sports, the people of *Rome* proclaymed PESCENIVS NIGER who was Proconsul, and Gouernor of *Syria*, which was the greatest charge and gouernment of the Empire, calling to him that hee should come to their rescue and to procure their libertie; of all which insolencies, IVLIANVS made little reckoning. And it hapned that as soone as the Armies which were on the frontiers of *Germany* and in *Syria*, vnderstood how ill IVLIANVS was beloued in *Rome*, and how carelesly he gouerned, each of these Armies presumed to make their Generall, Emperour. In *Syria* PESCENIVS NIGER was Gouernor, who was a man of good yeeres, and had held great commands and gouernments, and had done very many notable feates of Armes: it was reported of him, that he was milde and wise, and seemed to imitate the life and gouernment of the Emperor PERTINAX. This man knowing the good will which was borne him in *Rome*, and that his Armie and souldiers loued him, determined to proclaime himselfe Emperor, and presently took the ensignes thereof: and all those nations, Kings and Potentates of *Asia*, yeelding obedience, came or sent Ambassadors vnto him. The Army in *Germany* held for their Generall SEPTIMIVS SEVERVS, borne in *Africa*, a man of great courage and counsell, and aboue all, very double and subtile, and of great experience, who had had many gouernments, magistracies, and commands, and had been Consul in *Rome*, and Proconsul in the gouernments of *Sicilia*, *Africa*, and the *Pannonies*, and was also very well beloued of his souldiers, by whom he was importuned: and seeing the occasion and oportunitie, he resolued also to proclaime himselfe Emperour, taking vpon him the state and ensignes thereof: and publishing that he would reuenge the death of the Emperour PERTINAX, he made himselfe beloued of the men of warre in *Germany*, and of the Romane people: so as there were at one time three Emperours, or to say more properly, three tyrants. IVLIANVS (who was Emperour in *Rome*) notwithstanding that he knew what SEPTIMIVS SEVERVS did in *Germany*, it troubled him very much; and he dealt with the Senate to proclaime him rebell, and that they should send certaine principall men Ambassadors to procure the Army to abandon SEVERVS, and to hold him for Emperour whom the Senate had approued, which was himselfe: and he sent VALERIVS CATVLINVS to further the businesse, and to succeede SEVERVS in his gouernment. But SEVERVS had taken so good order, that this did little profit him: for he had already obtained their obedience, and had assured vnto himselfe the loue of all that countrie and the marches thereof; resoluing to march with his Army towards *Rome*, where he knew that IVLIANVS was not beloued. Now PESCENIVS NIGER who was called Emperour in *Asia*, was not so circumspect as he might haue beene: for, seeing himselfe serued by Kings, rich in gold and siluer, mightie in Armies and men of warre, confidently trusting in the loue of the people of *Rome*; he gaue himselfe to feasting and banqueting in *Antioch*.

Iulianus generally hated.

Pescenius Niger proclaimed Emperor in Syria.

Septimius Seuerus a valiant Captain of great experience, pretended title to the Empire.

When it was knowne in *Rome* that SEPTIMIVS SEVERVS came thitherwards, IVLIANVS awakened from his drowsie sleep, began to put himself in Arms, and applied himselfe wholly to make prouision for the warres; and, mustering his Troops, took the Fields with the

Pretorian Army which had made him Emperor; which he found very feeble, as well for want of experience and exercise in Arms, as for that they were ill paid by him: and the people of *Rome* repaired also vnto him with a very ill will, for that he was made Emperor against their liking: and the Cities of *Italy* had a long time liued in quiet and peace, and were not accustomed to the wars.

In this manner all went ill with IVLIANVS; and well with his enemy: and IVLIANVS was generally ill obeyed; whom his friends counselled, that, with the best forces he could be able to leuie, he should meet SEVERVS vpon the way, and stoppe his passage ouer the Alps: but either he would not, or durst not do so, but made the best prouision in *Rome* he could; and, before he was aware, he vnderstood that SEVERVS was already entred *Italie*, and that the most part of the Cities had receiued him, and yeelded him their obedience. The people of *Rome* seeing this, and that PESCENIVS NIGER whom they desired remained in *Asia*, began to like of SEVERVS his coming.

Seuerus refuseth to be partner in the Empire with Iulianus.

IVLIANVS, seeing himself driuen to this streight, obtained of the Senate to write and to send Ambassadors to SEVERVS, offering to make him equall and companion in the Empire with IVLIANVS. But SEVERVS, not contented with part, but with the whole, would not accept thereof, holding himself to bee of greater power than IVLIANVS, notwithstanding that vntill then the Senate held with him: but they, seeing the little counsell and lesse strength of IVLIANVS, beganne to abandon him. And although hee desired that the Vestall Virgins (which was the most precious and highly-esteemed thing in their vain religion) should be sent to pacifie SEVERVS, and to work some means of peace; yet the Senate would not yeeld thereto, alleaging that he was vnworthy to rule, who durst not defend the Empire by force of Arms. And the matter came to this passe, that disguised persons daily came into *Rome* from SEVERVS, and others went from thence to him; and IVLIANVS, void of all reliefe and succours, remained in his Palace generally abandoned, sauing of a very few souldiers.

The Senate abandons Iulianus.

The Senate was assembled, and by the common consent of all the Senators it was decreed, that IVLIANVS should be depriued of the Empire, and SEVERVS proclaimed Emperour; and there were of the principall of the Senators sent to SEVERVS in ambassage, to yeeld to him their obedience, with the ensignes of Emperour, CÆSAR, AVGVSTVS: and spreading a rumour abroad that IVLIANVS had poisoned himselfe, they commaunded him to be slaine in his Palace, where the infortunate Emperour was found disarmed, and with som few of his friends weeping like a child. And so was IVLIANVS slaine at the age of 57. yeeres, hauing raigned only seauen moneths, in the yeere of our Lord 195.

Iulianus slaine by the Senators.

THE LIFE OF SEPTIMVS *SEVERVS*, ONELY OF THIS NAME, AND ONE & TWENTITH ROMANE EMPEROVR.

THE ARGVMENT.

SEptimius Seuerus hauing taken the Empire more by force of Armes and feare, wherein he did put the Senators and people of Rome, then for any right he had; the first thing he did, was to reuenge the death of Pertinax, *by depriuing all those which had slaine him and sold the Empire, of all Military dignitie. Afterwards, entring Rome with great pompe, he perswaded the Senators and people to hope well of him, and to bend their weapons against* Pescenius Niger, *who was called Emperour: Whom finally after many changes of fortune, he ouercame. He likewise ouerthrew* Artabanus *King of Persia, and tooke the Citie of Tisphonte, wherein was all that Kings treasure, and ouercame* Albinus, *who was made* Cæsar. *This* Seuerus *was a man addicted to the warres*

warres, ambitious, ambitious, constant in his resolution to bring any thing to passe that he had once vndertaken, and therewith very wise and circumspect in all matters appertaining to the preseruation of his estate, and gouernment of the Empire. Finally, oppressed with a long infirmity, and particularly with a most deplorable paine in his feete, hee died, hauing ruled the Empire eighteene yeeres; vsing no lesse wisedome in preserning it, then hee had shewed boldnesse and courage in getting it.



AFter IVLIANVS, SEPTIMIVS SEVERVS succeeded in the Empire, who onely among all the Emperours was borne in *Africa*, in a citie called *Leptis*. His fathers name was GETA, and his mothers FVLVIA PIA. He had two Vncles by his mothers side, which were Consuls in *Rome*; his grandfathers name by his mother was MACER; and by his fathers side, FVLVIVS APIVS. IVLIANVS being dead in such manner as we haue declared, and SEVERVS marching with his Armie towards *Rome*, as against his enemies; vpon the way certaine Ambassadours met him, which in the name of the Senate and people of *Rome* yeelded to him their obedience, and gaue him the title and ensignes of Emperour, certifying him of the death of IVLIANVS. He receiued this Ambassage in presence of the Armie, being marshalled and in Armes, and gaue gifts to the Ambassadours; and entertaining them with great honour, continued his iourney towards *Rome*: where aswell the Pretorian souldiers stoode in feare of him, for that they had slaine the Emperour PERTINAX, whom they knew he loued, as also all the Romane people, for the desire they had that PESCENIVS NIGER should haue been Emperour; who in the East (as is said) was called so. SEVERVS, when he came neere to *Rome*, sent commandement that all the Pretorian Souldiers should come forth to receiue him, clad in shew of peace, leauing their armes in their campe; which they did, hoping thereby to haue pleased and pacified him, by ioyfully obeying his commandement. And he concealing what he purposed to doe, hauing only acquainted some of his fauorites and captaines therewith, attended their comming in field, in a place which he had chosen for that purpose; where they comming to doe him reuerence, were compassed about by his Armie: and making a short speech vnto them, he reproched them with the cruelty and treason which they had vsed in killing the Emperour PERTINAX: Which being ended, he made them to put off the clothes and apparell which they ware, and to put away their daggers and poiniards from them (for other weapons they had none) and then he pronounced sentence against them; wherein he depriued them of the honour of souldiers, and banished them from *Rome* and a hundred miles about. He presently sent to their Campe to take their armes from them, and the imperiall ensignes; and so they were punished and disgraced, although not so much as they deserued, for the cruell murther which they had committed, and the selling of the Empire.

The linage of Seuerus.

The punishment of the Pretorian souldiers which slew Pertinax.

This being done, SEVERVS entred into *Rome*, with his whole Armie, with their Ensignes displaied, and his souldiers in armes, appparelled in the best and most solemne manner they could. The number of his men was so great, that it was a most faire and stately spectacle to behold. The Senate went to the gates of the citie to receiue him, and there saluted him after the accustomed manner: and the people receiued him with blessings and applauses; notwithstanding that it was odious vnto them to see him come armed, and in warlike manner. Hauing performed the solemnities, and visited the Temples, as the manner then was, he went to his lodging in the Imperiall palace: and the next day he commanded the Senate to be assembled, whither he also went accompanied with armed men; wherein (as he was a wise man and well aduised) hee made a very smooth speech, giuing them great hope of good gouernment, and excusing himselfe for taking vpon him the name and authoritie of Emperour, without their consent and good liking first obtained; pretending that he did it, to reuenge the death of PERTINAX, and to free them from the tyrannie of IVLIANVS: for that it was a thing vnworthie the Romane Empire, he should liue which had bought it with money. In conclusion, his words were of such efficacie, as the Senat went thence satisfied and wel content: yet some of the old Senators which better knew his condition, gaue little credit to his words; for they held him for a man that was very double, subtil and a great dissembler: and notwithstanding that he was so, yet in truth he was a most sufficient man in any thing, very valiant in armes, and before that he was Emperour had gouerned great prouinces, and attained to be Questor, Tribune, Pretor, Proconsul, and Consul; and had held Commands and charges, wherein he purchased the name

Seuerus entred Rome with ensignes displaied.

His speech to the Senate.

The valour and learning of Seuerus.

nam e and reputation of a valiant, wise, and excellent Captaine. And if a man well consider how the Empire was then diuided betweene three Lords, and with what valour hee subdued the whole, with the other warres and accidents which happened in his time; he may well bee esteemed for a very valiant Emperour and excellent Captaine, and may be compared with any of those in ancient time. Besides all which, he was very learned, and a great Mathematician, a good Orator and Philosopher. But his prowesse in Armes was so great, as it cannot be written by me (considering the breuitie which I vse) but cursorily, and so to expresse such things as are most cleere, although in haste: yet will they glister in their sight which shall behold the same.

After that he had taken vpon him the gouernment of the Empire, he set speedie order for the reformation of abuses in the Citie, by reason of the dissensions and tumults passed. He also presently honoured and buried the Emperor PERTINAX: and in remembrance of that good old man, he took to himselfe his surname, calling himselfe SEPTIMIVS SEVERVS PERTINAX. He paid and gaue gifts and rewards to his men of warre, and also to the people of *Rome*; and as the custome of the new Emperors was, he made distributions and gaue large donatiues. He also married two daughters which he had, with two principall men, one called PROBVS, and the other ECIVS: and after that he had giuen great dowries with them, he vsed such meanes that they were both chosen Consuls. And whereas at that time there was great scarcitie of corne in *Rome*, he took such order, and that with such expedition, as the Citie was sufficiently prouided for and furnished: which course he held euer during all the time of his raigne, in such sort as there was neuer any want. All these things and other, concerning the gouernment of the Empire, he performed with such expedition, in thirtie dayes only that hee remained there: for from the first day that he was Emperour, hee determined to addresse his iourney towards the East with his Armie against PESCENIVS NIGER, who (as is said) was called Emperor, and was very powerfull, and an excellent Captaine. Hauing made preparation for his iourney, he sent a Captaine and new legions into the Prouince of *Africa*, to guard the same; to the end that by the way of *Egypt* and *Libya*, PESCENIVS NIGER should not make any profit of that Prouince. And the better to leaue all things in safety behinde him in the West (for he was in feare of CLODIVS ALBINVS a Nobleman and a Senator of *Rome*, who was Captaine of the Legions in *Britanny*, and was a man of a great parentage, rich, and well beloued, he bethought himselfe how he might compasse him and make him his friend, by giuing him the name and title of CÆSAR and his successor, whereof hee aduertised him with very louing and gracious speeches: by which meanes for that time he remained in quiet and in peace.

Seuerus goes against Pescenius.

This being done, leauing the best order in *Rome* he could, and such as was most expedient (nominating and choosing companies and Pretorian Cohorts to remaine in the Citie, in the place of those which he had cashiered and degraded from the honour of bearing Armes) he departed thence, continuing his iourney with the best and greatest force he was able to leuie. PESCENIVS NIGER being aduertised of the comming of his enemie, as vntill then he had liued idle and careleslie; so now with great diligence & expedition he leuied soldiers: and beside the ordinary Armie which he had, he sent some Captaines speedily to stop the passages out of *Europe* into *Asia* the lesse; and also sent to craue aide of the Kings of *Parthia*, *Armenia*, and other Kings and Tetrarchs of the East; from whom, and from the Prouinces which were vnder his obedience, there came great power and reliefe vnto him: and so the world was diuided into two factions; so as there began one of the most cruell warres that euer had been, as well for the valour of the Captaines, as for the power and multitude of souldiers; which warre was continued in many parts, both by sea and land. SEPTIMIVS SEVERVS passed out of *Europe* into *Asia* the lesse, but with great trouble and difficultie, hauing many skirmishes, and being often assailed by PESCENIVS his troupes, who sent against him an excellent Roman Captaine called EMILIANVS, who was Generall of all his forces. This EMILIANVS hauing drawn together all the power which PESCENIVS sent him, and all the rest that he was able to leuie out of *Cappadocia*, *Galatia*, *Bithynia*, and other Prouinces of *Asia* the lesse, took the fielde, in the way where SEVERVS was to passe: where followed many great skirmishes and encounters, and in the end a most cruell and terrible battaile, wherein EMILIANVS was ouerthrowne. After this battaile, the conquered troupes which escaped, went to PESCENIVS NIGER, who with all his power was in the Citie of *Antioch* in *Syria*; from whence he departed to meete with SEPTIMIVS SEVERVS vpon the way as he was comming: and marching towards him

Pescenius leuies what forces he can.

Emilianus ouerthrowne by Seuerus.

him (after some matters of lesser importance which passed) the two Armies drew neere the one to the other in a great Plaine by the Sea side in the countrie of *Cilicia* (as HERODIANVS reporteth, yet SPARCIANVS and EVTROPIVS differ therein) in the same place where DARIVS was the first time ouerthrowne by ALEXANDER the Great; where (by the consent of both the Generals) they came to a battaile with the greatest numbers and best souldiers that then were in the world; which by reason of the experience, valour, and wisedome of the Captaines, was most cruell. For, fighting the greatest part of the day without any apparant aduantage, the number of the slaine and wounded was so great, that the streames of water which ranne through the fields, were so full, and died with the bloud of men and horses, as there seemed to be no water therein; A great number of disarmed people of the inhabitants thereabouts, standing vpon the tops of the hils to behold the battaile, and to see whether partie should haue the victorie. Which when either partie by all means possible had endeuoured to obtaine, in the later end of the day PESCENIVS NIGER was ouerthrowne, without failing in any point in what he ought, and was most expedient for a good Captain to haue done: for in truth SEVERVS his souldiers were more expert and better trained in the warres; and seeing there was no other remedie, he fled, but was followed and afterwards found by SEVERVS his souldiers, who smote off his head, and carried it through the Campe vpon the point of a Launce. This PESCENIVS NIGER was a man of meane parentage; yet some say that he was Noble and auncient: his fathers name was ANIVS FVSCVS, and his mother was called LAMPRIDIA. He was a man indifferently well learned, and obtained great riches. He was sharpe and quick witted, euer followed the warres, and was an excellent souldier; and afterwards performed the charge committed to him, with great discretion and courage: for, they write of him, that he was a valiant and much commended Tribune; a very singular and excellent Captaine; a most seuere and vpright Lieutenant Generall; a most wise and prudent Consul; and in all things happy and fortunate, but only infortunate in being Emperor, not knowing how to gouern himselfe therein. So as it plainly appeareth, that men doe often times desire and purchase to themselues shame and perdition, by presuming to attaine to honour and greatnesse.

A battaile betweene Septimius Seuerus and Pescenius Niger.

Pescenius Niger ouerthrown and slaine.

The linage of Pescenius Niger.

The wisedome and valour of Pescenius.

SEPTIMIVS SEVERVS, hauing obtained so notable a victorie, with all speede aduertised the Roman Senate thereof, and as a conqueror did his will vpon the conquered, cruelly killing many of those which had taken part with NIGER: and principally he ruined the Citie of *Antioch*, by reason that it (more then any other) had aided and assisted his aduersarie, whose wife and children he commanded to be banished from *Rome*. And to the contrary, hee gaue gifts and rewards to those which had done him seruice and assisted him; and repaired the harmes and damages which some Cities, which held with him, had received by NIGERS souldiers. For in truth this man was very cruell in punishing offences, and in persecuting his enemies; and very liberall and gratefull to his friends, and most bountifull in rewarding those which had done him any seruice. In all the Prouinces of the East, after this victorie, he found no resistance, sauing among the Parthians, the Persians, and the Adiabenians, very mightie Nations: who for the loue they bare vnto NIGER, and the ancient hatred to the Romane name, presently took Armes against SEVERVS; and hee in person went against them, and had many battailes and incounters, and obtained great victories, which I haue no time to relate: so as hee inlarged the Empire and the Romane name, and pacified the Prouinces.

SEPTIMIVS SEVERVS hauing brought all his purposes to so good and prosperous estate, being seduced by the diuel, he resolued to persecute the Catholike Christian Church, so as an infinite number of the faithfull were put to death; and this was the fift persecution of the Church. For which occasion (as PAVLVS OROSIVS noteth) God would not permit that he should long enioy the Empire in peace: for he was aduertised from *Rome* how that ALBINVS, who (as we said) was Captaine in great *Britannie*, and whom he made CÆSAR when he went for the East, was risen in Armes, and proclaimed himselfe Emperor; and that he was of very great power, and much beloued of the Romane Nobilitie: for he was natiue of *Rome*, and of a great and Noble Familie. But he being of a hautie minde little regarded those difficulties: and setting all things in order in the East, with his Armie, took his way towards *Rome*, to the end he might goe against ALBINVS, as against a tyrant and a rebell. And passing from *Asia* into *Europe* ouer the streight at *Byzantium*, which is now called *Constantinople*, he wholly ruined that Citty; for that when he went towards *Asia*, that Citie would not receiue him; and so he left it leuell with the ground (which was one of the most famous Cities in the world) and it

The fift persecution of the Primitiue Church.

Albinus in Armes against Seuerus.

it remained so desolate vntill the time of CONSTANTINE the Great; as in his time we will declare.

SEVERVS trauelling thus towards *Rome*, his Aduersary ALBINVS being aduertised thereof, came out of *Britanny* into *France*, where he raised a mighty Armie; part whereof hee sent to keepe the passages of the Alpes, thereby to hinder him, who was arriued at *Rome*, and was now vpon his way comming to meete him: before which time he put PESCENNIVS NIGERS children to death, thereby wholly to extinguish all remembrance of him. And going to the warres, he appointed his sonne BASSIANVS ANTONINVS for his successor, and intituled him CÆSAR; and changing his name, he commanded him to be called, AVRELIVS ANTONINVS. Drawing neere to his enemies, the warres began in a most cruell manner betweene them; where in the beginning in some encounters, SEVERVS his Captaines were ouerthrowne by those of ALBINVS his partie.

Seuerus put to death Nigers children.

But after that he had passed the Alpes, and was entred into *France*, the warre was kindled in many parts; and in many conflicts and skirmishes fortune shewed her selfe variable, the victorie inclining sometimes to one side, and sometime to the other; vntill at last neere vnto the Citie of *Lions*, (wherein ALBINVS was) either partie drawing together his whole power, they fought one of the most bloudy battailes that euer was written of: which continued the greatest part of the day without any apparance of aduantage. First, the victory seemed to bee of ALBINVS his side: for his Battalions were of such force, as they forced SEVERVS Troupes to retire; in such sort, as his Souldiers began to flye: and it so happened that SEVERVS horse fell with him, and euery man held him for dead; and ALBINVS his Souldiers began to crie Victorie, victorie, taking no care but to follow the execution. Then LEON, one of SEVERVS his Captaines, who vntill then had neuer charged, with a very great Troup of armed men which he brought with him, renued the fight in such sort, as SEVERVS was rescued: and being remounted vpon another horse, charged with such fury, as he tooke the victorie out of ALBINVS his Souldiers hands, who accounting themselues Victors, obserued no order: and the matter was so handled, that ALBINVS his Troupes were driuen to turne their backes; and SEVERVS followed the execution, killing them euen to the gates of the Citie of *Lions*.

A great battaile betweene Seuerus and Albinus.

The valour of Leon, one of Seuerus Captaines.

The number of those which were slaine and wounded, was infinite: and the citie was presently entred, and ALBINVS taken; and his head being striken off, was brought to SEVERVS. A man may well beleeue that he was not a little ioyfull when he saw it, considering that a little before he was wounded and cast to the ground, and by all men accounted for dead, and his enemies victorious; but escaping all this, he now saw himselfe an absolute Lord, and his enemies confounded. Wherefore let euery Christian reader consider how inconstant all things are in this life; and that a man neither can, or ought to repose his assured confidence in any thing in this world. Great were the cruelties which SEVERVS committed after that he had obtained this victorie: and truly if this Prince had not been so cruell and greedie of bloudie euents both in warre and gouernment as he was, I am of opinion that no man either before or after him, had excelled him; considering the actions and enterprises which he brought to an end, whereof I write but the summe.

The cruelties of Seuerus.

These things being past, SEVERVS presently wrote to the Senate and people of *Rome*, aduertising them of his victorie, and sending them ALBINVS his head, which he commanded should be set vpon the end of a pole in the publike place: and all those Senators which of ALBINVS his partie were slaine in this battaile, he commanded to be quartered, and those which were taken aliue, he commanded to be slaine. He was so cruell and vindicatiue (as some write) that he mounted vpon a verie furious great horse, and rode many times ouer the dead bodie of ALBINVS: which is not much to be marueiled at, considering from how cruell and barbarous a Nation he was descended. Some write, that he first caused his body to be torne in many pieces, and to be throwne into the Riuer *Rhodanus*. And SPARCIANVS sayth, that hee commanded his wife and children to be slaine, and did by them as he had done by ALBINVS: and so he made a number of his kinsmen and friends which were found with him in *Lions* to be slaine, and with them other principall Noble men of *France* and *Spaine*. He concluded the victorie which he gat neere *Lions* onely in *Rome*, there to make an end of the warre: and after this victorie he presentlie assaulted certaine cities and holds which continued friends to ALBINVS; which he subdued, not without great trouble and danger. And as he was busie in these matters, newes was brought him that one of those Legions which he had left in *Arabia*, did

did mutine, and took part with ALBINVS before this battaile: and so he leauing *France* and *Germany* in peace and quiet, and sending into *Britanny* the ordinarie Captaines, to keepe the inhabitants in subiection and peace, he came triumphing to *Rome*, bringing his Armie with him; where he was most solemnly receiued, with great shew of ioy and contentment, although that in truth they stood in great feare of him: whither when he came, hee paid his souldiers with larger allowance, then euer had been seene; and the first day that he went to the Senate, in disgrace and despite thereof he renewed the titles and memory of the wicked Emperor COMMODVS, and made him to be canonized, and adored as a God. He also condemned to death, and confiscated the goods of a great number of Noble Personages of *Rome* which had beene Pretors, Consuls, and Senators, for that he found they had been friends to ALBINVS, and of his faction, shewing letters which he said were written by them, wherein they had offered their persons and goods to ALBINVS seruice; alleaging other reasons and proofes, which peraduenture were forged. Finally, he vsed great crueltie, and put many to death; whereby hee extremely enriched himselfe in treasure, whereof some he distributed and gaue to others: but principally he enriched and and aduanced in the highest degree, one whose name was PLANCIVS, a great fauorite of his, who also was an *Africane*, and his countrie-man, whom he made Prefect of the Pretorian Cohorts: and afterwards he married his son BASSIANVS ANTONINVS, whom he had made CÆSAR, with his daughter, whose name was PLAVTINA; and then he made him his companion and equall, and made the Sene to giue him the ensignes and prerogatiue of the Empire; by reason whereof PLANCIVS grew yet more proude and insolent. Matters standing in this estate, the cruell SEVERVS stayed but a small time in *Rome*: in which space he executed many cruelties vpon those which had been friends to NIGER and ALBINVS, putting to death a great number of Noble Personages most cruelly, together with many Matrons, and Romane Ladies: and to the contrary, he shewed himselfe very liberall and bountifull, and bestowed many fauours vpon others, and became also very popular, and sought to be pleasing and acceptable to all men, and to that end made the greatest and most costly feasts and games that euer were made in *Rome*, and diuided money amongst the people. But he stayed but a little while there, as I said: for knowing that matters were in no securitie in *Asia*, principally that the Parthians infested the bounds and frontires of the Empire, and desirous to be reuenged of certaine Kings, which had assisted his enimie NIGER; as hee was most valiant and desirous of honour, although olde and gowtie: yet with his accustomed celeritie hee departed towards the East; and being come into *Asia* sooner then any man expected him, he presently beganne the warre in *Armenia*, marching against BARZENIVS, King of the Atrenores, who had been PESCENIVS NIGER's friend: The King of *Armenia* durst not make any resistance, but sent him presents, suing for peace, and gaue him such hostages as he required. Whereupon finding no resistance, this valiant Emperour returned against *Arabia felix*, wherein there was a mutinie, and there took and sacked some Cities: And from thence returned to the frontires of the Atrenores, and besieged the Citie of *Atras*, or *Atramas*. But being vnable to take it, for that it was very strong and well furnished, in great fury he went against the Parthians, and the Persians, and besieged the famous Citie of *Tesiphonte*, wherein King ARTABANVS lay with all his power and household: and after many assaults, encounters, and slaughters of men of either side, he entred the Citie by force of Armes; and the King escaping by flight, his children and treasure fell into the hands of SEVERVS, which was held for a very great victorie: for the Romans stood in greater feare of the Parthians, then of any other nation of the world.

Seuerus came triumphing into Rome.

Seuerus his enterprises. Tesiphonte with the King of Parthians children taken by Seuerus.

SEVERVS presently wrote to *Rome*, aduertising them of his victories and good successe, and sent them the description of the countries, cities, riuers, battailes, and assaults which hee past, drawne and painted in tables.

When he had ended all things at his pleasure, he bountifully paied his souldiers: and coming into *Palestina*, and from thence into *Egypt*, he was desirous to see the Pyramides, and other great and ancient monuments in that countrie: And from thence he returned to *Rome* in great triumph, loaden with the spoiles and riches gotten by his victories in the East. At this his returne hee married his eldest sonne to PLAVTINA, daughter of his great fauorite PLANCIVS, which marriage BASSIANVS ANTONINVS solemnized much against his will, and so would not conuerse or keep companie with her. Whereupon there began great dislike and dissension betweene PLANCIVS and BASSIANVS: PLANCIVS knowing himselfe the richest and most mightie man of the Empire; and seeing that SEVERVS was now

Plancius a great fauorite of Seuerus.

old (with whom he was in great fauor) and feating that if BASSIANVS should succeed him and inherit the Empire, he should be ill intreated at his hands; hee resolued to kill both the father and the son, and to make himself Emperor, making choice (for the effecting this exploit) of a Tribune of the Pretorian Cohorts, whereof hee himself was Commander. But it pleased God that this his treason was discouered by the same Tribune. SEVERVS held this in a manier incredible, conceiuing it to be some practice of his sons, who loued not PLANCIVS. But being assured thereof by the Tribune, it was concluded, that hee should go and bring him into the Emperors chamber. The Tribune, coming to PLANCIVS, tould him that he had slain SEVERVS and BASSIANVS; and that if he would go with him, hee should see them dead: which hauing deliuered, hee made a reuerence as to the Emperour. As PLANCIVS desired their deaths, so he easily gaue credit to his words, and went with him. The Tribune (it being late in the night) brought him to the Emperors chamber; where he found him and his sonne liuing, amongst many of their confident friends, the chamber beeing full of torches. Which PLANCIVS seeing, he was much amazed: and being demanded by the Emperor what hee did there at so vnseasonable a time; not knowing what to answer, but confessing his error, and crauing pardon, he was slain by BASSIANVS.

After that SEVERVS had escaped this danger, hee spent his time in visiting some Cities in *Italie*, in hearing complaints and doing justice, and in most sumptuous Works and Buildings in *Rome*, and other *Cities*; and, seeking to bring vp his sonnes vertuously, and (by abating their pride) to reconcile them, and make vnity between them; for, they did ill agree, and were very vnquiet and ill-affected the one to the other. He desired to establish peace and amity between them, hauing determined that after his death the Empire should bee diuided between them; and to that end inuested them both therein. And so this poor old Emperor laboured in vain to reform the bad inclination of his sonnes. And, liuing in rest from warre, although not without domesticall care, he receiued Letters, importing, that the Inhabitants of great *Britanny* were in Armis and rebelled, in such sort, that his Legions there were in such danger, as they were at the point either to be ouercome and lost, or at least to flee and abandon the Countrey; wherewith he was much displeased. And to the end that the Empire in his daies should not be diminished by the losse of that Iland (it being of such importance) hee determined to go thither himself in person to pacifie the same. And, without any delaying of time, he went thitherwards with all his forces. Being arriued in *Britanny*, the Inhabitants conceiued such fear, by reason of his sudden coming vpon them, that, as he was a warrior, if he had been inclined to peace, they would haue come to any reasonable composition: but he, rather desiring to punish them, made cruell war against them: which was both tedious and dangerous, by reason of the lakes and many ill passages for his men in seuerall places of that Countrey; so as he was constrained to make many bridges and other deuices, with wood and timber, for his souldiers to passe. And so he obtained many victories, and subdued the Inhabitants. And to the end that his Legions from thenceforth might liue in greater safety, and that the Picts and Scots should not so freely passe their bounds (as SEXTVS AVRELIVS VICTOR and EVTROPIVS report) hee commanded a strong wall to be made, which did crosse the Ile from sea to sea; which wall was two and thirty miles in length; wherein (as I conceiue) hee did but finish or repair that wall which the Emperour ADRIAN had made before: which truely was a work worthy the greatnes of SEVERVS his minde, and the mighty wealth of *Rome*. Which when hee at his pleasure had ended in like manner as he had done all his other enterprises, his old grief did so much torment him, that he desired and sought means to end his ovvne life: and, hauing raigned 18 yeers and ten months, he died in the same Ile of *Britanny*.

The Britans subdued by Seuerus.

The death of Seuerus.

This Emperor was one of those which fought as many battels, and obtained as many victories, as any other that euer ruled the Roman Empire: for, he ouerthrew and brought to confusion three Roman Emperors, and many other Kings, and subdued an infinite number of Prouinces and Cities. He took so good order for the preseruation of his treasure, and was so couetous and greedy in gathering the same together, that, notwithstanding his great expenses, and the infinite great gifts and rewards which he bestowed, yet he left more ready money and treasure in his Treasury and Exchequer than any other Emperor of his Predecessors. He paied and maintained so many *Legions of souldiers, as there was no cause to fear any King or Nation in the world.* Hee left in *Rome* so great aboundance of wheat, wine and oile, as was sufficient (as SPARCIANVS writeth) to maintain and victuall the same for fiue yeers. He erected wonderfull works and Buildings in *Rome* and in other parts, and in many things performed the part of a good

good gouernour, and of a wise and prudent Prince: So as the Romans vsed to say of him (noting his cruelties and couetousnes; and afterwards his prouisions and victories) That it had been good that this Emperour had neuer been borne, or that he should neuer haue died: and so after his death he was highly extolled and commended. He left for his equall successors in the Empire his two sonnes, the one called BASSIANVS, and the other GETAS; and when he lay a dying, the last words he spake to those which were with him were these: When I took vpon me the gouernement of the Empire, I found it tyrannized and out of order; and now being olde and gowtie, leaue it in peace and subiection to my sonnes (if they prooue good) a firme and setled Empire: but if they prooue euill, feeble, and without force, and ready to fall. This good Prince was so temperate and spare in his diet, that he did seldome eate any flesh: for his common foode was salades, pulse and fruits of his countrie; but he vsed to drinke somewhat deepe: yet neuer so that he was at any time distempered therewith. He was of a very comely personage, representing authoritie and maiestie, and was tall of stature, and vsed to weare a long white beard; his hayre was curled and gray, and he spake with a deepe sounding voice. Finally, his personage and minde were fitting for an Emperor. He liued (as SEXTVS AVRELIVS VICTOR and others do testifie) seuentie yeeres, and died in the yeere of our Lord, two hundred and three.

The words of Seuerus at his death.

THE LIFE OF BASSIANVS ANTONINVS CARACALLA (THE FIRST OF THAT NAME, AND FOVRTH OF those which were called ANTONINI) and of his brother GETA, being the two and twentieth Emperour of *Rome*.

THE ARGVMENT.

After the decease of Seuerus, *his two sonnes,* Bassianus Antoninus Caracalla, *and* Geta, *tooke the Empire: which two being borne of seuer all mothers; as brothers oftentimes vse to doe, the one deadly hating the other, sought one anothers death and destruction. But* Caracalla, *who was a warlike man and bloudie, vnable to endure the company of his brother, who led the life of a Philosopher rather then of an Emperor: or that for his good parts he should be so much beloued by the Romane people as he was, failing to kill him secretly with poyson, in the end slew him openly in the lap of his mother in law, which was* Geta *his mother; remaining sole in the Empire. And knowing himselfe to be generally hated, he disposed of himselfe to visit the Empire: wheresoeuer he came, he sought to imitate the fashions of the countrie wherein he was; sometimes attyring himselfe after the Germane fashion; then after the Greeke: besides that he would be called* Alexander, *and be reputed another* Achilles, *for that he had trauailed the countries of those Princes. He was very inhumane and cruell; and so dishonest in his life, as he shamed not to marrie his stepmother* Iulia, *who was mother to his brother* Geta, *who also was so shameleſſe as to consent to so wicked a mariage. But they both ended accordingly as they deserued: for the Emperor was slaine by the practice of* Macrinus, *at such time as he went to ease his bodie; and she hearing the newes, falling into despaire killed herselfe, he hauing held the Empire six yeeres.*

SEVERVS being dead, his two sonnes, which he had by seuerall women, according as he had ordained, remained Emperours. One of them hee had by MARTIA, which was his first wife; and the other by IVLIA, as is already said. The eldest had to name BASSIANVS ANTONINVS; and the other GETA; both very yong men, and in vertue farre vnlike to their father, chiefly BASSIANVS CARACALLA which was the eldest: Although that in his youth being but a childe, hee seemed to make better shewe of himselfe, to be of a milde condition, and of a good witte; hee profited very much in learning (as SPARCIANVS writeth) and therefore was much beloued and great-

Bassianus at the first vertuous and beloued.

ly accounted of: but afterwards, with his yeeres, and the Empire, he altred his condition, and in crueltie not only surpassed his father, but any other cruell Prince of all that euer were; as if he had been borne at one birth with NERO.

As soone as hee was sworne Emperour in *England*, where he then was (for his father carried both his sonnes with him, and his wife IVLIA also; which was mother to the second sonne) ANTONINVS CARACALLA practised with the Armie to chuse him Emperor alone, and to disinherit his brother GETA. But the men of warre would not consent thereto, because that GETA was chosen CÆSAR and successor to his father by them; and BASSIANVS ANTONINVS was nominated by his father SEVERVS. Whereupon being out of hope to bring his purpose to effect, accompanied with his brother and mother in law, they agreed *to come to Rome, and brought with them the bodie or ashes of their father* SEVERVS. But there presently grew so many iealousies betweene the two brothers, that it was daily feared the one would kill the other; notwithstanding that IVLIA (as though she had been mother to them both) vsed all possible meanes to haue pacified them, and to haue brought them to liue louingly and like brothers together: which she could neuer bring to passe, and so vpon the way either of them did lodge and eate apart; and either of them stood vpon his guard, for feare of the other. Being come to *Rome*, they were receiued with great solemnitie, triumph and ioy; but in their palaces they tooke their lodgings apart, and each of them had his guard and particular officers from the other: and they neuer visited, saw, or spake the one to the other, except when they went to the Senate: so great was the hatred which the one bare to the other.

Enmity between Bassianus and his brother Geta.

The first thing they did after their comming to *Rome*, was to burie their father, whom they canonized for a Saint, placing him among the Gods, as the custome was to doe by those which were good Emperors. And seeing that occasion will often be giuen to reade of some Emperors which haue been deified; in my opinion it shall not be amisse, in this place to recite the ceremonies which were then vsed therein. The order which they held (the Emperor being dead) was to assemble the Senate, to consider whether such an Emperour had deserued or were worthie to be placed among the Gods or no: and finding him to haue been wicked, the Senate would not be present at the ceremonies vsed at his funerall: but if he had beene a good Prince, they all went in mourning attire to doe him honour at his consecration. The manner to consecrate him, was first to burie him without any ceremonies; then they made his image of wood, which resembled a pale sickly weake man, which they placed vpon a high scaffold ouer the entring into the Palace; which image was clothed in rich attire; and on the one side thereof, sate the Senate, and on the other side the Roman Matrons, where they continued from the Sunne rising vntill the euening, doing nothing but groane and sigh. This order they obserued the space of seuen daies, in which the Physicians came and felt the pulses of this Statue, saying, that the Emperor would surely die: at which words, they lamented and shrieked out. The sixt day the Physicians said that he was dead: then the most ancient men carried the image on horseback in a beere to a place which was called the old place; passing through that way which was called *Via Sacra*. In this place was erected an edifice after the fashion of a throne, with staires round about it, and vpon this throne they placed the Image: on the one side of the staires were many children, which were gentlemens sonnes of *Rome*; and on the other, a number of yong Roman damsels which sung some heauie and sorrowfull songs and ditties; and the boyes sung hymns in prayse of the dead Emperor. From thence they carried the Image with the beere to the field of *Mars*, where was another scaffold made of most drie wood, vpon which they placed this Image. Vpon that day people came from all parts of *Italy* to *Rome* to see the solemnitie: and euery one there present, was bound to cast vpon the staires, certain precious odors of sundrie sorts. After this the Senators made shew of a skirmish on horseback; and after them the two Consuls gaue a turne vpon their chariots richly adorned, being followed by the most ancient men in *Rome*, and those which had been Captains in the wars, on foote: all which after they had gone round about this scaffold, making sundrie shoutes and exclamations, fell to the ground. Then came he which did inherit and succeede in the Empire, and with a burning torch gaue fire to this throne or scaffold; which, for that it was made of most drie wood, in short space was set all on fire.

In what manner the Romans deified their Emperors.

The follie of the antient.

But before any of these ceremonies were performed, the Senat prouided a great Eagle: which being set on that side where the Image of the dead Emperor was, while as this image did burn, the Eagle was very cunningly let loose; which, according to her nature, mounting aloft into the aire

aire, the people said that it was the Emperors soule which flew to heauen, there to dwell amongst the gods: which HERODIANVS doth write at large in the historie of these two Emperours. GETA the younger brother was of a more gentle nature: for shewing himselfe milde and courteous, he began to be generally well beloued of all men. ANTONINVS CARACALLA was sowre, and would be obeied for feare. Enuying the loue which he saw al men beare to his brother GETA, and the reputation wherein he was held, he deuised with himselfe how he might secretly kill him with poison, or otherwise howsoeuer: he also sought to get the good will of the Pretorian Souldiers, giuing them many gifts, doing them many fauours, and giuing them leaue to do what they listed. So as it was easily perceiued, what manner of gouernment there would be in the Empire, where were two Emperours with equall power and authoritie, and so contrarie in condition each to other, that being brothers they practised and desired each others death; and in matters of iustice and gouernment were euer contrarie in opinion; and for Captaines and gouernours which were to be made, each sought to preferre his friends and fauorites, and did the like in chusing of Consuls and other Magistrates: And so all things went by fauour and in contention. There were committed intolerable disorders, and wrongs, either of them persecuting the contrarie faction, without daring to punish those which were of their own partie, for feare to make them their enemies: whereof grew an vniuersall preiudice to all the prouinces, and generally to the whole Empire. Wherefore to auoide these troubles and inconueniences, some practised to make a diuision of the Empire; and that ANTONINVS BASSIANVS should remaine in *Rome* and gouerne the West; and that GETA should gouerne *Asia* & all the East. But this took as little effect; for IVLIA, mother to GETA, hindred it, thinking to draw them to some composition and make them friends: and when she thought herselfe to be in the right way to haue brought them to concord and agreement, BASSIANVS CARACALLA (who was more proud and presumptuous, and who in truth did scorne his brother, as well for that he was his younger, as for that he gaue himselfe more to his book & to ciuill discipline, then to Armes and chiualrie; hauing alwaies about him honest and learned men) resolued to kill him in what manner soeuer; which he had till then attempted to do by secret and coloured meanes, thinking with himselfe that he was and ought to be sole Emperour, and could not endure any riuall or companion in command. And with this cruell determination, as they were lodged both in one palace, GETA being one day with his mother, nothing suspecting any open violence, although he mistrusted secret practices; BASSIANVS iust at the time when euery bodie was at dinner, suddenly entred his brothers lodging, and with the aide of those which came with him, slew his brother in his mothers Armes, before that he was able to put himselfe in defence, or could be rescued. And hauing committed this detestable murder; with the like furie and haste as he had done this fact, he went forth at his palace gates, compassed about with his friends and seruants; and shewing great amazement, cried out, that his brother would haue slaine him, and he said to those which saw him, that he had escaped an extreame danger of death, but his innocencie had preserued him. And calling to his guard, he commanded them to conuay him to his Pretorian Cohorts, where he might remaine in safetie; for whileft he continued within the citie he stood in feare of his life.

Bassianus sought meanes to put his brother Geta to death.

Bassianus slew his brother Geta in his mothers armes.

Those which heard him, not knowing what had passed, beleeued what he said: and both those which heard him, and heard him not, followed him; and the people began to be much troubled to see their Emperour, so out of season, and in such haste and manner go to the Camp. When he came to his Camp, where in truth by reason of his former *practices, he was better beloued* then his brother, the first thing that he did was to go to a place apart, where their ensignes and banners were, which they held for religious and sacred; and then he began with great exclamation to say, That he gaue infinite thanks to the gods for deliuering him from such and so imminent a danger. And the souldiers flocking about him, maruelling at his so vnseasonable comming, he put himselfe in the middest of them, and with a huge voice began to implore their aid and succour, telling them that his brother would haue slaine him; and being assailed by him, was rescued, and had fought, and God had giuen him the victorie, although vvith great difficultie; and that he now fled vnto them from the furie of those which would haue slaine him. He spake and fained the matter with such efficacie, as the souldiers beleeued him: and notwithstanding that he expressed not so much, *yet they plainely perceiued that he had slaine his brother*, as he gaue them to vnderstād: and incōtinentlie he promised them, seeing he remained sole Emperour, that he would bestow vpon them the accustomed fauours, gifts & rewards; and presentlie sending for a mass of money which remained of his fathers treasure, he diuided it among

them: wherewith having got their good wils, although som were hard to be perswaded, and did contradict it, yet in the end they proclaimed him sole Emperor, and approued the death of his Brother. GETA, pronouncing him a rebell, and an enemy to the Roman Common-wealth.

BASSIANVS, remaining all that night in the Camp among the souldiers, the next day compassed with men of warre, returned into *Rome*: and, assembling the Senate, he went thither, and brought in his guard with him, wherein he made a set Oration (which HERODIANVS writeth at large) excusing himself, and grieuously accusing his Brother, affirming, that he was openly assailed by him; but being rescued, in defending himself, he had slain his Brother. The Senators, some for that they were his Fauourites, and others for fear, approued his death: and he, to justifie his wickednes with greater cruelty, began to proceed against men of all estates, as though they all had been guilty, and had practised his death, committing infinite murders and cruelties. First, he commanded all his Brothers seruants to be slain, together with many Senators and Roman Knights, which had taken his Brothers part. He also made PLAVTINA, the daughter of PLANCVS, which had been his wife, to be put to death. He slue POMPEIANVS, nephew to the Emperor MARCVS AVRELIVS the Philosopher, and sonne to LVCILLA and POMPEIANVS. He caused all the Gouerners and Captains to slain, which his Brother had placed in the Prouinces. To conclude, hee murdered an infinite number of men of quality, so as in all parts of *Rome* most horrible murders and cruelties were committed: for which, he is accounted one of the worst and most cruell Emperors that euer gouerned the Roman Empire; and was generally hated and abhorred of all men, sauing of the Pretorian Souldiers onely, whose loue and good will hee bought with his money, and therewith did continue them for his friends, (by suffering and enduring them, and giuing them liberty in all things) permitting them to commit what soeuer outrage or insolency they would.

Cruelty vsed by Bassianus, in putting many great men to death.

Hauing exercised himself in these abominable cruelties, his owne conscience accusing him, and knowing how much he was abhorred in *Rome*, hee resolued to depart from thence, and to go and visit all the Prouinces of the Empire; which he did, and in his journey plaied many mad pranks, some of which in truth were very ridiculous. Purposing to go into *Germany*, where as *Rome* euer maintained great Armies against the northerly nations, who could neuer be brought to any perfect subiection; he gaue it out in speeches, that hee went to reform the Legions, and to visit the Prouinces; and, taking his way towards the Riuer *Danubius*, where (to winne the hearts of that Countrey-people) he followed the fashions vsed in that Countrey, hunting and killing wilde beasts, and apparelling himself like a German, praising and esteeming their fashions better than the fashions of the Romans, he chose such of the German Souldiers as seemed to be most strong and active, for his guard. Hee sought also to win the good will of other men of warre, shewing himself very affable and sociable, helping them in person in their bodily exercises; eating and drinking with them such things as they did, and dooing many other things like a souldier and a man of warre: whereby hee made himself beloued both of the one and the other, although he forbare not to commit sundry cruelties, killing certain eminent men among them.

Bassianus vseth fashions

Hauing set all matters in such order as hee thought good in *Germany*, taking his way towards *Thracia*, he passed through *Macedonia*, where a notable folly possessed him: for, heer hee made shew to be much affected to ALEXANDER the Great, and to publish his Noble acts; sending commandement to erect his statue in many parts of *Rome*: amongst which hee set vp one with two faces; the one resembling ALEXANDER, and the other himself, desiring to make others beleeue (himself being so perswaded) that he did very much resemble him; and, because he had read that ALEXANDER'S neck stood a little awry towards one shoulder, he counterfeited the like: and so within fewe daies, of an Almain, he was becomn a Macedonian in apparell, behauiour and fashion; and one squadron of his Army he commanded to bee called Phalanx (for so were they called in that Kingdome) and some of his Captains hee caused to bee called by the names of some of ALEXANDER'S Captains. Hauing made this shew in *Graecia*, he took his way towards *Asia*; where he desired to see the ruines of *Troy*: and, seeing the Sepulchre of ACHILLES, another humour took him, which was, to resemble ACHILLES; so as hee seemed to trauell the Countries like a Player, with Comedies and making shewes: at which his lightnes and inconstancy, the Romans which were with him, laughing to themselues, were much discontented and ashamed.

Trauelling through *Asia* the lesse, and thence into *Soria*, he went into *Egypt* (as he said) to see the City of *Alexandria*, because ALEXANDER the Great was Founder thereof: where he was

was most solemnly receiued, and with great ioy; for which hee ill requited them: for although that he shewed them a pleasant countenance, yet secretly he was much displeased with them: for he vnderstood that they had vsed quips and iests of him behinde his back, and gaue him nick-names conformable to his vices, and the cruelties which he committed; Matters, in truth, not so hainous as could deserue so cruell punishment, as that which he inflicted, which was: that the people being vpon a day assembled together to see certain publike pastimes, he made them to bee compassed about by his souldiers, and an infinite number of them of all ages, conditions, and degrees to bee slaine, to the great feare, griefe, and terror of the whole Citie.

Extreme cruelty executed by Bassianus vpon the citizens of Alexandria.

After this his great inhumanitie done in *Egypt*, he returned by *Palestina*: and trauelling towards the East with a very mightie Armie, of his fathers old souldiers, he inuaded the Parthians countrie, which suspected no such matter; and did great spoile there (as SPARCIANVS SEXTVS AVRELIVS VICTOR, and HERODIANVS doe write) for vpon safe conduct and assurance of peade which he made to the Parthians, he obtained some victories, deceiuing their King ARTABANVS, giuing him to vnderstand that he came of purpose to marrie with his daughter; and the other comming to receiue him in peaceable manner, was sodainly set vpon. But the King (by great hap) escaped by flight. And although that this his victorie were of small importance, yet he made great boast, writing to *Rome* tedious and proud letters thereof; and in all these actions he forbare not to be cruell: but to gouerne vprightly, and to do iustice, as he ought to haue done, he took no care. He was very gluttonous, and vnmeasurably giuen to wine, luxurie and dishonestie of life, so as he married with his owne mother in law, IVLIA: yet HERODIANVS maketh no mention thereof, but seemeth to be of a contrary opinion; for he euer speaketh of IVLIA, as though she had been mother both to BASSIANVS and GETA: But SEXTVS AVRELIVS writeth it; and also EVSEBIVS, EVTROPIVS and SPARCIANVS say, that it passed in this manner. IVLIA was a verie faire woman: and vpon a day, the mother and the sonne in law standing talking together, she carelesly or dishonestly, as it afterwards appeared, letting fall a vaile which she ware, discouered part of her breste, which when BASSIANVS saw, he said, If it were lawfull, I would haue that which I see: she, forgetting all honestie, and that she was mother to GETA whom BASSIANVS had slaine, answered, To thee any thing that thou desirest is lawfull: dost thou not know, that the Emperor maketh lawes and is subiect to none. When he heard her say so, setting aside all dutie and loyaltie which he ought to his dead father, and his liuing mother in law, he resolued to marrie her, and celebrated his nuptials with the mother of his brother, whom he had bereaued of life.

Gluttony and inconstancy of Bassianus.

A monstrous fact.

But to returne to the Historie of his life, it passed in this manner; That comming from his inuasion against the Parthians, he stayed some daies in *Mesopotamia*: For, that countrey was very pleasant and commodious for hunting & other sports; where, within fewe daies hauing raigned full sixe yeeres, he was slaine by treason. The manner whereof HERODIANVS writeth, saying that he was much addicted to Mathematicians and Astrologians, and gaue great credit vnto them; and in all matters vsed their opinions and iudgements, and had in *Rome* and with him all the Astrologers that he could get; wherein he resembled his father SEVERVS, who did the like. Being fearefull of conspiracies, knowing what he had deserued; hee sent to MATERNVS who was the greatest and most confident friend he had, whom he left gouernor of *Rome*, commanding him secretly to assemble all the best Astrologers he could get, and demand of them what death he should die; and procure them to giue their opinions, whether any conspired or practized his death or no. MATERNVS did what the Emperor commanded in the foote of his letter, and with great haste answered him (either faining it, or being so aduertised by the Astrologers) that MACRINVS which was his Prefect, and with him in *Mesopotamia*, went about to kill him, and therefore he should in any case presently dispatch him; for so did the Astrologers aduise him. Which letter he sent sealed, and made it vp amongst other letters, to be the more secretly conueyed. The whole packet was deliuered to the Emperor as he was going into his chariot, to runne for a wager with other chariots; which was a kind of sport, wherein he took much pleasure, and was greatly vsed in those dayes. And hee, for that he would not giue ouer that which he had pretended, gaue his letters to the said MACRINVS to reade, and afterwards to make relation to him of the contents thereof. MACRINVS reading all these letters, met with that wherein BASSIANVS was counselled to put him to death: whereat he was much astonished; and concealing that letter, made relation to the Emperor of

all the reſt. And conſidering with himſelf, that hee which wrote that Letter would doubtleſſe write another, and that length he ſhould ſurely dy; he reſolued firſt to murther the Emperour: and, ruminating vpon the matter, he bethought himſelf of a luſtie ſtrong fellow, a Centurion of the Emperors guard, called MARTIALL; who, being diſcontented, murmured againſt the Emperor, and ſecretly hated him, for that he had cauſed a Brother of his to be ſlain, and he himſelf was ill-intreated and diſgraced. MACRINVS, conceiuing this man to bee fit for his purpoſe, after ſome other diſcourſe tould him, that ſeeing he had oportunity to kill the Emperor, being euer neer vnto him hauing charge of his Perſon, hee ought to reuenge the death of his Brother, and then flee to him; who, with others of his faction, would protect and defend him againſt all ſuch as might ſeek to offend him.

Some daies after MACRINVS had laid this plot, it hapned that the Emperor, comming from a Temple wherein he had been, neer to a City called *Carras*, and riding ſmally accompanied towards the City, withdrew himſelf out of the way behinde a buſh, to doo ſuch things as nature required; with one Page with him to hould his horſe, the reſt for manners ſake beeing withdrawn. Which when MARTIALL perceiued, being one of them, fayning that the Emperor had called him vpon ſome neceſſary occaſion, he ran haſtily vnto him; and, before he was perceiued, ſtabbed him in behinde, whereof hee preſently fell down dead. SPARCIANVS ſaith, that, coming to help the Emperor to horſe, hee ſtabd him in with his poiniard; and that MARTIALL, returning to take horſe from which hee was alighted, by little and little withdrew himſelf from the company: but the Page bringing newes of the Emperors death, he began to flee ſo faſt as his horſe could runne; but could not make ſuch ſpeed, but that hee was ouertaken by the Germane horſemen of the Emperors guard; who preſently ſlue him.

The death of Baſſianus Caracalla.

The death of BASSIANVS being vnderſtood by thoſe which accompanied him, there grew a great tumult among them, not knowing with whom to be angry: for, as then it was vnknowne by whoſe order hee was ſlain. And, they approaching to the dead body of the Emperor, the firſt that came to haue aided him, was MACRINVS; who, weeping and lamenting, ſeemed to bee very ſorrowfull; no man ſuſpecting him or any other, all men conceiuing that MARTIALL had murdered BASSIANVS vpon paſſion, and for ſome priuate reuenge. Taking the Emperours dead body they burnt it, according to the cuſtome then; and, putting his aſhes into a pot, they ſent them to his wife and mother-in-law IVLIA; who was in *Antioch*; who being in deſpair poiſoned her ſelf: and ſo they both had ſuch ends as they deſerued.

Iulia poiſons her ſelf.

BASSIANVS at the time of his death was full three and forty yeers ould, hauing raigned ſix yeers Emperour. He left one ſonne very yong, whoſe name was ANTONINVS HELIOGABALVS, by his wife whoſe name was SEMIRA, as SPARCIANVS writeth. AVRELIVS VICTOR calles her SEMEA, a very diſhoneſt woman, and his coſen German; who liued like a ſtrumpet. ANTONINVS BASSIANVS was by his ſurname called CARACALLA, for a certain kinde of apparell which he gaue to the people of *Rome*. Hee died in the yeer of our Lord 219.

THE

THE LIFE OF OPILIVS MACRINVS.

ONELY OF THIS NAME, AND THE THREE AND TWENTITH ROMANE EMPEROVR.

(***)

THE ARGVMENT.

ONE Audentius *hauing refuſed the Empire; for his excuſe, alleadged his olde age ſo vnfit for the troubles of ſo important a gouernment:* but Macrinus *without any ſuch conſideration accepted thereof, it being offered him by the Souldiers, notwithſtanding that hee was the Author of the death of* Caracalla. *He tooke the Empire, made head againſt* Artabanus *King of Perſia, who roſe in Armes againſt the Romanes in reuenge of the iniuries done by* Caracalla; *and being come to a battaile, which continued two dayes, in the end they came to an agreement;* Artabanus *vnderſtanding of the opprobrious death of his enemie. But fortune, which had prepared a troubleſome raigne for* Macrinus, *ſaw him no ſooner out of one danger, but it caſt him into another farre greater, which was this; that* Heliogabalus *a Youth of ſiftéene yeeres old, being by the meanes of an old woman made Emperour, it behooued him to fight with him; and being ouerthrowne, fled vnknowne through Aſia the leſſe, with an intent to come to Rome: but being ouertaken by the Souldiers which purſued him, in a Citie wherein hee fell ſicke, he was ſlaine, together with his ſonne* Diadumenus; *whom he had made his companion in the Empire: Hauing raigned onely fourteene monethes.*

BASSIANVS being dead, a councell was held in the Armie concerning the election of a new Emperor: for there was little account made of his ſon ANTONINVS HELIOGABALVS; aſwell for that he was but a child, as alſo for that his mother led ſuch a life, as it was doubted whether he were the ſonne of BASSIANVS or no. In the Army, beſides MACRINVS which was Pretorian Prefect, was AVDENTIVS, a man of good ſort and of yeeres, very expert in the warres, and an excellent Captaine: of theſe two they were in great doubt whether they ſhould chooſe, and in this doubt they continued two daies: and in the end they reſolued to chuſe AVDENTIVS, who was a diſcreet old man, and little regarded the Empire; who conſidering the perils and diſorders, would not accept thereof, excuſing himſelfe by reaſon of his great age, alleaging, that he was not able to gouerne the Empire as it ought to be, a thing ſeldome ſeene that any man would refuſe the Empire of the world. The men of warre perceiuing that AVDENTIVS would not accept of the Empire, preſently made choiſe of MACRINVS, who was the author of the murther and death of BASSIANVS; and ſo was choſen, and he gladly accepted of their election. This MACRINVS was of a very baſe ſtock and parentage, who with ſmall deſerts, and by way of fauour attained to the office of Pretorian Prefect. As ſoone as he was choſen Emperour, he made

Audentius refuſed the Empire.

Opilius Macrinus choſen Emperour.

made a notable flattering Oration to the Army, and payed the Souldiers, and distributed much money among them, thereby to purchase their loue and good will, and addressed himselfe with all haste against ARTABANVS King of *Parthia*, who came with great power against the Romanes, to be reuenged of the iniurie which BASSIANVS had done them, knowing nothing of his death. He also presentlie nominated and chose a sonne of his for his companion in the Empire, whose name was DIADVMENVS, whom he made to be called ANTONINVS, aswell to take away the suspicion of the death of ANTONINVS BASSIANVS, as for that the name of ANTONINVS was very acceptable to the Romanes, in remembrance of the good Emperours ANTONINVS PIVS, and MARCVS AVRELIVS ANTONINVS: for all these Emperours did leaue their owne names, or together with them did take the name of ANTONINI, vntill that for the abominable and execrable life of ANTONINVS HELIOGABALVS, they left it, as we will presentlie declare. He also wrote long letters to the Senate and people of *Rome*, reciting the manner of his election, and desiring them to approue the same, with many solemne oathes that he was not guiltie of the death of BASSIANVS. The Senate being certified of the death of BASSIANVS, approued the election of MACRINVS, and the election and companie of his sonne in the Empire.

This new Emperour MACRINVS, and his sonne DIADVMENVS, going against ARTABANVS and the Parthians, who came very strong both in foote and horsemen, and also brought many camels with them, the two Armies came to a most cruell battaile which continued two daies, wherein both the Romanes and the Parthians fought so valiantlie, as in both daies the darke night parted the fray, and either partie cried Victorie, victorie, although that in truth there was none: for the slaughter and number of the dead and wounded was equall.

A cruell battell betweene Macrinus and Artabanus.

MACRINVS, knowing that ARTABANVS came greatly enraged by reason of the iniurie done him by BASSIANVS, sent him Heraulds and Ambassadors, certifying him of the death of BASSIANVS: and moreouer, that if he desired the friendship of the Romanes, he would graunt it. ARTABANVS, being aduertised of the death of his enemie BASSIANVS, was very ioyfully of the newes: for vntill then he had no intelligence thereof, and was also glad of the peace offered him, which he accepted, vpon condition that all such prisoners as were taken by BASSIANVS through treacherie in time of truce, should be restored; which was accordinglie performed, and they concluded a peace; and the King of *Parthia* returned home to his countrey; and MACRINVS, to *Antioch* in *Syria*: Where he gaue himselfe ouer to lust & sensualitie, forgetting the gouernment of the Empire, delaying his going to *Rome*, whither by letters from thence he was dayly sollicited to come; wherein he committed a very great errour: for if he had left his Army, and had gon to *Rome*, and there settled himselfe in the gouernment of the Empire, without all doubt both his raigne and life had lasted longer; but he taking no care of that which he ought to haue done, and which most concerned him, gaue himselfe in *Antioch* to riot, pleasures, and banketting: whereat the Romane souldiers began much to murmure, and to make little account of him, moued thereto through their desire to returne into their countrey. They also much abhorred him for that he did most cruellie punish them: for in those times loyaltie was so out of vse, and men of war had such libertie, were so audacious, and had taken such a custome to make Emperours, as they presentlie began to repine and murmure, yea and boldlie to speake ill of MACRINVS, and to wish his death, within a little more then one yeare after they had giuen him the Empire, and within few dayes after plotted the same in in this manner. In a citie of *Phœnicia* called *Emesa*, was yong ANTONINVS HELIOGABALVS, who had there a Grandmother, sister to IVLIA wife to SEPTIMVS SEVERVS, which afterwards married with her sonne in law BASSIANVS, sonne of the same SEVERVS. This his Grandmother, whose name was MESA, had there another nephew called ALEXIANVS, of whom more shall be said hereafter, and she also had in her companie SIMIAMIRA, mother of the said ANTONINVS, and another which was sister to ALEXIANVS.

Peace betweene Macrinus and Artabanus, vpon conditions.

The causes of the death of Macrinus.

This MESA was a very rich woman both in iewels and money: for she had been mother in lawe to two Emperours, the father and the sonne: and it is to be beleeued that in their life time there were infinite bribes & gifts bestowed vpon her, and so she remained there after the death of BASSIANVS with her daughters and nephewes. These two cosins, her nephewes, MESA made Priests in a most sumptuous Temple which she built and consecrated to the Sunne; from whence it grew that this ANTONINVS was called HELIOGABALVS, which is as much to say, as a Priest of the Sunne: for the Phœnicians did call the Sun HELIOGABALVS, to which Temple for their vaine deuotions sake came many Romane souldiers of the Legions which

which lay there in garison, and many from MACRINVS his camp also; whom this MESA, Grandmother to these youths, entertained very courteously, bestowing many gifts vpon them; and shewing them her nephew HELIOGABALVS, shee vsed to tell them that this her nephew was sonne to their Emperour BASSIANVS, whom MACRINVS had slaine by treason. With these and such like effectuall speeches, she brought the matter to such passe, that what with the courtesie which she vsed towards them, and also for that the boy was a most fine child, they generallie began to affect him, some by seeing him, and others by report of him; so as the whole Armie loued him, and desired that he might be their Lord and Emperour. And to the contrarie, MACRINVS being generallie hated of all men, some Coronels and Captaines moued by the gifts and large promises made by this MESA vnto them, the greatest part agreed that she should send ANTONINVS to their Camp, and then they would proclaime him Emperour. The good old woman, who had bin accustomed to Emperors Courts, setting all other matters apart, tooke her nephew by the hand & went with him to the Camp, and he presentlie was receiued for Emperour, and they sware obedience vnto him (as writeth HERODIANVS). But IVLIVS CAPITOLINVS saith, that certaine of MACRINVS Legions being in a mutinie came to seeke HELIOGABALVS. But howsoeuer, as both the one and the other might be, HELIOGABALVS accepted of the Empire, being but fifteene yeeres old: and the matter being published abroad, the newes thereof caused great alteration in mens minds; and al men began to affect him, for that he was both sonne & nephew to Emperours, and for the names sake of ANTONINVS, which they held for sacred and happie. MACRINVS presently vnderstood these newes in *Antioch*, where hee then was, and made lesse account thereof then he ought to haue done, iesting at HELIOGABALVS, for that he was but a childe, and at his mother and grandmother, deeming it sufficient to send a Captaine of his whose name was IVLIANVS, with certaine Legions to besiege, and so to ruine him: which (as it was thought) hee might easily haue effected, if he had himselfe gone presently in person. When IVLIANVS with his troupes came, HELIOGABALVS forces were not of sufficient power to giue him battaile; but being in their Camp, which was well fortified and victualled, they suffered themselues to bee besieged: but the souldiers of the one side conferring with those of the other; and those of the Campe shewing young HELIOGABALVS to IVLIANVS his souldiers, putting them in minde of his father, perswaded them to follow him. Whereof it insued, that they not onely did so, but apprehending their Captaine IVLIANVS, smote off his head, and went ouer to HELIOGABALVS; and the one and the other made such such an Armie, as MACRINVS resolued with his whole power to make head against HELIOGABALVS. Doing so, they ioyned battell in the confines of *Syria* and *Phœnicia*; in which, conscience and feare made HELIOGABALVS souldiers to fight valiantly; and of MACRINVS side only the Pretorian souldiers fought wel, but al the rest of his Armie fought faintly; and a great part thereof abandoning him went ouer to HELIOGABALVS: wherefore he accounting himselfe lost and forelorne, fled from the battaile, and so HELIOGABALVS had the victorie. MACRINVS and his sonne, with certaine of their friends which would not forsake him, trauailed with the greatest speed they could make, secretly, through the citie of *Asia* the lesse, and came into *Bithynia*, with a determination to get to *Rome*; where MACRINVS knew that his comming was much desired. But falling grieuously sick in the city of *Chalcedonia*, those which HELIOGABALVS sent to pursue him, found him there; and bringing letters and commandement to the citie, through the fame of HELIOGABALVS his victorie they were obeyed; and MACRINVS lying sicke, void of all fauour and friendship, together with his sonne, was there put to death, within one yeere and two moneths after that he had been chosen Emperour. And being dead, all men fixed their eyes and thoughts vpon HELIOGABALVS.

The policie of Mesa to make Heliogabalus Emperour.

Heliogabalus *made Emperour.*

Iulianus, a captaine sent by Macrinus, slaine by his owne souldiers.

A battaile where Heliogabalus had the victorie, and Macrinus fled.

Macrinus fell sicke in Chalcedonia, being ouertaken by such as Heliogabalus sent after him, was by them slaine.

Surely, it is a pitifull thing to consider of the infelicitie and miserie of those times, to see how many Emperours were murthred, and how wicked and vicious the most part of them were, and how little time they raigned; and that which maketh me most to admire, is, to think how lightly they were slaine, notwithstanding that they were Lords of the whole world; And how easie a matter it was for a Captaine, hauing the fauour and friendship of fiue or sixe Legions, to make himselfe to be obeyed. So as it seemeth that he which first had intelligence of the Emperors death, and was any thing friended, and therewith durst aduenture, was commonly chosen for his successor, as we said of IVLIANVS: And that which is worse, that he which murdered the last Emperour commonly became his heire; as wee see in MACRINVS and others. And touching him of whom wee now discourse, one feeble old woman, and childe of fourteene or fifteene

fifteene yeeres old were sufficient to ouerthrow and ruine him, being an ancient, wise and mighty Emperor, and to bereaue him both of his life and Empire, and quietly and in peace to enjoy the same, if the contentment and rule of the wicked may be called peace and quietnes.

The seruice of God the surest command.

By this aforesaid it appears more cleer than the light, how variable and inconstant all things are in this world: and that there is no other firm and stable dominion or kingdome, but the seruice of God: whereof the faithfull Christians in those daies had especiall care, and sought no worldly dominion, Magistracies nor Empire, but to liue holily and vprightly; and so, contemning the world, attained the euerlasting Kingdome of heauen. But these vnhappy Infidels forbare not to commit any cruelty or treason whatsoeuer, so as thereby they might getre the supreme gouernment and command, although it were but for three daies. God for their sinnes permitted (for the example of others) that by the same means whereby they obtained it, by the self same they commonly lost it; being either put to death by the sword, or else by treason, as they had done by others. And, that which is worst of all, together with their bodies they lost their miserable soules: in such sort, as is said, it hapned to the Emperor MACRINVS, who died in the yeer of yeer of our Lord 220.

THE LIFE OF HELIOGABALVS, ONELY OF THIS NAME, FIFT OF THOSE WHICH WERE CALLED ANTONINI, AND FOVRE AND TWENTITH EMPEROVR OF ROME.

(***)

THE AROVMENT.

HEliogabalus, being a Priest of the Sunne, attaining to the Empire, as soon as hee had taken the Imperiall dignity became so wicked, that in filthinesse he far surpassed all his Predecessors. He was most dishoneste in his life, more than befitted a lasciuious and intemperate man; and was so addicted to women, that he granted them to build a Senate by themselues. When he was neer to the sea, he would eat no meate but such as were bred far within the land: and when he was farre from it, he would eat nothing but sea-fish; neither would hee eat of any thing that was not of an excessiue price. He was inclined to no kinde of vertue, neither regarded any but parasites, ruffians, bawds, and such like persons: and all his actions were so abominable, and his viciousnes so great, that to write the same, were to amasse an heap of villany. He made one which was his cosen german, Cæsar; a very honest and vertuous young man, whose name was Alexianus. *He was slain by his souldiers; who, because they could not cast him into a most filthy ditch, trailed him through the Cities, and threw him into the riuer Tiber, he hauing held the Empire for a certain time: the truth whereof is vncertain, Writers do so much differ; and had such a death as his filthy life had deserued.*



MAcrinvs dying as he deserued, ANTONINVS HELIOGABALVS, without any contradiction, was made Emperor: who in truth proued to be such, that in Histories there ought no memoriall to bee held of him, nor mention to be made of his life; to the end, that if it were possible, none should knowe that such a monster had euer attained to the Majesty of the Romane Empire, if we had not already written the liues of CALIGVLA, NERO, VITELLIVS, COMMODVS, and such others. But as one and the same ground commonly produceth vnholsome hearbs full of poyson, and which kill; and likewise good and holesome, which heale, and feedeth both sheepe and serpents: So in our Historie, in recompence of these wicked Princes, we will oppose OCTAVIAN, VESPASIAN, TITVS, TRAIAN, ADRIAN, ANTONINVS PIVS,

VS, M. AVRELIVS, and (in part) SEPTIMIVS SEVERVS; who were singular Emperors, and gouerned the Empire with great wisdome and equity. And so the vices of the one are to be laied open, as well as the vertues of the other; to the end, that if any Prince of our time shall read their liues, he may see how abominable and detestable their actions were; and so, eschewing the euil, and making choice of the good, may follow the same; and may consider how short a time those cruell and vitious Emperors raigned, and what shamefull and fatall ends they had; and how that the good liued and gouerned longer time, and ended their daies in peace and quiet, dying their naturall death: except some which were murdered by traitors, to vsurp the Empire.

But, coming to HELIOGABALVS: when he had obtained the victory, and that MACRINVS was slain, and he chosen Emperor, hee wrote the most louing and kinde Letters to *Rome* that could be deuised. But the Senate and people of *Rome* did hardly digest the newes; for, they would rather haue had MACRINVS: but, daring to do nothing to the contrary, they yeelded obedience to HELIOGABALVS; of whom they presently conceiued a good hope, for that which they heard of his gallant feature, and of the good constitution of his body, and for the names sake of ANTONINVS, which in *Rome* was exceedingly much beloued and respected. In the beginning of his Raign (by reason of his yong age) all things were ordered by the counsell and direction of his grandmother MESA, and her fauourites: who, taking order for all matters in the East, determined to come speedily to *Rome* with the yong Emperor, which shee put in execution; but was driuen to stay longer than shee purposed, by reason of the winter which was very tempestuous. Wherefore she wintred in *Bithynia*, where he began to discouer his wicked inclination, giuing himself to most odious luxurie: and apparelling himself in such attire as was far vnfit for an Emperor, and feeding on most delicious fare, he gaue himself ouer to all sensuality: which faults his prudent old grandmother endeuoured by speech and good admonishment to reform and amend; but she preuailed nothing. Being comn to *Rome*, hee was most solemnly receiued; where he spent the whole time of his Raign in such manner, as wee haue nothing else to write of this Emperor, but of his abominable vices: which were such, that I neither can nor will describe them for the filthinesse thereof. The first thing he took in hand after his coming to *Rome*, was, To build a Temple to his god the Sun, or HELIOGABALVS, whose Priest hee had been in *Phœnicia*. Hee procured that the Christians (whose number at that time was infinit) should also hould that for a Temple, and therein should vse their ceremonies, make their prayers, and doo their deuotion to CHRIST. But it pleased not God to permit, that the Sun, being a creature, should in worship be made equall to the Creator. He shewed himself so effeminate, and so addicted to women, that the first time he went to the Senate, he caried his mother SYMIAMIRA with him, and took order that her opinion should be demanded in all causes; and that from thenceforth shee should bee present when any matters of importance were determined: a thing neuer seen, that any woman vntill then had any voice in the Senate of *Rome*. After this, hee made a Chapter-house or Senate apart; where women should meet and consult, what apparell and attire the Roman Matrones should wear. And, proceeding to a far more shamefull practice, he commanded certain Stews to be made in his Palaces, of common women, for his friends and fauourites. And, delighting himself so much in the company of such, he commanded vpon a day all the women that could be found of that name and life, to be assembled together; and hee, clad in womens attire, came into the place where they were, and made a very set and studied Oration vnto them; calling them *Commilitones*; a word vsed by Captains to their souldiers when they would doo them honour, by calling them their fellows and companions in Arms. The matters which there were treated of, were inuentions & means how to practise their filthinesse and abomination: and thither he brought with him ruffians and bawds, which were his Brokers in those detestable actions and assemblies. In truth, this HELIOGABALVS was so detestable in all manner of vices, that it cannot be sufficiently expressed. He was so great a spender, and so prodigall in his attire, and in the furniture of his house, in his fare and diet, and his other follies, as that which is written of him seems incredible. HERODIANVS and AELIVS LAMPRIDIVS write his life; wherein they recount most strange matters, besides what other Authors report of him. All his study and care was, To deuise how he might spend excessiuely, and to finde out such dainties and delicates as neuer had bin thought of. He neuer sate but among sweet-smelling flowrs, mixed with Amber, Musk, and other most exquisite sweet odors; neither would he eat any thing but should be of an excessiue price, and sought means to make all those things which he did eat to be most costly; and vsed to

Mesa grandmother and gouernesse to Heliogabalus.

Heliogabalus built a temple in Rome, and dedicated the same to the Sunne.

A Senate of women made in Rome by Heliogabalus.

The prodigalitie of Heliogabalus.

say, that that meate had no taste, which was not deare bought. He attired himselfe in cloath of gold and purple, set with pearles and most precious stones: and euen on his shooes he wore stones of inestimable value. The chamber wherein he lay and all his palace, was furnished with cloath of gold, siluer, and of silke; and his beds were of cloath of gold, of siluer, and of silke, couered with Roses and sweete flowers; among which were strawed many iewels and pearles: And all the way whereupon hee should set his feet, betweene his chamber and the place where he took horse or coach, when he would ride abroad, he made to be couered with the powder of gold & siluer: for he disdained to tread vpon the earth, as other men did. All his tables, chests, chaires, and vessels of seruice for his chamber, euen to the basest offices, as close stooles, chamber-pots, and such like, were all of fine gold. He made no account of wax light, but had in his hall and chambers great lamps, which in steed of oile burned most excellent Balsame, brought from *Iudea* and *Arabia*: and euen his very vrinals were made of Onyx and other most precious stones. His expences were so infinite and so excessiue, as no Kings reuenewes in the world were sufficient to defray the charge thereof, but his onely: for he deuoured all the reuenewes of *Spaine*, *France*, *Africa*, part of *Germanie*, *Italie*, *England*, *Sicilia*, *Grecia*, *Asia*, *Syria*, *Egypt*, *Arabia*, and of all the Ilands and prouinces of the world; and yet all this was not sufficient but that he endured want, by reason of his prodigious expences: for he neuer ware any one sute of apparell twice, being such as wee haue said. His fingers were euer full of rings; and those which he had had once put off, he neuer ware any more: and so in plate of gold or siluer, he would neuer drinke twice of one cup: which hee gaue to him that serued and attended on him that day. And the very Bathes wherein hee did vse to bathe himselfe, must be newy built, and furnished with perfumes, and most precious odours; and after once bathing they were to be throwne downe: so as they built new Bathes continually. His matteresses and beds were neither of wooll, flocks, nor feathers; but of the downe growing vnder the wings of Partriges. He made certaine feasts in *Rome*, which were the greatest and most sumptuous that euer were: and hee gaue to the citizens and souldiers a donatiue and distribution of money and corne, to an infinit value. After the feasts and sacrifices were ended, he gaue to the people (as HERODIANVS reporteth) great store of plate, gold, siluer, and other iewels; which truly was the cause why they endured this detestable man the the little time he liued in the Empire, for the desire of of those gifts and benefits which they enioyed by him; as also for that his grandmother, being a most wise and discreete woman, sought by all meanes to reforme his voluptuous sensualitie and rioting, and to procure a good order in the gouernment. But there were great oppressions in the prouinces; and the barbarous nations inuaded the frontiers of the Empire. For he gaue all offices and places of charge vnto wicked men, which did accompanie him in his abominations, and by their counsell he was gouerned: for, depriuing all good and vertuous men from all charge, he sent them into exile. Among which his fauorites, one whose name was ZOTICVS was so priuate, and in such fauour with him, that he was held as a Lord ouer all the rest. This mans counsell was as a law vnto him, and by his direction all offices and Magistracies were sold; and he made Consuls such as were the sonnes of slaues, and men of most base condition.

Zoticus a fauorite of Heliogabalus,

The like order he obserued in the chusing of Generals and Lieutenants, giuing those charges vnto base and simple men: for which and his other vices, notwithstanding that they made benefit of his prodigality, yet both the people & soldiers began to wish his death, so as he was oftentimes in great danger. Which when his mother & grandmother perceiued, they perswaded him to adopt his cosin germane ALEXIANVS, and to make him his companion in the Empire, who was the son of MAMEA his mothers sister, which he performed accordingly, and ALEXIANVS was called ALEXANDER SEVERVS; ALEXANDER after the name of the great ALEXANDER K. of *Macedonia*; and SEVERVS after SEPTIMIVS SEVERVS, grandfather to HELIOGABELVS.

Alexander Seuerus chosen by Heliogabalus for his companion in the Empire.

This young man was so vvell inclined, and so vvell bred, that during the time his Cosen led a vvicked and infamous life, hee spent his time in learning, conuersing vvith learned men, and such as vvere good and honest, and exercising himselfe in Armes and in such other practices, as vvere fit for a Knight and a vertuous Gentleman, and sought excellent masters to instruct him in all those faculties. Wherefore, all men, conceiuing good hope of him, began to loue and affect him; and the hatred vvhich they bare against HELIOGABALVS dayly encreased. Which hee perceiuing, sought meanes to kill ALEXIANVS, or at the least to depriue him of the name of CÆSAR, and his successor: But he could not effect it, by reason of the diligence vsed by his Grandmother in protecting him: and also for that

The credit of Alexander Seuerus.

that the men of warre deerely loued him; but vpon a time they would haue slaine HELIOGABALVS for that cause, as he was walking in a garden: where he escaped by hiding himselfe in a corner, so as he was not seene; and through the entreatie of ANTIOCHIANVS who was his Pretorian Prefect, the souldiers returned to their Campe, where remaining in a tumult and mutining, they threatned him; and vpon composition, they required that HELIOGABALVS should put from him, certaine vicious and wicked persons which were very priuate with him, and which sold and gaue offices for bribes; and after this manner dispatched the businesse which men had with the Emperour. They also required that certaine of their companies might haue the particular guard of ALEXANDER SEVERVS, to the end that HELIOGABALVS should not kill him; and that his fauorites and familiars should not conuerse with him, for corrupting him with their euill conditions: all which demaunds were presently put in execution.

But after that the furie of the Cohorts was pacified, HELIOGABALVS returned to his former abominable vices, gluttonies, and incredible expenses. First when he went forth of *Rome* (as sometimes he did) he had with him six hundred chariots and horselitters: the principall carriage was most dishoneft young boies and wenches, with bawdes and their interpreters, and all was little enough, considering his insatiable beastlinesse: for as he was most luxurious, so did he account it for a greatnes, to haue the companie of one woman but once; except her two whom he was married, and that one he neither loued nor regarded. For as HERODIANVS reporteth, he first married a Romane Ladie, of a Noble house, to whom he gaue the name of AVGVSTA, and other titles; and within a while after he forsook her and depriued her both of her name & honour; and married himselfe to a Vestall virgin: which in the vanitie of the Gentiles was held for a matter so religious, that she which had carnall knowledge of a man, was buried aliue. And so he left her and took another; behauing himselfe as a most beastly barbarous man.

Heliogabalus his progresse.

Heliogabalus his wiues.

And amongst other matters, he did one thing which the diuell himselfe would neuer haue imagined, which was, he cõmanded that all businesses to be done by day, should be dispatched by night; and those that were to be done by night, should be done by day; and so he arose from his bed at the sun setting, and was then saluted as other Emperours were in the morning: and he laid him to sleepe about day breaking, so as it seemed that the world went backwards. All his studie was to finde meanes to spend excessiuely, in his diet, and in all other things. That supper which was of least price did commonly cost thirtie pound waight of gold, which after our computation, might amount to the value of aboue a thousand pounds starling; and there were some which did cost threescore thousand crownes. Sometimes he promised to giue his guests a Phenix to eate, whereof (they say) there is but one in the world, or else he would giue them a great quantitie of gold for it: which he afterwards performed. When he was neere to the sea, he would neuer eate any fish, but land fowle, and other flesh which should be brought from farre. And when he was farre from the sea, he would eate nothing but fish, which by Posts was brought fresh and aliue, to the end that it should be deere and costly. And for the same reason he would eate such things as were neuer thought of, and had a great quantitie of euery thing: as, of the combes of Cockes, the tongues of Peacockes and of Nightingales. To all his whole Court (which was without number) he made ordinarily to be giuen to eat, certaine great beasts, stuffed of farced with puddings, made of the liuers and lights of Peacockes, of small birds braines, Partriges egges, Parrots, and Phesants heads. He also kept certaine dogs and hounds, which did eate nothing but the soules of Geese: and his Lions (which were many) were fed with Phesants and other costly birds, for this was all his studie. Truly, who shall well consider of this mans expences, may coniecture what the charge might be; and how hard they were to be gotten. He also spent infinite summes of money in keeping of all kinds of the most fierce wild beasts in the world, which were brought from farre countries, as Lions, Panthers, Ounces, Tigres, Hippotames, Crocodiles and many other such like. And if he were by the sea side, hee accounted it a speciall greatnes of minde, to sinke such shipping as he should finde there laden with merchandise, paying afterwards the worth both of shippe and goods. And being vpon a time reprooued thereof by a friend, who asked him what he ment to waste and consume so much, warning him to take heede that he stood not in neede hereafter; he answered vvhat better thing can there be, then for a man to be heire to himselfe liuing: And said moreouer, that he desired not to haue any children, for that they peraduenture through desire to rule vvould conspire against him.

Heliogabalus turned the day into night, and the night into day.

Heliogabalus his diet.

Finally, the vices and leud conditions of this wicked Emperour were such; as in that kinde, none either before or after him was to be compared with him: wherefore I will not spend any longer time in so bad a subiect; for the rest of his doings were so filthie and abominable, as they neither may well be written, neither ought to be published; and so could not long be endured: neither were the meanes vsed by his grandmother MESA sufficient to protect him; nor to pacifie the wrath & rage the people had conceiued against him. Hauing (according to HERODIANVS) raigned six yeeres (yet AVRELIVS VICTOR, and EVTROPIVS say, that he raigned but two yeeres and eight monthes) the Pretorian Souldiers conspired against him. And as AELIVS LAMPRIDIVS reporteth, they came one day armed from their Camp; and hauing slaine most of his seruants, and such as were his companions in his beastly actions, they killed him in this manner. First they haled him out of a Priuie, wherein he (flying from them) had hidden himselfe; and then drawing him from thence, they threw him into a most filthie sink: from whence (for that therein was not roome enough for him) they trailed him like a dogge through the principall places of *Rome*, and threw him into the riuer *Tiber*, and tied great stones and waights about him, to the end that his body should neuer be found againe, and so want buriall. All this was done to the good liking and contentment of the people; and the Senate also approoued the same, and commanded that he should no more be called ANTONINVS; and that in detestation of him, no other Emperour should euer afterwards be called by that name; and that he should be called TIBERINVS, according to the manner of his death. HERODIANVS writeth, that he was slaine in the Campe out of *Rome*, whither he went with his cosen ALEXANDER SEVERVS: and that they killed his mother also, who went with them. Whersoeuer it was, it was in this manner, and he died according to his deserts, and conformable to the life which he had led: for it is the will of God, that wicked princes make euill ends. For being by his diuine prouidence made lords to gouerne and giue good example to their people, to minister iustice and equitie, and to correct and punish the wicked and malefactors; these by their owne euill example hurt and corrupt others; and protect and support the wicked. Let Kings and great Lords and Princes know, that as they haue greater power then others, so haue they lesse libertie to sinne and to commit wickednes; and so God inflicteth greater shame and punishment vpon them, then vpon other men. HELIOGABALVS, after the opinion of HERODIANVS, died at the age of twentie yeeres: for he saith that he raigned six yeeres, and all agree that at the age of fouiteene yeeres, he came to the Empire. AVRELIVS VICTOR saith, that he died in the seuenteenth yeere of his age, and is of opinion that he raigned not fully three yeeres; which (according to EVSEBIVS) was in the yeere of our Lord 224. whereby it appeareth that this Emperour raigned not aboue foure yeeres, and so the same EVSEBIVS affirmeth in his ecclesiasticall Historie.

The vituperable death of Heliogabalus.

Ann. dom. 224.

THE LIFE OF ALEXANDER SEVERVS, ONELY OF THIS NAME, SECOND OF THE SEVERI, AND FIVE AND TWENTITH EMPEROVR of ROME.

THE ARGVMENT.

For the death of Heliogabalus, his cosen Alexander Seuerus tooke the Empire, vnder whom it seemed that the Romane comonwealth had a breathing for he retaining in the imperiall dignitie, those good parts which before he had learned, desired, that all things should be ordred and gouerned by wise and learned men. He was very seuere to Iudges, sharply punishing those which for bribes or other meanes had swarued from the right line of reason and equitie. In warres he was most fortunate, as a man which gouerned with wisdome; and he returned to Rome triumphing from the East, to the great contentment of the Romane people. He was no enemie to the Christians, but gaue libertie to such as would become Christian,

Christian, setting vp the image of Christ in his Temples: and he had an intent to haue erected a particular Temple to his name, but was diuerted by his Priests. Finally, the Germane souldiers, vnable to indure the seueritie of his militarie discipline, slew him, together with his mother Mammea *instigated thereto by one* Maximinus. *His death was much deplored in Rome; for it was hoped, that seeing in his youth he gouerned so well, he would do much better when he should come to riper yeeres.*

AFter the darke clowdes of the forepassed miseries and sorrowes which miserable *Rome* had endured, it pleased God to send them ioy, and contentment: for when this accursed HELIOGABALVS was dead; by the common consent of the Senate, and of the Romane people, and of all the men of warre, his cosin german ALEXANDER SEVERVS, was sworne and obeyed for Emperour, who was the sonne of HELIOGABALVS mothers sister called MAMMEA; and his fathers name was VARIVS, borne in *Syria*, in a citie called *Auersa*. He came to the Empire being of the age of 16. yeeres, and gouerned the same little more then 13. yeeres, with such wisedome and integritie, that he is accounted one of the best Emperours that euer hath bin in the world: whereto was a great help the discretion and good aduice of his mother, who was a good and discreet woman, vnto whom her sonne was most obedient. AELIVS LAMPRIDIVS, and HERODIANVS report so many excellencies of this Emperour, that of necessitie I must needes make some little stay, as on a pleasing subiect. First, he was much affected to learning; and hauing excellent men for his maisters and tutors, he was very skilfull in all the liberall sciences: for he was a good Mathematician, and did professedlie vnderstand the rules of Geometrie. He was much delighted with Musick, and could paint and carue very well, and had good skill in Song: but he neuer sung but in secret, in the hearing of some of his chamber. He was a very good Poet, and wrote some workes in verse, and could play on the viol, the organs & the flute, more then indifferentlie well: but after he was Emperor, no man euer saw him do it. Vnspeakeable was the ioy which was in *Rome* vpon the day of his election, and comming to the Empire; and infinite were the blessings which by the Senate & people of *Rome* were powred vpō him that day. Beginning his raigne with the loue and good will of all men, he gouerned the same with such discretion, as he rather semed a wise old man then a youth: and by the aduice & counsel of his wise mother, he chose the wisest, best, and most experienced men that could be found for his counsellers: and he neither did, nor decreed any thing without their opinion and aduice; notwithstanding that of himselfe he was of singular iudgement, and so wise, as no man could deceiue him. He had euer neere vnto him DOMICIVS VLPIANVS, a wise man and excellent Lawyer, and of a good & holie life, by whose counsel he did chiefely dispose of all matters in his gouernment: although that at that time there were of his counsell FABIVS SABINVS a iust and vpright man, who was called the CATO of his time; and with these, POMPONIVS and ALEPHENVS, AFRICANVS, VENVLEIVS, MODESTINVS, IVLIVS PAVLVS, MECIANVS, CELSVS, PROCVLVS, MARTIANVS, CALISTRATVS FLORENTINVS; all noble, vertuous and learned men in the lawes, and which had bin schollers to the great PAPINIANVS: vnto which he ioined other most noble men; as his kinseman CATILIVS SEVERVS, CAIVS MARCELLVS, AELIVS SERENIANVS, which were good and vpright men, and others whom he found out, to the end he might in all things follow their directions & aduice as he euer did; by reason whereof, his gouernment was highlie extolled and pleasing, and there was a sodaine alteration in all things: for in the time of HELIOGABALVS, and of his father BASSIANVS, many insolencies and disorders were committed and tolerated.

Mammea was Seuerus his mother.

Wise and learned men, Alexander Seuerus his Counsellors.

Wherefore the first thing that ALEXANDER SEVERVS did, was, To reform all the offices and magistracies in his owne House and Imperiall Palace, displacing and discharging all those vitious and dishonest persons which HELIOGABALVS had established there; neither would he admit any man to his seruice, or to any office in his house, that was not an honest man, and of good fame and behauiour. The like hee did by all the Iudges which HELIOGABALVS had made; and also, in the Senate and in the order of Knighthood, hee restored to their offices and dignities those which vnjustly had been deprived. He obserued so good a rule and order in his gouernment, that all matters of justice were to bee determined by men learned in

Alexander first reformed his owne house.

the lawes: and matters concerning the warres were managed by wise men, and such as had experience therein; and by such wise old men as were well read in Antiquities and in antient Histories. Finally, hee neuer gaue any charge to any man either for fauour or reward, but for desert and sufficiency onely; being thereto chosen by him and the Senate.

He held another custome which in my opinion was very commendable; that when hee resolued to send to any City or Prouince a new Gouerner, hee gaue them to vnderstand thereof, making his name knowne to them before hand; to the end, that if any man could except against him why he ought not to be preferred, another might be prouided; but the allegation must be just and true: otherwise, they were grieuously punished who did falsely slander or defame him. This custome it may bee he learned of the Christians of that time, who chose their Priests and Bishops by voices, for their vertues and good works; and in no case he would permit, that any office of justice, of what kinde soeuer, should be bought or sould; and he made diligent inquiry thereof, and did rigorously punish the offenders: for, said he, He that buyeth his office, must sell justice; and I cannot endure merchants of charges and offices: for, if I tolerate them, I cannot afterwards condemn their doings; and I shall be ashamed to punish him that bought, seeing I permitted him to buy.

The saying of Alexander.

Besides all this, he was a most seuere punisher of such Iudges as took bribes; and vsed to say, that he alwaies had his finger in a readinesse to pull out that Iudges eies which was partiall, or a receiuer of bribes & rewards; wherein he was so extreme, that, among other Senators, one coming to do him reuerence who had bin accused thereof, he cried out aloud, that ARABINVS (for, so was his name) did not onely liue, but hould him for senseless and of no worth, seeing he dared to appear in his presence. Also they write of him, that he, seeing an vnjust Iudge, was so troubled therewith, and choler did so much abound and ouercome him, that it made him to vomit. To the contrary, he did greatly honour those Gouerners and Iudges which were good; and, when he passed through their Prouinces, he took them into his litter or chariot with him, and bestowed many fauours and rewards vpon them; and, the better to vnderstand the truth concerning these men, he vsed singular diligence and care, the manner whereof was this: Hee had certain secret and vnknowne chosen honest men, which diligently looked into the dealings of Magistrates, and sought to knowe the truth of all that passed in all the Prouinces of the Empire. Which care I would to God the Princes of our time had; for, besides that justice should then be duely executed, they should knowe the good from the bad: and then they should bee informed of many injuries done in secret, which for fear are concealed by those which endure them; so as the truth neuer comes to light, and the errors and abuses are seldome punished.

SEVERVS desired also that good Iudges, Gouerners and Magistrates, should remain long in their offices and charges; and did vse to say, that it was not a sufficient punishment to deprive an euill Gouerner of his charge, but to giue him most seuere punishment; yea euen to bereaue him of life. When hee sent any one to succeed in the place where had been a good Iudge, hee sent to him to giue him thanks in the name and behalf of the whole Common-wealth, and bestowed rewards vpon him; as, possessions, heards of cattell, and corn, with many other things.

Alexander liberall, but not prodigall.

As for money, he gaue but little: for, this Prince although he was very liberall, yet was he nothing prodigall; and the gifts which he gaue were for the most part such goods as fell to him by confiscation, and by order of law and justice, and such things as became void by some mens death which died without issue or heirs, and so fell to him. But of his money he was euer very sparing: for, he vsed to say, that the publique rents and reuenewes ought not to be spent, but in publique Buildings, in the warres, and in publique occasions; and not vpon the Princes Fauorites and Familiars: and so both within and without *Rome* he built most sumptuous and stately edifices of Palaces, Baths, Theatres, Courts of Audience, and many other. He abated the ordinary charges of his house, and reduced it to a conuenient order, abolishing the superfluous Expenses of his Predecessors. He apparelled himself decently, but not costly, and neuer ware any precious stones or jewels, neither would he haue any in his chamber; houlding it for a vanity, that a thing of so small a quantity should be of so great a price. His diet was ordinary, neither delicious nor costly. He was a great feeder: for, he had a good stomach, not that he took any delight therein. In drinking he was very temperate, and neuer exceeded mediocrity. And although he were very carefull of his publique Rents, and the Reuenues of his Exchequer, yet he neuer increased the same, neither inuented any new impositions; but rather mitigated and limited those which HELIOGABALVS had imposed: so as in his time the third part of the tribute was not paid, as was in the time of his Predecessors. He also reformed the coins of gold and

and siluer, and the value thereof; so as, although it cannot be denied but that he was most carefull in augmenting his treasure, and in preseruing the same, he cannot be charged to haue wronged or endamaged any man. He punished all offenses ordinarily, but without cruelty: and aboue all he was most seuere against theeues: vpon whom he had no mercy; but was very liberal to such as he knew to be poor, to the end they should haue no occasion to steal, or to couet other mens goods.

In all other actions hee was very mercifull, and shewed great clemency; in such sort, that in his time time there was not any Senator put to death, neither any other man, but that his accusation was throughly heard; and his offense sufficiently proued. Hee neuer gaue any office, or charge of gouernment, for fauour, or in reward of seruice done him, but for desert; and vsed to say, that offices and places of charge were not to be giuen to such as sought or labourced to haue them, but to those which refused them. He neuer chose any Senator, but by the voice and consent of the whole Senate: much lesse made he any man a Knight that was the sonne of a bondman, or of base condition, as other Emperors had done. Besides all this, he was so affable and milde in condition, that he admitted any man to his presence, and heard him willingly. He louingly visited all men of esteem in time of their sicknes, and permitted any man to inform him in person of his affairs: and, hauing vnderstood the demands to bee reasonable, hee performed their requests; if otherwise, hee debated the matter with them, and made them to see their error. Being sometimes reproued by his mother and wife, who was the daughter of SVLPITIVS (a man worthy to haue been, and had been Consul) alleaging, that hee beeing so priuate and familiar made his Raign of lesse authority and reputation: hee answered, that it was true; but yet it was thereby the more firm and durable.

Among all his vertues he had one which did excell; whereby it is to beleeued, that although he were an Infidell, yet God gaue him the grace to gouern well: which was, that he permitted all those that would, to become Christians; so as in all his time there was no persecution, neither were the Christians grieued: and in his Temples he had the image and picture of CHRIST, and of ABRAHAM. But, as a blinde man without knowledge, he accounted him among his other gods; and would haue acknowledged and adored CHRIST for a God, and haue built him a Temple a-part, if hee had not been dissuaded by his Priests. Notwithstanding all these good conditions wherewith this Prince was adorned, the people did not forbear to murmur against him; complaining, that he was too much ruled by his mother, who was reported to bee a most couetous woman, although in all other matters she was held for excellently wise, and very honest and vertuous.

Alexander held the image of Christ and of Abraham in his temples.

ALEXANDER, houlding so good a form and rule of gouernment in time of peace, failed not to doo the like in time of war, and in the exercise of military discipline; so as in the warres which hapned he throughly performed the office & duty of a good and most valiant Captain, especially in those which were most dangerous, as in brief I will declare; particularly in that which he had against the Persians, wherein hee obtained most noble victories: and although HERODIANVS writeth otherwise, yet in this place he is not to bee beleeued; for, all other Writers affirm the contrary. And this his notable victorie against ARTAXERXES the mighty King of the Persians, is recited by ÆLIVS LAMPRIDIVS, EVTROPIVS, SEXTVS AVRELIVS VICTOR, EVSEBIVS, PAVLVS OROSIVS, and other antient Authors: so as HERODIANVS onely writeth this war after another manner, to the dishonour of ALEXANDER, being deceiued by false information or report; or otherwise of malice, or vpon some particular occasion.

To the end that the Reader may the better vnderstand this war which ALEXANDER had with the Persians, it shall be requisite he call to memory, that in antient time, when the mighty King CYRVS translated the Monarchie from the Medes to the Persians, ouercoming King ASTYAGES: this their Monarchie and power lasted 209 and odde yeeres, and they grew verie rich and powerfull; vntill, in the time of DARIVS, who gouerned infinite Nations and prouinces, ALEXANDER the Great took Arms against him and entred *Asia*: where coming to a battaile with him, DARIVS was ouerthrowne and slaine, and ALEXANDER made himselfe Lord of *Asia*; and so the Monarchie of the Persians ended, passing to the Grecians: and the kingdomes of *Asia* remained for some space vnder the successors of ALEXANDER the Great; vntill that a valiant man whose name was ARSACES, borne in the countrie of the Parthians, arose and made himselfe King; whereby the dominion of the descendents and linage of the Greekes, was transported to the Parthians; and it became a most famous kingdome, and

The originall, succession, and continuance of the kingdoms & monarchie of the Persians.

greatly feared during the time of his successors, which lasted aboue foure hundred yeeres; and the most of them (after his name) were called ARSACIDES. With this Nation of the Parthians, the Romanes had often very daungerous warres, and they euer stood in feare of them.

Artabanus the last king of the Persians.

ARTABANVS being King of the Parthians, of whom in the life of BASSIANVS and of MACRINVS we made mention; a Persian borne, being a man of base linage, but of great courage and very politike, whose name was ARTAXERXES, took Armes and rebelled, and by little and little grew to be very powerfull; and comming to a battaile with ARTABANVS, he ouerthrew and slew him, and made himselfe a mightie King. And so he againe restored the Kingdome of the Persians, and defeated the kingdome of the Parthians: Which the Romans were neuer able to doe. And he gaue it out, that he would restore the kingdome of the Persians to their ancient power and greatnesse: and not content herewith, he began to inuade the borders of the Romane Empire, infesting the countries of *Syria* and *Mesopotamia*. These newes being brought to ALEXANDER, who was then in *Rome*, and had therein raigned three yeers in peace, exceedingly beloued of all men; and hauing intelligence of the power and forces of this King: duly considering thereof, and holding the action to be very honourable, he presently with all expedition made preparation for this warre, and went himselfe in person into *Asia with an infinite number of men of warre*. HERODIANVS writeth, that he first sent his Ambassadors vnto ARTAXERXES, requiring him to containe himselfe without the bounds of the Empire, and to liue in peace with him. Which request ARTAXERXES (seeing himselfe rich in treasure and very mightie) would not performe; perswading himselfe that it was an easie matter for him to become Lord of all *Asia*. SEVERVS being come into *Syria*, the wars began on either side to be very cruel and bloudie. In which warre he obserued so good order and discipline, that it hath not been read or heard, that any other excellent Captaine hath shewed greater iudgement, or vsed greater diligence. First, he maintained such iustice in his Army, and so seuerely punished theft, robberies, violences, iniuries and misdemeanors committed by his souldiers, that his Campe seemed to be a very well gouerned Citie. He was very carefull concerning munition and victuals, as well to prouide them, as to preserue them; and that no man should robbe or defraude any man: so as if any Captaine or Corronel detained neuer so small a quantitie of his souldiers allowance in any thing, he was condemned to die. And in other things he was very diligent and carefull, principally in curing those which were sick or wounded in the Armie. He endeuoured that all his souldiers should alwaies bee in very good order, well apparelled, and well armed, and their horses very ready and well furnished, their Enfignes and Tents very neate and good: He behaued himselfe very familiarly with his souldiers, and when he was at dinner or supper, his Pauilion stood euer open, and he sate in the view and sight of all men, hauing no other meate, but such as all the rest did eate. Besides all this, he paied his souldiers with aduantage, and bestowed many rewards vpon them: and otherwise he was very seuere in punishing offences; so as if his Armie marched among gardens and orchards, they did not any thing that might deserue to be reprehended; and he that did otherwise, was whipped with rods of iron. But if he were a man of worth and qualitie, he reproued him with sharpe and reproachfull speeches; hauing these words euer in his mouth, Doe not that to another, which thou wouldst not another should doe vnto thee: which he learned (as hee said) of the Christians. Other more hainous offences or mutinies, he punished with such rigor, that sometimes he tithed whole legions; which was, to put to death the tenth man of all the legion. He did as little endure that any Captaine or Coronell should wrong a souldier, or that hee should diminish the least part of a souldiers pay, or allowance. And if he saw that a souldier was poore and out of apparell, he relieued him with what he thought necessarie for him: for (quoth he) how can that souldier liue vnder due command, which hath not clothes on his back, and money in his purse? for hunger and penurie will put him in despaire, and make him aduenture to doe that which he ought not. For these and such like matters, which would bee long to relate, this Emperour was infinitely beloued, and feared by all his men of warre: and in his time souldiers were better ordered, gouerned and trained then in the time of any other Emperor.

Warres with the Persians.

The singular good orders and prouision for the Armie.

Note the martiall discipline of Alexander Seuerus.

The pietie of Alexander.

What it is to tithe a Legion.

Returning to the Persian warre; during the time it lasted, there passed betweene the Armies of the one and other partie, many great skirmishes and encounters; wherein were many notable feates of Armes, vntill that at the last they came to a battaile wherein they ioyned with all their whole forces; ARTAXERXES bringing in his Armie an innumerable company of footmen

men, and 130000 horsemen (a proud and bold nation, for the victories which they had lately obtained against the Parthians) and had moreouer in his Armie seuen hundred Elephants, and one thousand and eight hundred Chariots armed with sithes, which the Persians then vsed in the wars. The Emperor of the other side brought so many men, both of foot and horse, as hee who was Lord and Commander of the Roman Empire might be able to leuie. SEVERVS, in this battell performing the office of an excellent Captain, visiting euery squadron, incouraging the souldiers with most kinde speeches, calling them by their proper names, promising them great rewards, and fighting in person a great part of the day like a valiant Knight; in the euening (for, so long did the Fight continue) hee wanne one of the most fierce and cruell battels that euer was fought in the world. King ARTAXERXES escaped by flight; and there were slain in that battell ten thousand horsemen, and so many footmen that they could not be numbred: as it appeareth by the Oration which SEVERVS made in the Senate after his return to *Rome*; which is recited by LAMPRIDIVS. And by the same it appeareth, that there were slain by the Romans two hundred Elephants, and that three hundred were taken, with one thousand armed chariots, and a great number of Persians; which afterwards were ransomed for a great summe of money. So as after this victory, the Emperor, without any resistance, recouered those Countries which ARTAXERXES had taken: and, passing through *Mesopotamia*, he enlarged the bounds of the Empire; and, leauing therein such a guard as he thought fit, hee returned to the City of *Antioch*. Being in that City (according to the custom of the Roman Generals) hee paid his souldiers, and gaue them great rewards, diuiding the spoils of the victory among them; so as they remained infinitely ioyfull and well contented.

130000 horse-men in one army

A most great battell fought betweene the Romans and the Persians.

And so, leauing all parts of the East in peace and quiet, he returned to *Rome*; where hee entred in triumph with greater solemnity and pomp than euer any had triumphed before him; his chariot being drawn (to the wonder of the behoulders) by Elephants which he had taken: and all the people and Senate of *Rome* blessed him, and receiued him with vnspeakeable joy. At that Instant, FVRIVS CELSVS obtained a great victory against the Mauritanians and Tingitanians in *Africa*, which rebelled. And, in *Germany*, VARIVS MACRINVS had very good successe: and, from *Armenia*, IVNIVS PALMATVS returned with victory.

Alexander came into Rome in triumph.

The victory of Furius Celsus in Africa.

After this triumph was ended, SEVERVS made the accustomed donatiue and distribution among the souldiers and people of *Rome*, with the feasts and ordinary huntings; remaining in *Rome* certain yeers, in hearing causes and doing iustice. And in such sort hee diuided the houres, as there was no jot of time lost, and the time of leasure he spent in reading of excellent books; principally, PLATO'S Common-wealth, and TVLLIE'S Offices: and he did often vse to reade HORACE and VIRGIL.

He liuing thus in peace and tranquillity, deerly beloued of the Romans, and by all the Prouinces subject to the Empire; it being about the thirteenth yeer of his raign, the high Germans and other northerly Nations, with such fury and such infinite numbers of men (as in former time they had vsed to doo) took Arms against the Empire; so as, hauing past the riuers of *Danubie* and the *Rhine*, they put all *Italie* in great fear. By reason whereof, the good Emperour ALEXANDER SEVERVS with all haste departed from *Rome*, with the greatest forces hee then could leuie: which was not done without great grief and heauinesse of the Roman people, so deerly was he generally beloued. And then the warres began between his forces and the Germans; wherein, notwithstanding his enemies were very mighty, yet through his great diligence and valour he suppressed their fury, in such sort that they were daily put to the worse in all skirmishes and encounters. But the ordinary Legions which lay there in garrison, accustomed to raping and other disorders permitted in the time of HELIOGABALVS the Emperor was neither able to endure their insolencie, neither they his equity: for, vertue and vice cannot dwell together. Whereupon, they conspired among themselues to kill him, and to chuse one MAXIMINVS, a most valiant old souldier, for Emperor; whom SEVERVS had made a Captain of *Tyrones* (for, so did they call new souldiers) wch their conspiracy they afterwards put in execution. Others write, that the cause of his death was, for that following his mothers counsell in gathering of treasure, he was not so liberall to his men of war and others, as he ought to haue been; and also for that he had determined in his councell to leaue the wars of *Germany*, and to go into the East: for which cause the souldiers conceiued great hatred against him. But I hould the first for the most certain cause: of which opinion were LAMPRIDIVS and IVLIVS CAPITOLINVS, writing his life, and the life of MAXIMINVS. Finally, whatsoeuer the occasion were, the Legions of *Germany* slue him; the good Emperor being in his Tent, void

Wars betweene Seuerus and the Germans.

Alexander Seuerus slain by his German souldiers, together with his mother Mammea.

void of all feare and ſuſpicion, neer to the City of *Magantia* or *Mentz*. And, together with him, they ſlue his mother MAMMEA; which they did by the counſell and aduice of the accurſed MAXIMINVS, who was afterwards his Succeſſor. HERODIANVS and AVRELIVS VICTOR write, that before they murdered him they made the other Emperor.

SEVERVS was twentie nine yeeres, three moneths and ſeuen daies old when he was murthered, and had raigned thirteene yeeres and nine daies. His death was more lamented in *Rome*, then euer was any Emperours before him; and all the Cities and Prouinces of the Empire were extremely grieued thereat. In this manner was this moſt excellent and vertuous Prince ſlaine by treaſon, who neuer had commanded any man to be ſlaine, in the yeere of our Lord 237. And although that we reade that he was married, yet we reade not of any children that he left behinde him.

THE LIFE OF MAXIMINVS, ONLY OF THAT NAME, AND SIX AND TWENTIH EMPEROR of *Rome*.

THE ARGVMENT.

MAximinus *was a Thracian borne, of a baſe and ignoble houſe: but he attained to credit through the actiuitie of his bodie, which brought him into fauour with many Emperors; yet* Heliogabalus *did not greatly pleaſe him, being riotous and laſciuious. But fortune, as ſhee is blinde, ſo doth ſhe blindly beſtow her benefits and fauors, and aduanced him in the end to the Imperiall dignitie: wherein he carried himſelfe ſo cruelly and tyrannouſly, that poore Rome could neuer haue had a worſe, or more wicked Prince. Firſt, vpon ſundrie occaſions hee put to death all* Alexanders *friends; and being aſhamed of his owne linage, he alſo ſlew all ſuch as had knowne his father, ſhewing himſelfe very courteous: he turned his ſpleene againſt the Chriſtians, and afflicted them with new and vnaccuſtomed torments. He diſcouered a conſpiracy, which he puniſhed ſeuerely; and ſought to maintaine the loue of his ſouldiers, being of opinion that it lay in them as well to ſupport him in the Empire, as it did to giue it him. He warred againſt the Germans; and was of ſo hatefull a diſpoſition and ſo cruell, that in a manner all the whole Empire rebelled againſt him: And in his life time old* Gordianus *was made Emperor in Africa. But aboue all the rebellions, that of Rome did moſt diſpleaſe him; againſt which, comming in a great rage, and hauing in a manner beſieged it, he was ſlain by ſome Romane ſouldiers, conſidering the miſeries which their countrie was likely to haue endured, if* Maximinus *obtained the victorie. And to the end that no memoriall ſhould remaine of ſo wicked and cruell a man, they ſlew his ſonne alſo; whoſe head being carried to Rome, brought great contentment to the Citie.*

HOw great good, a good Prince bringeth to the world, and how preiudiciall and hurtfull it is to loſe him; the death of ALEXANDER SEVERVS did ſufficiently manifeſt to the Romane Empire; which (during his life time) enioyed all the contentment that could be deſired, for his equitie, clemency, and iuſtice: but he dying, and that cruell monſter MAXIMINVS ſucceeding (who raigned but three yeeres) in exchange of theſe and other bleſſings, there enſued diſcord, ciuill warres, inſolencies, robberies, cruelties, ſeditions and other calamities. Wherefore, in my opinion, men ought more earneſtly and with greater inſtancy pray to God to ſend them a good King and gouernor, then for health, wealth, or long life: for in the raigne of a wicked and vniuſt Prince, vices abound

abound, which corrupt good cuſtomes and manners, and vertue is ſuppreſſed, and men liue in danger both of life and goods. And in the time of a good Prince and Gouernor, all theſe defects are repaired: for, the iuſt raigning, the wicked amend and become vertuous. For (as the Philoſophers ſay) Such as is the Prince, ſuch will be the ſubiects: ſo he which prayeth for a good king, may be iuſtly ſaid to pray for the benefit of the whole kingdome: For it doth often times plainly appeare, that the diligence and induſtrie of a good husbandman doth more auaile, then the fertilitie of the ſoile: and ſo we ſee that ſome places which are barren, doe abound with neceſſaries to the vſe of mans life; and to the contrarie, other places which are moſt fertil, through euill gouernment, become wild and ouergrown with weedes, yeelding little profit. And ſo hiſtories, and experience doe teach vs, that in time of good and peaceable Kings, men grow rich and mount to eſtates and dignities: And in time of troubles and calamities which happen when the Gouernement is in the handes of Tyrants, many men loſe their eſtates and liues, and ſometime their Soules, by their meanes, and all things goe to confuſion and out of order.

But comming to our Hiſtory, the good Emperour SEVERVS being dead: as he had neither ſonne nor brother that might challenge the Empire; and MAXIMINVS being the chiefe man in the Army, and of greater power then any other, they all agreed to chooſe and ſweare him Emperour, willingly yeelding obedience vnto him, which they ought not to haue done: for ſee proued wicked, cruell, and couetous; notwithſtanding that he was old and loden with yeers. And becauſe that this man was of a goodly ſtature, and came to the Empire by great aduenture, I will briefly declare the ſucceſſe of his life, which I preſume will be a pleaſing Hiſtorie.

Maximinus choſen Emperor

This MAXIMINVS was the ſonne of a man whoſe name was NICEA, borne in *Gotland*, and his mothers name was ABABA, of the nation of the Alanes, which liued in a village in *Thracia*; ſo as of either ſide he deſcended of barbarous nations: and he afterwards grew to be ſo tall of ſtature, as he ſeemed to be a Giant: for (as IVLIVS CAPITOLINVS reporteth) he was eight and a halfe Geometricall foote high; *which is two foote and a halfe more then we* ſee any man ordinarily to be in theſe daies. And as he had a great bodie, ſo had he all parts thereof proportionable to his greatneſſe: for he had a good face and was very faire, with great full eyes; and was ſo extremely ſtrong, that a cart heauily laden, and which two oxen could hardly moue, he would eaſily draw and turne at his pleaſure, and with his fiſt he brake a horſes leg: and (as IVLIVS CAPITOLINVS ſaith) ſtriking a horſe in the chap with his fiſt he brake out all his teeth; and with a ſpurne with his foote, he ſplit him in pieces: alſo with his fiſt hee brake a ſtone, and with his hands cleft a tree, and did many other things, which were they not recorded by very true authors, would be accounted fables. And beſides all this, he was of ſo great courage, that he was neuer knowne to ſtand in feare of any thing, and was naturally fierce, prowd and preſumptuous, and made no account of any man. His bringing vp when he was a boy, was in keeping of beaſts (for his parents were poore, and liued in the countrey) and afterwards his minde increaſing with the ſtrength of his bodie, he came to the Romane Armie to ſeeke entertainment to be a ſouldier, and to follow the warres: where by reaſon of his greatneſſe of body and his extreme ſtrength, he was ſoone knowne, and admired of all men, which was in the raigne of SEPTIMIVS SEVERVS, who was father to BASSIANVS and GETA. CAPITOLINVS writeth, that SEPTIMIVS SEVERVS being in *Soria* with his Armie, celebrating the birth day of his ſonne GETA, with many ſports (which was a thing much vſed in ancient time) and giuing the winners for reward iewels, collars, bracelets, ſouldiers girdles, and ſuch like things; MAXIMINVS, who was but newly come to the Army, and could ſcarcely ſpeake the Latine tongue (which was then the vulgar Romane ſpeech) came before the Emperour, and intreated him to giue him leaue to try himſelfe in thoſe exerciſes. The Emperor meruailing at the vnmeaſurable proportion of his perſon, and ſeeing him ſo faire and well proportioned, granted his requeſt; but vpon condition, that he ſhould not encounter & contend with any Roman ſouldier, but with ſuch as were water-bearers, and ſeruitors of the Camp, among which were many very valiant and ſtrong men. MAXIMINVS comming to handy gripes with them, ouercame 16 of them which were of greateſt ſtrength, and ſought out for that purpoſe, without reſting, or once taking any breath, not being moued by any of them: for which victorie, the Emperor cauſed ſome iewels of ſmall price to be giuen him, but not any ſuch as were vſually giuen to the ſouldiers; and commanded alſo that he ſhould receiue pay, and be entered in the muſter role to ſerue as a ſouldier.

Maximinus liniage.

The ſtature of Maximinus.

The force and bodily ſtrength of Maximinus.

Maximinus began firſt to follow the warres in the time of Septimius Seuerus

Vpon

Vpon a day the Emperor *riding to view* his Camp, hee saw this MAXIMINVS (who was yet but a raw souldier) out of order; wherefore he willed a Coronell to call him into his rank, and to instruct him in the duty that he ought to obserue in the wars: and MAXIMINVS, imagining that the Emperor spake of him, came before him, and kneeled down at his feet. The Emperor, desiring for his pastime to see whether he could runne well or no, spurred his horse, and gaue sundry turns in the field; and seeing that MAXIMINVS euer kept euen with him, and that his horse was tired, and he running afoot shewed no signe of wearinesse, hee rained his horse, and asked of MAXIMINVS whether he could wrestle: whereto he answered, that he would wrestle so long as it should please his Majesty. The Emperor, maruelling at his strength, made choice of certain of the strongest men in all his Army to wrestle with him; and MAXIMINVS, without breathing or any resting, ouercame seuen of them. Whereupon, SEPTIMIVS SEVERVS commanded a collar of gold to bee giuen vnto him, and certain peeces of siluer, and made him one of his guard, and commanded that hee should attend in the Palace: and by this means he came to be much esteemed among the Coronels and men of warre. And he daily increased both in stature and strength: for, when he came to the Camp hee was but a boy; and sometime in wrestling he would ouerthrowe twenty or thirty of the strongest men in the Army: and in battels and encounters he euer bare away the prize and chiefest honour, performing strange things. Wherfore SEVERVS fauoured him very much, and gaue him good places and charges in the wars. He did eat and drink according to the proportion of his body, or rather more: for, CAPITOLINVS writes, that he did daily vse to eat 40 pound waight of flesh, and to drink a measure of wine which contains about 6 gallons of our English measure.

The footemanship of Maximinus.

Maximinus his diet.

SEPTIMIVS SEVERVS dying in *England*, as we haue said, he serued his sonne ANTONINVS BASSIANVS, and was a Coronell, and had other offices and dignities in the wars. And, after the death of BASSIANVS in *Syria*, he would not serue MACRINVS, because he held him guilty of the death of his Lord: but, returning to the village wherein he was born, he there purchased certain possessions, and liued there some time in rest, vntill MACRINVS was dead, and that the yong vitibus HELIOGABALVS came to the Empire. At which time he came to *Rome*, as to the son of BASSIANVS, and nephew to SEVERVS, both which had bin his Lords; imagining, that he should haue been as much respected by him, as hee had been by them. But HELIOGABALVS more regarding lasciuious and dishoneſt men, than such as were of worth and valorous, he found with him no such entertainment as hee expected. For, when hee came to kisse his hand, HELIOGABALVS said vnto him; MAXIMINVS, it is could me that in wrestling thou art too hard for twenty or thirty men: I would gladly know, whether thou darest in amorous assaults encounter as many women. Which speeches did so much displease MAXIMINVS, that he would presently haue abandoned the Court; but that certain of HELIOGABALVS friends (for his honors sake) staid him: for, they held it a shame to him, that one which was held to be the most valiant and strongest man of his time (and who for that cause was by some called ACHILLES, and by others AIAX) should not be entertained in his pay to serue in his Army. And so there was giuen him by HELIOGABALVS the leading of certain footmen. But MAXIMINVS, abhorring and not able to endure the behauiour of this effeminate Emperor, in all the time of his Raign after that time, neuer came into his presence; somtimes faining himself to be sick, and other times seeking occasion and means to absent himself; vntill the good ALEXANDER SEVERVS was made Emperor after the death of HELIOGABALVS; and then hee returned to *Rome*: where SEVERVS receiued him very gladly, commending him highly in the Senate; and made him a Coronell and Commander of the fourth Legion, which he had raised of new souldiers. MAXIMINVS accepted the charge, and performed his duty singularly well in the wars of *Germany*, where hee shewed great prowesse: by means whereof, and of the gifts which he vsed to bestowe vpon his souldiers, and of the Emperors fauor, he wan such honour and reputation with all men, that ALEXANDER (as we haue said) being slain by his souldiers, he was by them created Emperour: and some write, that he was one of those which conspired his death. Of such force is the desire of rule, that men forgetting the duty and loyalty they owe, and the benefits they haue receiued, practise notable villanies, and commit horrible treasons, to the end they may raign and command; not remembring, that by what means they obtain rule and dominion, by the self same they commonly lose their gouernments, and are throwne down by the same means that they mounted.

The dishoneſt speeches vsed by Heliogabalus to Maximinus.

Officers giuen by Seuerus to Maximinus.

After that MAXIMINVS saw himself an Emperor; as he was naturally proud and fierce, and as base of condition as he was high of stature; so was he of opinion, that his best course was to make himself obeyed rather for fear, than for loue; and presently beganne to shew himself most cruell. His election being knowne in *Rome* (after they had lamented the death of ALEXANDER SEVERVS) was generally displeasing to all men: and, vpon report of his cruelty, they stood in great fear of him; insomuch that both men and women made vowes and praiers to their gods, to the end he might neuer come to *Rome*.

Maximinus lesseth generally disliked in Rome.

The first cruelty this fierce Barbarian committed, was, To put to death all those which had serued and been familiar with ALEXANDER SEVERVS: and then he banished an infinit number of others, and would not suffer that in the Army there should be any Captain, or in the Senate any Senator, that had been aduanced by him. And, for as much as hee was ashamed of the baſenes of his owne parentage, hee commanded all those which were neer about him, and had knowne his parents, to bee slain: among which were many who in time of their pouertie had relieued them, of compassion and in charity. And to all these his cruelties he added a greater: for, he persecuted the Christians which were fauoured by ALEXANDER; and by his commandement was the sixt persecution of the Church of God: principally those were persecuted which had the charge and gouernment of others; wherein he vsed strange kindes of cruelties, and new deuices in putting people to death; reposing such confidence in his own strength and courage, that he held no man able to kill him. Wherefore, as CAPITOLINVS reports, he held himself for immortall: yet one day in his presence vpon the Theatre these verses were recited in the Greek Tongue;

The first persecution of Christians.

Whom one man cannot bereaue of life,
many his bloud may easily spill.
Th' Elephant is great, yet done to death:
strong is the Lion, and men him kill.
If through thy valour thou fear not any one,
beware what a number may do to thee alone.

The cruelty of MAXIMINVS did principally extend it self against such as were rich, and in high degree and authority; whom hee intreated very ill, and for very slight occasions put them to death, and confiscated their goods; which the common people little regarded: for, the rich are commonly odious and hatefull to the baser sort, and to such as are poor. On the other side, he cunningly held himself in the loue and good liking of the men of war: for, besides their ordinary paies, he gaue them many pensions and rewards, and prouided all things necessary for them; and took as great paines as any ordinary souldier, with incredible courage and diligence: and as he was a strong man, and had a very able body; so he euer went armed, and vpon all occasions was as ready as any souldier in the Army, and had alwaies valiant men about him, although of base degree and condition. Finally, the effect of all his actions was, To bee feared and to command like a tyrant: which was the occasion that a noble Roman Gentleman called MAXIMVS, who had bin Consul, conspired against him, and practised with the ould souldiers which had serued SEVERVS, and with some others (to whom, MAXIMINVS behauiour and conditions were nothing pleasing) that whereas hee with his Army was to passe a Riuer vpon a wooden Bridge, as soon as hee should bee comn to the further end thereof, the Bridge behinde him should be broken or drawn away, and so he abandoned to his enemies. But this was reuealed to him: or else (as some surmised) it was a matter fained by him, thereby to haue the better colour to shadow his cruelties; which he executed in so high degree, that hee caused 3000 persons to be slain, which he said were guilty of that treason.

A conspiracy against Maximinus.

After this, a great multitude of SEVERVS old souldiers mutined; and, withdrawing themselues from the Camp, proclaimed one QVARCIANVS for Emperor (as HERODIANVS writeth): but CAPITOLINVS saith, his name was TICVS, and it may be he was called by the one and the other; who, for that hee was a man of great account, was by MAXIMINVS deposed from the charge which he held. And the souldiers (against his will) forced him to accept the Empire; which he not without great reason refused: for, one MACEDONIVS, who seemed to bee his great friend, and was one of those which had aduanced him to that dignity, within fewe daies after murdered him as he lay sleeping vpon his bed; and, hauing stricken off his head, carried the same to MAXIMINVS: who greatly rejoiced to see himself freed from so great a danger. And although hee then gaue him a good countenance which brought it, yet he afterwards put him to a cruell death, as for his treacherie he had deserued: first, for murdering his Soueraign; secondly, for being a traitor to his friend.

Quarcianus proclaimed Emperor, and shortly murdered in his bed.

With these two good fortunes, the tyranny and cruelty of MAXIMINVS encreased. But following the wars he went out of *Hungarie* into *Germanie*; and, making most cruell war against the Germans (hauing in his Army those souldiers which ALEXANDER SEVERVS had left, being many, very well trained, and of great experience) the number hee increased; so as with them he wan many battels, putting all to fire and sword where hee came, spoiling all that was in that Country: and in all the encounters that euer hapned, he euer fought in person, and performed more in Fight than any man in the whole Army.

Hauing pacified all matters in *Germanie*, so as he found no more resistance; by reason of winter which then came on, he returned into *Hungarie*: from whence hee wrote to the Senate, extolling his victories; and sent vnto them all his battels and skirmishes painted in Tables. I can-
Executions don in Rome by Maximinus order. not particularly set down the murders and cruell slaughters of men which hee commanded to be executed in *Rome* at this time, they were so many: for, he did put to death many men which had been Consuls, and confiscated their goods, vsing infinite other tyrannies against the noblest and of most esteem; presuming onely vpon his owne personall strength, and the power of his Army; to which he gaue many great gifts. And yet among his men of warre he forbare not to execute notable cruelties: for, he more desired to bee feared, than any thing else. Wherefore both in *Rome*, and in diuerse parts of the Empire, they studied how they might bee rid of him, and to finde out some other man fit to be Emperor; which began in *Africa*, and passed after this manner:

In the Prouince of *Africa* MAXIMINVS had a Procurator, who with great rigor and authority gathered his Rents and Tributes; and, being of his masters conditions, committed incredible extortions and outrages, robbing and pilling the Countrey, doing wrong to all men: and not content therewith, but as he spoiled many of their goods, so he bereaued them of their liues. And he continued so in his rapine and cruelty, that the people could no longer endure
Maximinus his rent-gatherer slain in Africa. his oppression: wherefore the chief among them concluded to kill him, and did so. Afterwards considering with themselues how great and how dangerous a crime they had committed, they resolued to commit yet a greater, which was, To create an Emperor. Wherefore, conferring with the souldiers of those Legions which lay in *Africa*, who detested MAXIMINVS for his
Gordianus chosen Emperor cruelty, they all agreed to chuse GORDIANVS, a Noble-man, who was Proconsul of *Africa*, and to make him Emperor, being a man welnie fourescore yeers old.

GORDIANVS (as I said) was of a Noble house; by his fathers side descended from the GRACCHI; and, by his mother, from the most excellent Emperor TRAIAN. He had been Ædil, Questor, Pretor, and Consul, in *Rome*; and had held many other offices & dignities, and had been Commander and gouernour of many countries and prouinces, which he had gouerned with great wisedome and authoritie; and at that time was Viceconsull in *Africa*, by the appointment of ALEXANDER SEVERVS, who was MAXIMINVS his Predecessor; by whom, for his deserts and vertues, hee was greatly honoured and esteemed: for, GORDIANVS was a vertuous and most temperate man in all his actions. He was a man of a tall stature, rather inclining to be fat than lean, and of a goodly presence. His face was high-coloured, representing great authority. He was in his fare and diet (as in all other matters) very temperate; and was learned, and much giuen to the study of Philosophie. He was married to the daughter of SEPTIMIVS SEVERVS, and by her had sonnes and daughters, and by chance had with him when he was chosen Emperor a son, whose name was also GORDIANVS; who had bin Consul, and was held in great honour and reputation: whom they also chose Emperor together with his Father.

The souldiers and the country-people being assembled together (wherof, one MAVRICE, a Decurion was chief & first motiue of the matter) they entred tumultuously into GORDIANVS house: who, not thinking of any such thing, in the beginning was in great fear and trouble, conceiuing that they came to haue slain him: but after that hee vnderstood wherefore they
Gordianus refused the empire came (for, they tould it him) he vtterly refused their offer, excusing himself by reason of his old age. But they came so resolute, that notwithstanding his opposition, yet hee could not otherwise chuse, but he must accept of the Ensigns, and title of Emperor; which they gaue him, together with his son. GORDIANVS, although he were therto compelled, and accepted thereof against his will: yet he presently wrote with all speed, giuing the Senate aduertisement of his election, and how he had consented thereto, and accepted of the Empire, that he might free the same from the cruelty of MAXIMINVS. Hauing publisht the same in the city of *Tisdro*, where hee was chosen Emperor, hee took his way towards *Carthage*, with the magnificence, Ensignes, and

and officers of the Empire, where he was with great ioy receiued. From thence he sent his Ambassadors to *Rome* with particular letters to many his friends and kinsmen; and likewise took order that VALERIANVS the Pretorian Prefect of the Legions & companies which lay neere *Rome* should be slaine: whom HERODIANVS calleth VATALIANVS (who was a most cruell man) a fauorite and great friend of MAXIMINVS. These letters were receiued with incredible ioy and gladnes, for the great hatred they bare against MAXIMINVS: and VITALIANVS or VALERIANVS was slain accordingly, by those wch were sent for that purpose.

The Senate and people of *Rome* approued the election of GORDIANVS and his sonne: and MAXIMINVS and his sonne (who was alreadie made CÆSAR, and named his successor) were adiudged enemies and rebels; and the people with great furie tare in pieces many ministers of MAXIMINVS his crueltie, among which were some which were not culpable. They also slew SABINVS the Prefect of the citie, for that he labored to haue hindered the approbation of GORDIANVS: and the Senate elected for CÆSAR a yong man whose name also was GORDIANVS, who was nephew to old GORDIANVS: and so there was a sodaine alteration in all things, for there was a generall feare and confusion.
Maximinus and his sonne adiudged for rebels and enemies to the Romane commonwealth.

The Senate considering then in how great danger the citie was, and what might ensue by reason of the great power of MAXIMINVS, they made great preparation, writing their letters into all the Prouinces, commanding that al those gouernours which were placed by MAXIMINVS, should be displaced, and therewith also they proclaimed GORDIANVS for Emperour. This order and direction (as HERODIANVS writeth) in the most part of all the Prouinces was obeyed, and in the most of them they slew the gouernors set there by MAXIMINVS. And in some places they did the contrarie, killing or apprehending the messengers; so as euery where was bloudshed: for the crueltie of the Emperour had made al men cruell. When as the newes of that which happened in *Rome* and *Africa* came to MAXIMINVS (CAPITOLINVS writeth) he was therewith so troubled and enraged, that he cried out like a man distempered: and running his head against the wals, he tumbled in the floore, rent his cloaths, and made many other shewes of furie and passion.

This Fit being past, the next day he assembled his whole Armie, whereto he made a speech, complaining to them of the treacherie of the Africanes, and of the lightnes and inconstancie of the Romanes, prouoking them all he could to be reuenged; and making great promises, assured them that they should possesse the goods of all those which had offended. And when he had ended his oration, he presentlie gaue them their ordinarie pay with great aduantage, shewing himselfe very bountifull: so as they all promised to serue him faithfullie, notwithstanding that many among them hated him deadlie. In this manner vsing all possible diligence, MAXIMINVS directed his iourney towards *Rome*, with the best souldiers, and the greatest prouision of munition he could, with intent to asswage his wrath; by the execution of his extreme crueltie: and so he began to march; not so fast as he would, for the great number of men, of cariages, and baggage which went with him, and want of victuals: for all the cities (being risen against him) had put all the victuals and fruites of the earth in safe keeping.

While as these things passed in *Germany* and *Rome*, CAPELIANVS, who was Gouernour of the Prouinces of *Numidia*, and *Mauritania* in *Africa*, rebelled against GORDIANVS, aswell for that they were auncient enemies, as for that CAPELIANVS was a very great friend vnto MAXIMINVS; and had been settled there by him: who, as soone as he heard that the GORDIANS were chosen Emperours, put those Legions which were vnder his command in order, leuying thereto the greatest forces he could, and took his way towards *Carthage*; against whom came yong GORDIANVS, with all the forces he could leuie (the old man remaining in the citie in great care and feare of that which afterwards followed) and these two Armies ioyning battaile (which was very bloudie) CAPELIANVS in the end had the victorie, and
Young Gordianus slaine in a battaile. GORDIANVS was ouerthrowne and slaine: for the greatest part of his people were *Bisonious*, or raw souldiers, and not accustomed to the warres. The father hearing of the death of his sonne; and of the losse of the battaile, seeing no hope of relefe, and the victorious enemie at the
And old Gordianus hung himselfe in the girdle. gates of the citie, with the girdle which he ware hung himselfe: and so died he with reproach & dishonorably (hauing a few daies enioyed the name of Emperor) who had liued fourescore yeeres very honourably & in great reputation. And CAPELIANVS following his victorie entred *Carthage*: where he slew the principal of those which escaped from the battaile; and robbed many houses & temples, shewing great crueltie both within the citie, & abroad in the countrie; robbing & sacking towns & villages, in colour of reuenge for the wrong don to MAXIMINVS;

seeking by all meanes possible to please his souldiers, with a desire to make himselfe Emperor.

The fame of this aduenture came speedily to *Rome*: wherewith the Romanes were incredibly troubled and perplexed, to see themselues depriued of the fauour and succour which they hoped for from GORDIANVS and his sonne. And knowing that MAXIMINVS came like an enraged lion against them (for redresse and remedie against so great a daunger) the Senate assembled in the Temple of IVPITER; and after many consultations held betweene the principal & best experienced men of the citie, they chose MAXIMVS PVPIENVS, and CLODIVS BALBINVS for Emperours; both which had held great offices, and had been valiant Captaines and gouernours, and liued with great fame. And to please the people which consented not to this election, the Senate named young GORDIANVS, nephew to that GORDIANVS who hanged himselfe in *Carthage*, CÆSAR, who was his daughters sonne, and of the age of eleuen yeeres.

Maximus Pupienus and Claudius Balbinus chosen Emperours, and Gordianus the nephew of old Gordianus made Cæsar.

These two being created and sworne Emperours, and hauing taken the Imperiall robes and ensignes, they leuied the greatest forces that in *Rome* and the borders thereof they were able. MAXIMVS PVPIENVS, who was the wiser and more sufficient man, left the citie, to make head against MAXIMINVS; who with great haste and furie came towards *Italy*, and had conceiued incredible ioy, for that he was giuen to vnderstand of the death of GORDIANVS and of his son, and of the victorie which CAPELIANVS had obtained against them: but after that he knew of the election of the new Emperours in *Rome*, his rage and wrath redoubled. And vnderstanding that PVPIENVS came against him with a sufficient Armie, he put his troupes in order; and hauing passed the Alpes, entring into *Italy*, where he thought to haue found great plentie of victuals, he found all cleane contrarie: for all sustenance was carried away, and those places and townes which were not fortified, and able to defend themselues, were abandoned and left desert: wherefore the souldiers for the hunger and want which they endured, began to murmure and to speake ill of MAXIMINVS; and he punishing some of them for it, grew hatefull to all.

Maximinus entred Italy.

Drawing neere to the citie of *Aquileia*, which hee made account to enter without difficulty, he found very great resistance: for besides that the citie was very populous and rich, there were within it for the defence thereof, two Romane gentlemen, which had been Consuls; the one was called CRISPINVS, and the other MENEFILVS: who had in such sort furnished the citie with men and munition, that MAXIMINVS with great difficultie passing the riuer, and encamping himselfe before it, gaue a very cruell assault, in which much people died of either side: but those which were within, defended themselues so valiantly, as he was enforced to alter his determination, to raise his siege, and to retire. While as MAXIMINVS lay before *Aquileia*, and PVPIENVS with his Armie marcht toward him, *Rome* endured a great affliction: for there grew a contention betweene the Pretorian souldiers and the people of *Rome*, about two souldiers which had beene slaine by two Senatours, whose names were GALLICANVS and MECENAS. And both parties taking Armes, there were slaughters and cruelties committed, the like whereof haue bin seldom heard of: for the city was set on fire, & a great part thereof burnt, the new Emperour BALBINVS not being able to quench or stay it: who seeing that he could not redresse so great an inconuenience, retired himselfe to his palace. So as whosoeuer shal wel consider hereof, shall finde that the three yeeres tyrannous gouernment of MAXIMINVS (for so long it lasted) was the cause that the citie of *Rome* and the whole Romane Empire were neuer free from warres, tumults, robberies, murthers, and all manner of calamities. And he (as I haue said) lying before *Aquileia*, preuailing little by the assaults which he gaue, by reason of the great resistance made by the besieged, and wanting victuals (for PVPIENVS, and the Senate had commaunded all to be carried away out of that territorie, and the borders and marches thereabouts) and ioyntly herewith his souldiers daily hearing that all the East had reuolted and rebelled against him, by letters sent from the Senate of *Rome*: With this feare and for the secret hatred which the old Romane Souldiers bare against him, they agreed to mutine and to kil him; seeing that *Rome* (wherein were their parents, their wiues, children and kinsfolkes) and also that all *Italy* was enemie vnto them, and had proclaimed them rebels. It happened that MAXIMINVS and his sonne one day about noone reposing themselues in his Tent, the souldiers and many others with them, came very boldly to his pauilion, and without any resistance slew him: the like they did by his sonne, saying, That of an euill fire could neuer proone good whelpe; when he had raigned three yeeres, and was sixtie and odde yeeres old; and his sonne nineteene, and somewhat more. His death was approoued by all the Armie:

Maximinus and his sonne slaine in his Tent.

Army: and as soon as it was knowne in the City of *Aquileia*, they opened the ports, and became all friends. They sent the heads of this tyrannous Emperor and his sons, to *Rome*; where with vnspeakeable ioy they were receiued: and by the way they carried them to PVPIENVS; who was in *Rauenna*. This hapned in the yeer of our Lord 240.

THE LIFE OF MAXIMVS PVPIENVS AND CLODIVS BALBINVS, ONELY OF THOSE NAMES, and seuen and twentith Roman Emperours.

(***)

After the death of MAXIMINVS; MAXIMVS PVPIENVS & CLODIVS BALBINVS, without any contradiction continued Emperors; which (as I said) were so already created: and PVPIENVS, who then was in *Rauenna*, with all speed went to *Aquileia*, to content the Army which MAXIMINVS had left there; where, by those of the City and of the Army, he was with great ioy receiued, sworn, and obeyed: and he paied the souldiers, and gaue them great rewards, and afterwards dispatched and sent the Legions very well contented to their Prouinces and places where they vsed to remain. And himself came to *Rome* with some companies of Germans for his guard, by reason of the discord between the Pretorian souldiers and the Citizens; who, vnderstanding of the death of MAXIMINVS, pacified themselues, and went with the Senate to receiue BALBINVS into the Empire, and GORDIANVS for CÆSAR, as is aforesaid: and so they were most solemnly entertained. And being comn into the Senate, besides the ordinary acclamations, blessings and applauses, in remembrance that these Emperors were created by the Senators, they vsed such like speeches: Princes, wisely chosen, rule accordingly; and those which are chosen by vnwise men, and such as knowe little, in like manner end their daies: wherein they seemed to note the men of warre, who made choice of MAXIMINVS. Which speeches the Pretorian souldiers took in so ill part, that they presently began to mislike and to be discontented with the Raign of PVPIENVS and BALBINVS; and they held themselues for scorned and disgraced, in that the Senate should seem to triumph ouer them, and to haue taken from them the authority to make Emperours: so great was their pride and ambition, that from thence-foorth they not onely wished, but practised the death of them both; who gouerned all things most excellently and prudently, and made very good and profitable lawes and ordinances; and into all the Prouinces where need required, sent ordinary Legions, doing justice to all men indifferently, greatly honouring the Senate; and generally to all men shewed themselues gentle and curteous. But all this sufficed not to get the good will of the souldiers: for, vertue and goodnes do not pacifie the hatred of the wicked; and by so much their enny & malice the more increaseth, by how much they see those whom they hate, exercise themselues in vertuous and good actions: In such sort, that as those accursed men in time of peace were not so much esteemed, neither had the liberty to liue so dissolutely and licentiously, as in the time of warres; all their care and studie therefore was (although they did dissemble it, and keep it secret) how they might without any danger to themselues, kill those two vertuous and honourable ould Princes, PVPIENVS and BALBINVS. Whereto, the emulation, jealousie and contention, betweene

Speeches vsed by the Senate.

theſe Emperours, although in ſecret, opened the way to their determination; for BALBINVS held himſelfe for farre more Noble and of a more ancient houſe and family, then PVPIENVS: For it was three hundred yeeres or little leſſe ſince that his anceſtors came from the Iſle of *Cales* in *Spaine*, with the great POMPEY; and being made citizens of *Rome* had liued euer honorably and richly: and therefore as PVPIENVS was but of a new riſen family, hee made account to be more regarded then he, and diſdained him. And PVPIENVS notwithſtanding that he was a newer citizen and lately riſen: yet was he of greater courage, very graue and ſeuere, and had held many offices and magiſtracies; which with great valour and wiſedome he had diſcharged; and therefore was of opinion that in true nobilitie, which wholly conſiſteth in the vertue of the perſon, he did farre excell BALBINVS. And thus their vaine preſumption coſt them both their liues. Notwithſtanding that they ſtood vpon theſe points; yet they no way forgat ought that might concerne the good gouernment of the Empire. Theſe two wiſe Emperors agreed betweene themſelues, to goe the one into the Eaſt againſt the Parthians; or to ſay better, the Perſians, which ruled in the Eaſt, as I haue already declared, and by meanes of the ciuil diſcords paſt, had entred the bounds of the Empire, and taken certain Cities: And the other to the warres of *Germanie*. And as one day all the whole Citie was buſie in beholding certain games and paſtimes which were made, with them was alſo the greateſt part of the Emperors guard and houſhould; ſo as they remained in their Palaces ſmally accompanied, without any miſtruſt or ſuſpicion of any trecherie. Whereof the Pretorian ſouldiers being aduertiſed, they came with great furie fully armed in order of battaile, towards the Emperors Palace: Which when PVPIENVS vnderſtood, and that they came to kill him, hee commanded in great haſte the companies of Germanes which were his guard, to be called: the which truely had beene ſufficient to haue defended them. And he alſo gaue BALBINVS to vnderſtand thereof, deſiring him to doe the like. But BALBINVS entring into a fond ſuſpicion, that PVPIENVS ſent for his guard to haue done ſome thing againſt him, did not only leaue that vndone which was requeſted at his hands, but hindred it, ſo as the guard was not called. By which meanes the Pretorian ſouldiers had oportunitie to enter the Imperiall Palace in ſafety: and there finding none to reſiſt their furie, they took both the Emperors and diſpoyling them of their Imperial robes, vſed the poore princes with all kinde of villany, as if they had been two theeues; carrying them through the midſt of the Citty towardes their Camp: But hearing that the Almaines came to reſcue them, they ſlew them vpon the way; leauing their dead bodies in the ſtreetes. And the yong GORDIANVS meeting them by chance (who, as we haue ſaid before, at the requeſt of the people was choſen CÆSAR) was by them hailed AVGVSTVS and Emperour. And they crying to the people ſaid, that ſeeing thoſe two Emperors were dead, which in deſpite of them were choſen by the Senate; they ſhould now receiue GORDIANVS for Emperor, which they themſelues had deſired to be made CÆSAR; and ſo they went to their lodging leading the youth with them, who yet was not fully fourteen yeeres old.

Emulation betweene Balbinus and Pupienus.

The Emperors Balbinus and Pupienus ſlaine by the Pretorian ſouldiers.

Gordianus Nephew of the old Gordianus proclainned Emperour.

The Almaines after they vnderſtood of the death of PVPIENVS and BALBINVS, ſeeing there was no hope to reſcue them, returned to their lodgings, which was in the fields neere to *Rome*. And ſo theſe two good Emperors ended their liues, hauing raigned two yeeres: and in reward for pacifying the Empire and deliuering the ſame from the tyranny of MAXIMINVS, theſe baſe raſcalls murthered them, which PVPIENVS (as ſaith IVLIVS CAPITOLINVS) did before Prognoſticate: for when they were choſen, he ſaid to BALBINVS; Tell me BALBINVS, what good ſhall we reape, if we kill this accurſed cruell beaſt MAXIMINVS? BALBINVS anſwered; We ſhall win the loue of the Senat, & of the people of *Rome*, and generally of all the world. It is true quoth PVPIENVS, but I feare me we ſhall incurre the hatred of the men of warre, and that it will coſt vs our liues. Which hapned as we haue declared, in the yeere of our Lord 242.

The words of Pupienus to Balbinus when they were choſen Emperours.

THE

THE LIFE OF GORDIANVS THE YONGER; SO CALLED, FOR THAT HE WAS NEPHEW TO THE OLD GORDIANVS, being onely of this name, and the eight and *twentith Emperour of Rome.*

(***)

AFter the death of theſe two good Emperors PVPIENVS and BALBINVS; GORDIANVS being choſen by the Pretorian ſouldiers (who in their life time was CÆSAR) the Senate and people of *Rome*, ſeeing no other remedie, willingly approued his election; for he was generally well beloued of all men for the deſerts of his Vncle and grandfather: and through this election enſued concord and agreement betweene the ſouldiers and the citizens; and ſo he began his gouernment in good order and had good ſucceſſe. The firſt thing he did, was to make many feaſts, games and ſhewes, and to giue many donatiues and rewards both to the citizens and ſouldiers; whereby he made himſelfe exceedingly well beloued. This hapned, by reaſon that this yong Prince followed the counſell of wiſe men. Preſently in the beginning of his raigne a certain Captain named SABINIANVS rebelled in *Africa*: and it ſucceeded ſo well, that the Gouernor of *Mauritania* by the commandement of GORDIANVS, comming againſt him; thoſe which conſpired with him, tooke him priſoner, and craning pardon for their offence, brought him to *Carthage*; and there deliuered him into the hands of GORDIANVS his Captaines. Who beeing freed from this care, there remained yet another, which was for the warres againſt the Perſians, who (as we haue ſaid) vſurped certaine Lands of the Empire; againſt which it was concluded that the Emperor GORDIANVS ſhould goe himſelfe in perſon: and notwithſtanding that he was then very yong, hauing married the daughter of a moſt learned and eloquent Gentleman, whoſe name was MISITHEVS, whom he preſently made Prefect; the authoritie and counſell of the father in law made the raigne of the yong Emperor GORDIANVS very fortunate, and much eſteemed. For, notwithſtanding that MISITHEVS was but of a meane parentage, yet he was a man of much vertue, and ſo diſcreete and conſiderat in all his actions, as, notwithſtanding that GORDIANVS was but a childe and very yong, and ſomewhat inclined to vice and ſenſualitie, yet he made him an excellent Prince and Gouernor, both in peace and warre. Whereby it plainly appeareth, that the principall and moſt neceſſary thing that appertaineth to any King or Prince to make him good, is, to haue good and wiſe men for his Counſellors, and that his Court be repleniſhed with honeſt men, and of good conuerſation: Which the ſame GORDIANVS apparantly manifeſted in a letter written by him to his father in law, in anſwere to another written by him, wherein he had counſelled him what he ought to doe, and had reproued him for ſome thing that he had done, in this manner:

This Gordianus was Nephew of the old Gordianus who died in Africe.

Miſitheus father-in-law to Gordianus.

A Letter written by Gordianus to his father in law Misitheus.

The Emperor GORDIANVS AVGVSTVS, to his Father, and Pretorian Prefect, greeting. If the Almightie Gods had not defended and protected the Roman Empire, I had truely by this time been deceiued, and sold by these wicked and dishoneſt men: for I now know, and do very well comprehend, that I ought not to haue giuen the charge of the Roman Cohorts to FELIX, neither to SERAPIO of the fourth legion: And becauſe I will not recite all my errors, I acknowledge that I haue done many things that I ought not. But thanks be to the Gods, that thou guiding and inſtructing me, which doſt nothing for couetouſnes or reward, I haue learned and vnderſtood many things, which being ſhut vp in my palace with my ſeruants, I ſhould neuer haue learned, neither was it poſſible for me to haue knowne. For conſider a little I pray thee what I could do, being blinded, and ſold by MAVRVS, who was confederat with GVNDIANVS, REVERENDVS and MONTANVS; ſo as whatſoeuer they commended or reproued, truſting to their iudgement, I preſentlie accepted and allowed. The truth is, Father, That Prince is very infortunate, who hath not about him thoſe which may plainely tell him the truth: for, as the King cannot be among the people, neither can he know what paſſeth and what is ſaid, of neceſſitie he is to vnderſtand it by the relation of thoſe with whom he is conuerſant; and according to their information, good or euill, to gouerne and diſpoſe of all matters. God giue thee health. By this letter is confirmed that which I ſaid; and how that the good counſell of his father in law, was of great efficacie to make him a good Gouernor.

A great eclipſe of the Sun.

A great earth-quake.

In the beginning of the raigne of this good Emperour, there were ſeene certaine ſignes and tokens in the aire, and vpon the earth, whereby many men did prognoſticate that his raigne ſhould not long continue. The firſt was ſo great an eclipſe of the Sun, as the day ſeemed to be turned to night: ſo as euery where the people kindled lights, thereby to ſee to do their neceſſarie buſineſs, ſo long as the Eclipſe continued. And, about one yeere after, there was ſo great and terrible an earth-quake in a manner through all the prouinces of the Empire, that many cities and townes were deſtroyed, and ſome were ſwallowed vp by the earth, which did open in many places. This being paſt, and the loſſes repaired in the beſt manner that could bee, GORDIANVS departed from *Rome* towards the wars of *Perſia*, with great prouiſion and infinite ſummes of money to pay the ſouldiers which he carried with him, which were many in number, and excellentlie well armed and trained: for he had as good an Armie as euer had any Emperour; and marching ouer land from *Italy* to paſſe the ſtreight of *Helleſpont*, he took his way through *Miſsia*, to ſtay the *Gothes* and other nations which came downe with intent to haue inhabited *Thracia*: againſt which he obteined ſome victories, and left thoſe prouinces free from troubles, and in peace.

Gordianus going to the wars againſt the Perſians.

Gordianus his victory againſt Sapor King of Perſia.

Hauing paſt that ſtreight, he marched with his Armie through *Soria*, and came to the citie of *Antioch* which the Perſians had taken, and fought ſome battailes with the mightie SAPOR King of *Perſia*, who ſucceeded his brother ARTAXERXES in that kingdom; where obteining ſome notable victories, he recouered the citie of *Antioch*. From thence he went further, and conquered the great cities of *Carras*, and *Niſibe*: for being terrified with the firſt battailes, SAPOR was in ſo great feare, as notwithſtanding that he had leuied a very ſufficient Army, yet he not onely durſt not fight with GORDIANVS; but leauing the ſaid cities and others, he retired himſelfe into his kingdome, abandoning the limits and confines of the Roman Empire. In this warre all things were gouerned and managed by the counſell and direction of MISITHEVS, GORDIANVS his father in law, who was his Prefect and captaine generall: who gouerned all things ſo well, that he failed not in any thing; and ſo by his counſell and valour GORDIANVS obteined many victories: and the Romane Armie proceeded, being excellentlie well inſtructed and trained, aſwell in the diſcipline which apperteineth to ſouldiers, as in all other things which were requiſite for the warres. The like happened in all other matters, which were expedient for the good gouernment of the whole Empire: for he was ſo good and ſo wiſe a man, and therewith the good inclination and diſpoſition of the Emperour did ſo concurre, in whom wanted no ſufficiencie nor diſcretion for his age, that all the time of his raigne (which were ſixe yeeres) the Romane Empire enioyed peace, reſt, and all happineſs. And while as all things were in this eſtate, MISITHEVS fell ſick and died, IVLIVS CAPITOLINVS writeth, that he was ſecretlie poiſoned by PHILIP, who ſucceeded him in his charge, and was afterwards Emperour, and who alſo was the cauſe of the death and ruine of the Emperour GORDIANVS; who as ſoone as MISITHEVS was dead, made PHILIP his Prefect and Captaine generall, nothing ſuſpecting him of treaſon. This PHILIP was borne in *Arabia*, of a baſe and diſhonorable parentage; but a very valiant man, and bred vp in the warres in the Romane Armies, and had held many offices and gouernments. As ſoone as this

The death of Misitheus.

this barbarian was aduanced by GORDIANVS to that high dignitie, he practiſed how he might obtaine the Empire for himſelfe, and ſought by all meanes to win the good will of the ſouldiers, and to make them enemies to GORDIANVS. It happened that in the Armie was great ſcarcitie of victuals; which was done by the ſecret practice of PHILIP: and the ſouldiers imagining the negligence of GORDIANVS to haue been the cauſe thereof, determined to make PHILIP equall with him in the Empire, and that he ſhould be as his tutor and gouernor: which the vertuous yong GORDIANVS patiently endured. For he could not withſtand the audacious determination of the ſouldiers: and PHILIP, ſeeing himſelfe equall with him, became preſently ſo inſolent and audacious towards GORDIANVS (by reaſon of his young yeeres, and the fauor of the Armie) as he began to commaund all, as though hee had been ſole Emperor. But GORDIANVS being vnable to endure this diſgrace (for great and Noble mindes can hardly ſuffer themſelues to be deſpiſed and oppreſſed) aſſembling the Army, complained openly to the Captaines and ſouldiers, of the pride and ingratitude of PHILIP, calling to minde the benefits which he had beſtowed vpon him, and ſought to perſwade them to depoſe him from the Empire.

The wickedneſſe and ingratitude of Philip, and the miſery of Gordianus.

PHILIP ſeeing this, ſetting all ſhame apart, aſſembling together ſuch as were of his faction, and ſeeking to get the good will of all men, brought his purpoſe to ſo good iſſue, as the miſerable Emperor GORDIANVS being abandoned, was brought to ſuch extremitie, as he ſent to intreat PHILIP, that if he would not permit him to be his equall, yet at the leaſt that he would be pleaſed to allowe him the dignitie of CÆSAR: which ſeeing he could not obtaine, he deſired that he might be his Pretorian Prefect. Which being alſo denied, he requeſted him to doe him the fauour, that he might be one of his Captaines ſo long as he ſhould liue. To this his laſt petition, his cruell minde ſeemed to yeeld: but afterwards conſidering how much GORDIANVS was beloued in *Rome*, in *Africa*, and in all the other Prouinces, as well for his naturall vertues, as for the nobilitie of the houſe from which he was deſcended, he commanded him to bee ſlaine. And this was the end of the Noble and worthy yong Emperor GORDIANVS; who raigned ſix yeers: foure alone, and two in the company of PVPIENVS and BALBINVS, in the yeer of our Lord 247, and in the twentith yeer of his age.

The death of Gordianus.

Ann. Dom. 247

GORDIANVS was of a pleaſant and very Noble condition, of gentle behauiour, very ſtudious, and giuen to learning; ſo as they write, that he had in his Library threeſcore and two thouſand Books. He was infinitely beloued of the Senate and people of *Rome*, and generally of all nations of the Empire, and no leſſe by the ſouldiers and men of war, who called him their ſon. Although in this ſhort ſodaine furie, after the mannner of beaſts they murthered him by the procurement, practice and treaſon of PHILIP; yet their furie being paſt, they made him a ſepulchre in the confines of *Perſia*, whereupon they wrote this inſcription in the Latine, Perſian, Hebrew, and Egyptian tongues, to the end that of all men it might bee read and vnderſtood:

To the ſacred GORDIANVS, *who ouercame the Perſians, the Gothes, and the Sarmates, extinguiſhed the Roman Ciuil diſcords, and likewiſe ſubdued the Germanes, but not the Philippicks.*

Which ſeemeth to be annexed therto, for that in the *Philippick* fields he was put to the worſe by the Alanes; and alſo for that he was commanded to be ſlaine by PHILIP.





THE LIFE OF PHILIP THE FIRST, AND NINE AND TWENTITH EMPEROR OF ROME.

(*)



Y the subtlety and wicked practices (which we haue already before declared) this traitor PHILIP came to the Empire, and was sworne and obeyed by the whole Armie: he presently aduertised the Senate of his election, and of the death of GORDIANVS, concealing the manner thereof; alleaging that he died of a naturall infirmitie. The Senate giuing credit to his letters, approued his election, and gaue him the name of AVGVSTVS: which when he vnderstood, hauing a great desire to come to *Rome*, and to see himselfe Lord thereof, hee made a dishonourable peace with the Persians: and leauing vnto them the Prouince of *Mesopotamia*, and part of *Syria*, he came with his Armie towards *Rome*. But first he desired to visit his countrie *Arabia*; wherein, for a memoriall of his name, he builded a Citie, which he called *Philopopolis*, neere the place where he was borne; and made his sonne his companion in the Empire, whose name was also PHILIP, a childe of six or seuen yeeres old: who (as AVRELIVS VICTOR, and EVTROPIVS doe write) was naturally so sad and sowre, as he was neuer seene to laugh, neither could any man by any deuice prouoke him to laughter. PHILIP being come to *Rome*, although he was receiued as soueraigne Lord, yet was his comming nothing pleasing to the Senate nor Romane people, considering that he had giuen away the Prouince of *Mesopotamia* to the Persians. Which when he vnderstood, after that he had made a great donatiue, and distributed much money and other gifts among the people, thereby to get their good wils and loue; he sought occasion to make warre against the Persians, and proclaimed the same; with a resolution to recouer the honour which he had lost. But that warre ended before it began, without any breach of peace: for the Persians promised to restore the Prouinces without warre or any opposition.

Philip made peace with the Persians.

PHILIP hauing now raigned two yeeres (and a thousand yeeres being expired since that *Rome* was founded) he commanded certaine feasts and games to be made, which they called Secular, which was (as it were) to celebrate the birth day of *Rome*; which feasts were made in *Rome* euery hundred yeeres. Yet concerning the time there were many opinions; and some Emperors celebrated these feasts and shewes before their time: as, the Emperour CLAVDIVS before remembred. But the truth is, that they were called Secular, for that they could be made but once in a mans whole life time. Finally, they were the most sumptuous and solemne that were made in *Rome*: for so did OCTAVIVS make them, and CLAVDIVS also, as I haue said. And afterwards the Emperor DOMITIANVS, although he obserued not the iust computation of the yeeres, as did the Emperour CLAVDIVS, but followed the account of AVGVSTVS

Secular games, and why so called.

GVSTVS CÆSAR: and after that, SEPTIMIVS SEVERVS; and now this PHILIP celebrated the same, with the greatest pomp & magnificence that euer had bin seen before this time, as EVSEBIVS recordeth; who saith, That in the place called *Circulus Maximus*, were hunted and slaine an infinit number of wilde beasts; and there also fought two thousand Sword-players, who (as wee haue said) slew one another to giue delight to the beholders, in as furious manner as men now adaies vse to fight vpon challenges in single combats. It is also written, that in POMPEIES Theatre were such shewes and games, that they lasted three daies and three nights continually; wherein were so great lights that men might see as well at midnight as at noone-daies; whereof EVTROPIVS and POMPONIVS also make mention. In these sports and about the end of them, as they were many, there being little heed taken, POMPEIES Theatre took fire, and the greatest part of the timber worke was burnt, with other sumptuous buildings neere vnto it; which fire was hardly quenched. PAVLVS OROSIVS writeth, that this PHILIP was the first Christian Emperour that was truly baptized, and that beleeued, and receiued the faith of CHRIST. Other authors affirme, that both hee, his mother and his sonne were christened; and that ORIGEN wrote certaine letters to him; wherein he perswaded him to beleeue and to obserue the Christian faith. Others say, that he did but faine and dissemble it, thereby to make himselfe the stronger against DECIVS, through the helpe of the Christians, which DECIVS rebelled against him: But I rather beleeue OROSIVS and EVSEBIVS.

Philip baptized a Christian.

PHILIP and his sonne liuing thus in the quiet possession of the Empire, the Gothes, which in the time of GORDIANVS had infested *Thracia*, came now from *Scythia* with a very great Armie through *Missia* into *Thracia*, and did much hurt there, burning many cities and townes: against whome, the Emperour sent for Captaine one MARINVS, a man very expert in the warres, and very valiant of his person; who when he was settled in his charge, with the aide and fauour of the men of warre, whereof he before was Captaine, and of the ordinarie Legions of *Illyricum*, leauing the seruice wherein he was employed, resolued to rebell, and to make himselfe Emperour, holding it lawfull to betray him, *that* had been a traitor to another; and for such was presently sworne and proclaimed by the Armie.

Marinus rebelled against Philip.

When PHILIP vnderstood hereof, he was much troubled: and in great feare complained to the Senate of the ingratitude and presumption of MARINVS. Some write that DECIVS was there present: who being a man of great wisdom & experience, very Nobly descended, and was afterwards Emperour, did comfort and encourage him, and perswaded him not to bee grieued therewith: for (quoth he) MARINVS his presumption will shortly cost him very deare, which happened so indeede: For, within fewe daies after, the same Armie which had chosen him, being discontented with the manner of his carriage toward them, were as ready to bereaue him of his life, as they were to make him Emperor; and accordingly slew him. Which newes being brought to PHILIP, and he remembring what DECIVS had said in the Senate, gaue him the charge and command of the Armie against the Gothes and Scythians, with agreat encrease both of men and munition, and of all thing s necessarie for such an enterprise. DECIVS as a man of experience and discretion, and sufficiently able to discharge that office, came to the Army: where within fewe daies all the souldiers, as well for the worthinesse of his person, as also for that they stood in feare of PHILIP for those matters lately past, resolued to make him Emperor: and so indeede by force and against his will they made him to take the enfignes, name and dignitie of Emperor.

Decius made Emperour by the souldiers against his wil.

When DECIVS saw himselfe aduanced to so high an estate, he practised a cunning policy, which was thus; He priuily sent a secret messenger to tell PHILIP that he had accepted the title of Emperor, being perforce constrained thereto, as was well knowne; but held no man for Emperour but PHILIP; and that he therefore should not be offended: for he did assure him, that as soone as he could possibly get any libertie, he would renounce the Empire. This he did to the end that PHILIP should take no care, nor make any such preparation against him, as reason required; and finally, to temporize vntill that he might encrease his power, and make himselfe able to defend his cause. But PHILIP (whether he gaue credit to his speeches or no) forbowed not his businesse, but determined with himselfe to repose no trust in any other Captaine, but to goe against him himselfe in person: and to that end leuied many new troupes, and sent for the ordinary legions out of sundry Prouinces, threatning and sweating that he would teare DECIVS and the rebellious legions which were with him in pieces; And so departed from *Rome*, commanding his men of warre with such choler and in such hautie

Preparation made by Philip against Decius.

tie manner, as he became hatefull to all men. And they holding, DECIVS more worthy of the Empire, before he went out of *Italy*, in the Citie of *Verona* proclaiming DECIVS Emperour, his owne souldiers slue him, cutting his head off, by the midst of his face, iust with the vpper row of his teeth.

Philip slaine in Verona by his owne souldiers.

When as the newes hereof came to *Rome*, the Pretorian souldiers killed his melancholie sonne, who was neuer knowne to laugh, being (according to some writers) about the fift yeer of his and his fathers raigne; and after some other writers, the seuenth: Which happened in the yeere of our Lord two hundred, fiftie and two, after EVSEBIVS his computation.

Truly, it was the iust iudgement of God, that by the same meanes that he obtained the Empire, he lost the same: and the same souldiers by whose hands hee put his good liege Lord GORDIANVS *to death, euen the very same souldiers murthered him: and, as he was a traytor and disloyall to his soueraigne; so found he none faithfull to him being Lord.*

THE LIFE OF DECIVS, ONLY OF THIS NAME, AND THIRTITH EMPEROR OF *ROME*.

(***)

PHILIP and his sonne being both dead (in such manner as before is expressed) DECIVS without any contradiction was confirmed Emperor: for the Senate presently chose him in his absence, and gaue him the title of AVGVSTVS, and so did all the Prouinces and the Armies. For, all writers affirme, that morally this DECIVS was an excellent man, and was endued with many vertues and sufficiencies: hee was very wise and discreete, and of great experience, and had held many offices and dignities before hee attained to the Empire; which he obtained not by fauor or any sinister meanes; but for his deserts and goodnesse: And so gouerned the same wisely and vprightly, with singular equitie and authority. The like he did in the Empire, during the small time he enioyed the same: and aboue all, he was a most politick, valiant and excellent Captaine; so as he might iustly haue been numbered among the good Emperors, if he had not (as an infidell) persecuted the Church of God, and all Christians, with most barbarous cruelty; such, as the like thereof had neuer been seene: the which (as some writers affirme) he did of malice, and for the hatred which he bare against his predecessor the Emperor PHILIP, for that he was a Christian: And so in his time the Church of God suffered the seuenth persecution. In such sort he persecuted in his crueltie, staining therewith his other vertues, that he crowned many with martyrdome; leauing to vs examples of their holy and vertuous liues and endings

The seuenth persecution of the Church of God.

endings. This Emperour was borne in a Citie called *Cabali* in the lower *Pannonia*, which wee call *Hungarie*, and (as we haue sayd) was of a very Noble and ancient Lineage. As soone as he saw himselfe an absolute Lord, through the desire he had to come to *Rome*, he made CORNELIVS LICINIVS VALERIANVS Generall of his mightie Armie, who was a wise man and of great experience: so as for his good conditions, and his age, being threescore and sixe yeeres ould, hee was of great authoritie, and to all men seemed most to bee fitte for that charge.

When DECIVS was come to *Rome*, he shewed himself in all things a very good Gouernor, and preserued the authority of the Senat; following their counsel in all matters of gouernment. And among other things, he permitted them to chuse a Censor at their pleasure, which was an *antient Magistracy of great authority*; for his office was to correct the manners and customes, and to reforme the abuses and disorders of the people, and therefore had supreme iurisdiction ouer all men: and this office, from the time that *Rome* came to be commanded by one head, the Emperors vsurped, and made themselues Censors. Whereupon the Senate chose the said VALERIANVS for Censor, notwithstanding that hee was absent; and, moreouer, without any request made by DECIVS, they nominated his sonne (whose name was also DECIVS) CÆSAR, and his Successor. And so he liued in the City about one yeer, gouerning all things with great wisdome and equity, by the aduice and consent of the Senate; to the great contentment of all the Roman people, excepting the Christian Common-wealth: against which, hee (as a blinde man) made generall edicts and decrees; whereby he commanded them to bee slain and persecuted, as EVSEBIVS writeth. And whereas the Goths, at this time inuading *Thracia* and *Misia*, had subdued the greatest part of those Prouinces, DECIVS determined in person to make head against them; and, carrying his sonne with him, hee left the gouernment in the hands of the Senate: and, leuying new forces, he marched against the Gothes; and, coming where his Legions were, within fewe daies after he joined battell with them: in the which although it were very doubtfull, yet in the end hee had the victorie; and slue thirty thousand of them; constraining the rest to flie to the mountaines and other places of hard accesse, not daring to come into the Plaines; and he brought them to such extremitie, as he had easily ruined them, if he had not beene betrayed, as you shall heare. For, the King of the Gothes sent him word, that if he would giue him leaue quietly to depart, he would abandon that Land, and returne to his countrie. But the Emperour hauing taken the passages, imagining that he might easily kill them, or take them prisoners, and so punish their breach of peace granted them in the time of BALBINVS, would not yeeld to the Kings request. Hauing brought them to such a streight as they could not escape out of his hands, he gaue the charge to a notable Captaine of his, whose name was TREBONIANVS GALLVS, being a Roman Gentleman & Gouernor of the frontiers of *Misia*, to keepe certiane passages, through which the Gothes might passe; and to that effect gaue him the command of a great number of souldiers. Who, hauing a desire to make himself Emperor by such means as then were vsed, not onely discharged his office wherein he was imploied, very ill; but gaue secret intelligence to the King of the Gothes, that he would let him passe, aduising him therewith to diuide his Army into two parts; the one half wherof he should lay in ambush, and with the other he should assault the Emperors Camp, who mistrusted no such matter; and that, faining fear, he should flee back, and draw the Emperour into his ambush, where he might in safety kill him. This contract being made, the effect followed, as writeth POMPONIVS LETVS: but IORNANDES relateth it after another manner. Yet all Authors agree, that, through the treason of his Captain GALLVS, the Emperor DECIVS came to a battell with the Gothes, to their great aduantage: wherein notwithstanding that hee and his souldiers fought most valiantly, yet both himself and his sonne therein ended their liues. IORNANDES writeth, that, before a man could well judge of the victory, the yong DECIVS was so mortally wounded with an arrow, that hee fell from his horse in sight of his father the Emperor; who with a loud voice called to his souldiers, willing them not be dismaid: for, the death of one Knight would bee no hinderance to the Common-wealth, neither to the battell. But in the end foreseeing his ruine, and that the Gothes apparantly had the victory; to the end he would not fall into his enemies hands, he clapt his spurs to his horse, and (giuing him the head) leapt into a deep lake of water that was thereby; wherin, through the waight of his armour, he was soon drowned: so as his body was neuer found. The Gothes, following the victory, made great slaughter in the Roman Army, which was put to rout; and those which escaped fled to the Legions wch TREBONIANVS GALLVS commanded,

Valerianus made Censor by the Senate.

The Senat chose yong Decius for Cæsar, and his fathers successor.

A battell betweene Decius and the Gothes.

Trebonianus Gallus betrayed Decius, and was the cause of his death.

A battell betwixt Decius and the Gothes.

The generous speeches vsed by Decius, seeing his son mortally wounded fall to the ground.

The miserable death of Decius.

manded, who as a confederat with the Gothes, was in safety; and sought no reuenge for the death of the Emperor. And in this manner ended the life and raigne of the Emperor DECIVS, who had oftentimes deserued the same for the cruelties which he commanded to be executed vpon the Christians, which hapned in the yeere of our Sauiour 254. and in the fiftith yeere of his age, when he had raigned but two yeers. It is not knowne who was this Emperors wife, neither what his father and ancestors names were, or who they were; neither can we set downe any particularities, as we haue obserued in the liues of other Emperors, for that no author maketh any mention thereof, and all write very little of him. I say this, to the end that the reader may vnderstand, that I will not presume to write at large in a matter wherein I find such breuitie vsed by authors: for I seeke rather briefly to set downe the naked truth, then to beautifie the Historie with fictions, as I haue seene some men doe. My purpose from the beginning hath been to be briefe: for I do not properly write an Historie, but the sum and an abbridgment of Histories, containing the liues of the Emperors, whereof we will write more largely when it shall seeme more expedient; although that in the times whereof we now write, Historiographers wrote so negligently, and obserued so little order, as a man can hardly draw that little out of their writings which we treate of.

An. Dom. 254.

THE LIFE OF TREBONIANVS GALLVS, ONELY OF THAT NAME, AND ONE AND THIRTITH ROMANE EMPEROR.

(***)

THE Gothes hauing by the meanes aboue mentioned obtained this victorie, wherein both DECIVS and his son died, those souldiers which thence escaped recouering GALLVS his Camp, hailed him Emperor, knowing nothing of the treason which he had committed: and he which desired nothing more, accepted the same, and took the Ensignes of the Empire. When the newes of the death of DECIVS and of his sonne came to *Rome*, and of the slaughter made in the Roman Armie (before that GALLVS his treason was discouered) the Senate vnderstanding that the Armie had chosen him for Emperor, and that his companies had rescued those which escaped from the battaile, confirmed his election, and gaue him the name and title of AVGVSTVS. But this GALLVS, notwithstanding that hee was a Gentleman and descended of an honourable house, was not contented with the treason which he had vsed towards his Emperour and soueraigne Lord, but through a desire to com to *Rome*, made peace with the Gothes; the most shamefull and dishonorable, that euer was made by any Roman since that *Rome* was first founded: for hee promised to pay them

A dishonorable peace made by Gallus with the Gothes.

them yeerly a great summe of money; making that people which was held for Lord of the world, and Subduer and Tamer of all other Nations, tributarie to the barbarous: so as, to the end he might be called Emperor, he made both himselfe and the Empire tributarie and subject to the Gothes. Such power hath ambition and desire to raign, that men thereby make themselues slaues to some, conditionally that they may command and haue authority ouer others. And hee prospered as ill therewith as hee had deserued: for, the Gothes afterwards brake the peace, and did more harm in his time than in any Age before, sacking and spoiling the Prouinces of *Thracia*, *Misia*, *Thessalia*, *Macedonia*, and the Confines and Frontiers thereof: for all which he took little care. And, on the other side, the Persians in *Asia*, seeing the good successe of the Gothes, entred with great power into the Countries of *Mesopotamia* and *Syria*; which were prouinces of the Empire: and afterwards, passing forwards, they subdued *Armenia*. But GALLVS, taking no care for these things, made his son BOLVSSENVS his companion in the Empire, who was a very childe. And afterwards he not onely permitted the persecution inflicted by DECIVS vpon the Christians, but increased the same.

The Gothes breake the peace made with Gallus.

The Persians entred the prouinces of the empire

There began also in his time a most cruell generall pestilence, whereof died an infinite number of people; which beganne in *Ethiopia* in the Confines of *Egypt*, and from thence infected all parts of the world, and continued ten yeers. During which time (as PAVLVS OROSIVS recounteth) there was no Prouince, no City, nor priuate house, which was not left in a manner desolate with this vniuersall plague; whereof hee compiled a Book, as EVSEBIVS and S. CYPRIAN beat record, who liued in those times. So as all the Raign of this wicked Emperor was infortunate and mournfull; as well for the Prouinces which hee lost, as for the calamities before recited. Onely hee had one notable victory in the Prouince of *Misia* against the Gothes, vnder the leading of EMILIANVS a Captain of his: where he slew many thousands of them, and followed the execution for certain daies. This ouerthrowe was the ruine and totall destruction of GALLVS: for, EMILIANVS, waxing proud for so great a victory, and returning from it with an imagination of that which afterwards ensued, gaue great gifts among his souldiers; and so, getting their loue and good will, was chosen and sworn Emperor. Which when GALLVS vnderstood, with all the haste hee could make hee parted from *Rome* with a great Army, leading his son with him. Against whom EMILIANVS boldly cam to a battell, and had the victory: wherein GALLVS and his son were both slain, and their souldiers went to serue EMILIANVS. This hapned in the yeer of our Lord 256; GALLVS beeing then (as testifieth AVRELIVS VICTOR) at the age of seuen and forty yeers, and in the second yeer of his most vnhappy Raign.

An vniuersall plague in the time of Decius.

Emilianus ouerthrew the Gothes in a battell.

Emilianus chosen Emperor.

The Emperor Gallus and his son both slain in battell.

THE LIFE OF EMILIANVS, ONLY OF THIS NAME, AND TWO AND THIRTITH EMPEROR OF *ROME*.

(***)

EMILIANVS succeeded GALLVS in the Empire. Some Authors account him not in the number of the Emperours, and shew a reason for it, considering the small time that he held the same; which was rather in name than effect. But, seeing he was so, I haue thought good to make particular relation of him, for as much as EVTROPIVS and other Authours haue done the like. I say then, that the Emperor GALBVS being ouerthrowne and slain, and EMILIANVS remaining victorious; joyning both Armies in one, hee beganne to vse the name and authority which was giuen him. But, seeing the time of his Raign was so short that

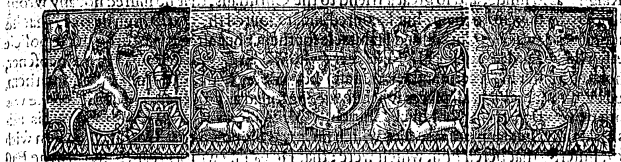
The origine of Emilianus.

it lasted not aboue foure moneths, there can no worthie thing be written: for as his time was very briefe, so doe authors briefly write. He was by birth an Africane, borne in the countrie of *Mauritania*, of base and obscure parentage, and from his youth was bred vp in the warrs: and as he increased in yeeres, so did he in honor and offices. At length the Emperor DECIVS made him Captain General, and Gouernor of the frontiers and confines of *Sarmatia*; in which charge GALLVS left him, and there succeeded that which we haue recited, which was to obtaine a victorie against the Gothes, and to rebell against GALLVS; and afterwards to ouerthrow and kill both him & his son, and to make himself Emperor. When as these matters were ended he wrote with all speede to the Senat, giuing them to vnderstand of his victory and election, putting them also *in mind of the negligence and euill gouernment of* GALLVS, *and of the Prouinces* which the Roman Empire had lost in his time; promising very confidently to recouer *Thracia* from the Gothes, and *Mesopotamia* & *Armenia* from the Persians, and to cleere all the confines of the Empire from their enemies: which his purpose as he would haue put it in execution, he was preuented; for the Army which was in the Alps (wherof VALERIANVS, a man of Noble birth and of great authority, was General) opposed, and in no case would allow the election of EMILIANVS, but rose against him, and chose their commander for Emperor. Which when EMILIANVS souldiers vnderstood, mov'd with the reputation of VALERIANVS, which (as we will declare in his life) was very great, and to auoide ciuil wars; they resolued to confirm his election: and so in a manner by the Common consent of them al, EMILIANVS was slaine, being 40 yeers old, when he had raigned little more then 3 moneths. All his troups went to serue VALERIANVS, to whom they sware, and obeyed him for their Lord and Emperor. And this was the end of the raigne of EMILIANVS, because his end should be answerable to his beginning. And in truth, writing this discourse, and considering of the estate & condition of things in those times, I was moued with great admiration and pitie, to think of the miseries of that age: for where there was such insolency and disorder, as souldiers did daily murther their Emperors, and chose others as they pleased, and no man sought to punish them, or to reuenge the wrong; what shal a man think was done in particular prouinces? what robberies, what rapines and outrages were there vsed? What execution of iustice could that Emperor command to be done, which came to the Empire by treason, and killing his soueraigne Lord? It is easy to be beleeued, that he would willingly pardon all Offences, vpon condition that he might be obeyed; especially such as were committed by powerfull and mightie men. And moreouer, oftentimes the newes of the election of an Emperor was scarcely published, and his election confirmed, before that the like newes came, that he was slaine by those which had chosen him, or by some other personage of more power. And it may be that it happened so vnto them, for that they took no other care, nor busied themselus about ought else, but how they might support themselus in the Empire. And so the reader shall find that thirteene Emperors which preceded VALERIANVS, of which we will treat, died violent deaths; and none of them naturally, in his bed, beginning from the time of the good MARCVS AVRELIVS, vntill this man. And so the same VALERIANVS, together with his son, & other Emperors also died by the sword. In the time that this VALERIANVS & GALIENVS raigned, there were thirtie tyrants which vsurped the name of Emperor, who killing one another, or plotting it by some other means, none of them died his naturall death; so as, when one was proclaimed Emperor, he might be assured to com to an ill end; in such sort, that among all the miseries of those times, the greatest was, To be an Emperor: and the Emperours were such, and came to that dignity by such means, that by Gods just judgement they made such ends. And *though in all estates there were disorders and confusion* (and so it appears by the histories of those times) yet onely the holy faith and Christian doctrine encreased, as well in vertue and holines of life, as in number of people: but they escaped not free from persecution. This I thoght good to note & obserue in this place, thereby to shew that men ought not so much to blame these times wherein we now liue, as some haue done; commending the customs of antient times, diffaming and reprouing all that passeth in our time. I deny not but wee now are wicked and sinners: but let the discreet Reader make a comparison of the order now obserued in all things, with the gouernment of those times; and he shall cleerely perceiue the difference, and how farre this doth excell those times past. God grant that we may equall the good and happy times, in vertue.

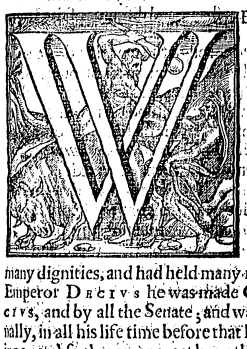
Large promises made by Emilianus.

Emilianus slain by his souldiers, & Valerianus made Emperor.

THE



THE LIFE OF VALERIANVS, ONLY OF THAT NAME, AND THREE AND THIRTIETH EMPEROR OF ROME.



E haue already declared, how that VALERIANVS was chosen Emperor, by the souldiers whereof he was Generall; and how that EMILIANVS was afterwards slaine, by the hands of his owne souldiers; and that all reduced themselues vnder the seruice of VALERIANVS; and that in this manner he was held for Emperor both in *Rome*, and abroad, with as great fauor and good liking of all nations, as euer any had beene. VALERIANVS when he was chosen Emperor, was of great age: for all authors which write of him affirme, that he was then fullie threescore and ten yeeres old, which time he had spent with great honor and fame both vnder good and bad Emperors, by meanes of his vertuous qualities and valour; and had attained to many dignities, and had held many magistracies and offices: among which, in the time of the Emperor DECIVS he was made Censor of *Rome*, and was highly honored by the same DECIVS, and by all the Senate; and was also of a very Noble and ancient house and familie. Finally, in all his life time before that he was Emperor, he was honored and happie in all his doings; and so there was great hope that he should haue repaired all the calamities and miseries of his time; which happened cleane contrary. For after his ioyfull beginning, in all the rest of his age he was miserable and vnfortunate. When he came to the Empire hee had two sonnes, the one called GALIENVS, and the other (as himselfe) VALERIANVS, which he had by seuerall women. TREBELLIVS POLLIO and others say, that VALERIANVS was but his nephew. His victorie and election being knowne in *Rome*, and with great ioy and gladnes applauded; GALIENVS being there, was by the Senate and people chosen CÆSAR, and his fathers successor, as afterwards he was, as EVTROPIVS writeth: but SEXTVS AVRELIVS VICTOR saith, that his father made him AVGVSTVS, which was his equall and companion with him in the Empire: both the one and the other might well be. His second sonne VALERIANVS (as some say) was made CÆSAR; and others name him not. VALERIANVS beginning to take vpon him the gouernment of the Empire, the first thing he did, was to nominate and appoint Captaines (men of experience, and that had shewed themselues valiant) chosen among many Noble men, which had serued in the warres against the Parthians, the Persians, the Gothes, and other northerly nations: and so he determined to goe himself in person (and did so) to the warres of the East, against the Persians, which was most dangerous: for SAPOR K. of *Persia* had inuaded & taken certain prouinces of the Empire. There was also then in the East, one CORIALVS, an audacious man, and of great account, who by the consent of SAPOR K. of *Persia*, proclaimed himself Emperor, seising on *Cæsarea*, *Antioch* & other cities and places in the borders; but his prosperity soon ended: for his own people of malice & fearing VALERIANVS coming, slue him ere the Emperor arriued: who, EVSEBIVS saith, in the beginning

Valerianus fauoured of all men.

Galienus made Cæsar by the Senate.

Coriolus chosen Emperour by the consent of the King of Persia, and his death.

of his Raign was so milde, and so great a friend to the Christians, that he suffred not any wrong or violence to be done vnto them; but fauoured and honoured them in so high degree, that his House and Palace was as a Church and Habitacle for them: but afterward, through the policie and perswasion of a Magician or Nigromancer (who was an Egyptian born, an arrant cosener, and a notable Master in sorcerie and witchcraft) hee not onely desisted from fauouring them, but vsed extreme cruelty in all places whersoeuer he found any of them; so as in his time was the ninth persecution of the Catholick Church, whereof PAVLVS OROSIVS in his Histories maketh particular mention. For which sin it was supposed, that God plagued him with the great miseries that befell him, which were; that He passing with a great Army into the East against SAPOR King of *Persia*, SAPOR, who was a man of great courage, and very mighty, came to incounter him; between whom it was supposed there would haue been a very great battell: but it hapned otherwise. For, the Emperour through the negligence, as some say, of the Generall of his Army who conducted it; but, as others say, through the treason and deceit of the same Generall, was set in a place without any sufficient guard: where being compassed about by SAPOR's men of war, all the passages were taken; in such sort, that, being vnable to make any resistance, he was taken prisoner by SAPOR, who was a proud Barbarian: besides the other injuries which he vsed to the poor old imprisoned Emperor, euery time he took horse he made him to stoop down; and he, setting his foot vpon his neck, mounted on horseback.

The ninth persecution of the Christians.

Valerianus taken prisoner by Sapor King of the Persians; and his vsage.

In this sorrowfull bondage and misery liued this poor old man six or seuen yeers: and his son GALIENVS took no care to procure his liberty; to the great shame and disgrace of the Imperiall Majesty.

This imprisonment of the Emperor was so much abhorred through the world, and SAPOR was so much blamed for the excessiue cruelty which he vsed towards him, that not onely those which were subject to the Roman Empire, but also the barbarous Kings which were friends to it, were greatly displeased therewith: so as presently, when they vnderstood therof, they wrote their Letters vnto him, that he should freely without any ransome set him at liberty: of which Letters, TREBELLIVS POLLIO translateth one, which I will set down *verbatim*; whereby it may appear, how much the power of the Romans then was by them esteemed.

A Letter from King Belsolus to Sapor King of Persia.

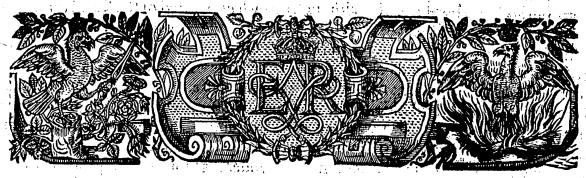
BELSOLVS King of Kings, to King SAPOR, greeting. If I were assured that the Romans might at any time be wholly ouercomn, I would rejoice with thee for the victory which thou hast obtained against them; whereof thou makest such vaunts, accounting thy particular good to be profitable for vs all. But, seeing that through their fortune, or their force and vertue, that Nation is so mighty; consider and take good heed, that the taking of an old Emperor (and that through treacherie) redound not to the ruine of thy self and thy successors: and consider how many people and nations the Romans, of enemies, haue made subjects and vassals to their Empire; by which in former time they haue been ouercome. We haue heard and knowe that in times past the Gaules ouercame them, and that the great and mighty City of *Rome* was entred, yea and burned by them; and now it is manifest, that the same Gaules are subject to the Romans. And haue not the Africans ouerthrowne them sometimes? Yet at this day they are their subjects, and do serue them. I will not make mention of any more antient and farther remote examples: onely I will say, that MITHRIDATES, King of *Pontus*, was Lord of all *Asia*; and yet in the end was ouerthrowne by them: and at this day all that part of *Asia* which he commanded, is subject to the Romans. If thou wilt follow my counsell, make benefit of the occasion which is offred thee, to obtain a perfect peace with them; which thou maist doo, by restoring VALERIANVS to his people. And so I conclude, that thou hast had great fortune: whereof I am glad if thou knowe how to vse it.

This is the contents of this Letter, and of others which he receiued from other Kings; which in effect do import the same. And the Bactrians, the Albanians, the Iberians, the Scythians of Mount *Taurus*, and other nations of the East, were so much displeased with the taking of VALERIANVS, that they would not receiue the Letters wherein SAPOR wrote vnto them of his victory: and so they sent their Ambassadors to the Captains of the Romans, offering them their aid and assistance for the deliuery of the Emperor. But all auailed not to mitigate the pride and presumption of that cruell King: for, all the time that VALERIANVS liued in his power, he vsed him worse than if hee had been the baseſt slaue in the world; and in the end (as EVSEBIVS writeth) hauing commanded his eies to be pulled out, hee died of age and sorrow in prison. And AGATHVS (an Author of no small authority) writeth, that before he died, SAPOR causeſd him to be flaied aliue: such was the pride and cruelty of this barbarous King.

The death of Valerianus.

VA-

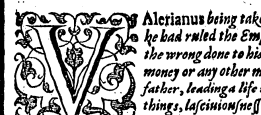
VALERIANVS died in the eight yeere after that he was choſen Emperor: and becauſe that the moſt of the time he liued in prison, the reſt of his raigne they put to the account of his sonne GALIENVS; who was choſen Emperor at the same time with him.



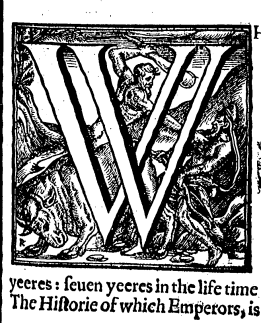
THE LIFE OF GALIENVS,
ONELY OF THAT NAME, AND FOVRE AND THIRTITH ROMANE EMPEROR.

(***)

THE ARGVMENT.



VALERIANVS *being taken prisoner by the King of Persia, his sonne* GALIENVS, *in whose company he had ruled the Empire the space of seuen yeeres, neither made any preparation to reuenge the wrong done to his father, neither took any care to redeeme him from imprisonment with money or any other meanes: and so seeing himself alone in the Empire, wholly forgetting his father, leading a life no lesse careleſse then diſsoueſt; spending his time in banqueting, bathings, lasciuiousneſse, and in beholding sometimes bloudie and cruell, and sometimes pleasant and ridiculous spectacles. This Emperor made so small account of his owne honor; and was so careleſse of the Empire, as notwithstanding that he vnderstood of the rebellion of many Prouinces, and that many men were made Emperors; yet he seemed not to regard the same, alledging that he could liue well enough without them: In so much as a woman, Queene Zenobia, presumed to make head against him, and to defend her selfe against his Armies. Finally, going against* Aureolus, *who made himself e prince of Slauonia, he was beſieged in Milane, through the conspiracy of some which aspired to the Empire; and was slaine in battaile, when hee had raigned eight yeeres alone, and seuen together with his father: whose death, although it was displeasing to his souldiers, was not much lamented by the Romanes; who vnder his gouernment had seene in a manner all the whole Empire ruinated, together with his owne greatneſse.*



WHen VALERIANVS was taken prisoner, his sonne GALIENVS was admitted for sole and absolute Emperour; although that in his fathers time he was but AVGVSTVS. I haue already declared how offensiue the imprisonment of VALERIANVS was, and how that all the world surmiſed that GALIENVS would haue employed all his power, for the libertie of his father, and to haue been reuenged of the injurie done vnto him: but he put no such matter in practice, for it was the leaſt part of his thought; so as it is to be presumed, and many were then of opinion, that he was rather glad that his father was a slaue to the King of *Persia*, then otherwiſe: for by that meanes he was sole Lord of the Empire; which he commanded fifteene yeeres: seuen yeeres in the life time of his father, although in prison; and the reſt afterwards. The Hiſtorie of which Emperors, is the moſt confuſed and hardeſt to write, of all that euer I

haue read or reuewed of all, in the space of these fifteene yeers, there were more excellent men which took vpon them the name of Emperours, or were so, although tyrants, then in three hundred yeeres before, after that IVLIVS CÆSAR had oppressed the libertie of *Rome*. For, in the time of GALIENVS there were thirtie Emperors chosen, and obeyed in diuerse places. Let the discreete reader then consider, that where there happened so many accidents, which often came together, what order can be obserued, but that there will be confusion and obscuritie in the Historie: especially considering the breuitie I am to obserue; and hauing so little light from authors. For I say, that although many haue treated of the life of this Emperour, yet no one hath written so plaine & distinctly as he ought to haue done: and besides this, in some things the one writeth cleane contrarie to the other. Therefore I will vse my best endeuour to bring this obscuritie and confusion to light: wherewith let the Reader rest satisfied, seeing I cannot possibly doe otherwise; except I should write the matter very much at large; which were to disorder the whole, thereby to set one part in order. I say then, that in the raigne and time of GALIENVS, there were greater warres and calamities, then the Romane Empire had euer endured. For VALERIANVS (as PAVLVS OROSIVS noteth) hauing generally persecuted the Church in all places and parts vnder his iubiection, it pleased God, as well in his owne person, as in his ministers and officers, and in all those which therein were confederates, to vse publike and notable punishment in all parts, in the time of his sonne; and the greatest part thereof in his owne time, liuing in captiuitie. And notwithstanding that GALIENVS as soone as he was alone swaied the scepter of the Empire (as EVSEBIVS and OROSIVS testifie) commanded the persecution inflicted vpon the Christians to cease, sending his letters and edicts to all parts: yet as he did it as an Infidell, and for feare onely, so the diuine iustice ceased not to punish the excessiue cruelties past, for a stained present amendement. So as during the whole life time of GALIENVS, the Empire was vsurped by diuers tyrants, which were called Emperors: onely *Italy* and *Rome* continued firme to him.

In the time of Galienus were thirtie Emperours in sundrie parts.

The authors excuse.

And in that time also, strange Nations entred and inuaded the Empire with fire and sword; of one side the Germanes came downe into *Italy*, and passing the Alpes came as farre as *Rauenna*: The Gothes robbed and spoiled all *Pontus*, and a great part of *Asia* the lesse; and in *Europe* all *Græcia*, *Macedonia*, and their confines: The Sarmates subdued and robbed *Austria* and *Hungary*: The Germans passing through *France* entred *Spaine*, to the citie of *Tarragona*, which they ruined. The Persians and Parthians, alreadie possessing *Mesopotamia*, seised vpon the greatest part of *Syria*. So as in conclusion all things went so to wracke, as all writers affirme, that the Romane Empire had then ended and come to confusion, had not those tyrants, which in many places rose and called themselues Emperours (some of which were very valiant and worthie men) holpen to defend and plucke the Empire out of the hands of those strange Nations, as wee will declare. And, the Emperour to whom it belonged to prouide for all things, although that in the beginning he made some good shew of himselfe, perfourming some things as a valiant Captaine, and ouercame and slew INGENVVS a wise and valiant Knight, which rebelled and was called Emperour, being Captaine and gouernour of *Hungary* and *Austria*; and also fought a battaile wherein hee ouercame the Gothes, in which victories he vsed incredible cruelties, so as in one citie he left no man liuing, of what age soeuer: Yet afterwards hee gaue himselfe so much to vice and sensualitie, that when as the world was infested with warres and combustions, he continued the most part in *Rome*, taking his pleasure among whores and bawdes, compassed about with roses and flowers; seeking new delights; oftentimes bathing himselfe; studying how hee might keepe figges and other fruites greene all the yeere, and how they might last two or three yeeres; hauing ordinarily at his table most exquisite and delicate meates, and of great cost. And in such manner he passed his time, that nothing troubled him, neither took he any care for the losses which daily ensued in the territories of his Empire. It is strange, To consider, that the Romane Empire at that time was not onely molested with warres and persecutions by men, but euen the very heauens and elements did seeme to conspire, and to plague it: for TREBELLIVS POLLIO writeth, that the heauens were darkned in such sort, that for many daies space, they neuer saw the Sunne; and therewithall the earth did oftentimes shake in *Rome*, in all *Italy*, in *Africa*, and other countries: and with those Earthquakes, many great buildings fell downe, and slew an infinite number of people. Principally in *Asia* many cities were destroied, and the earth opened in many places, and shewed great vaults and caues; and there sprang out at them great streames of salt water. And there were heard thundrings and rorings in the bowels of the earth, without any thunder in the aire, as is vsuall: whereat many were so amazed, as they died

Harmes done in the Empire by strange nations, in the time of Galienus.

Great harmes done in sundrie parts of the world in the time of Galienus, *by Earthquakes and other fearefull things.*

died with feare. The Sea exceeded the bownds, and ouerflowed and drowned many cities; and many prodigious and wonderfull things happened. After this followed the most cruell pestilence that euer was heard or written of: so as in *Rome* there died in one day thereof fiue thousand persons. For all which accidents GALIENVS took so little care, as though there had been no such matter. And when it was told him that the whole kingdome of *Egypt* rebelled against him, he answered; And what then? Cannot we liue without the linnen cloth of *Egypt*? Being aduertised of the spoile and losse of other prouinces, he answered so scornefully, that he seemed not to care for any thing: which was the occasion that so many tyrants made themselues Lords and Emperours in his time. Of which it shall not be amisse to say something, seeing that we haue shewed the life and conditions of GALIENVS, and of his raigne; to the end that his historie may be the better vnderstood. If I should speak of them all at large, and describe their parentage, and all their acts; it would bee an endlesse worke: for (as I said) they were in all, thirtie. But let the reader vnderstand, that all the accidents and occurrences cannot bee set downe in order as they passed: for they were so many, and happened in so many places, and many of them at one instant, that it would bee impossible to bee well vnderstood, if I should obserue the order of the time, wherein euery thing happened: for to speake of one matter I must leaue another; so as the historie would be abrupt and very confused. And therefore we will begin with those matters which happened in the East; and when we haue briefly giuen notice thereof, wee will passe to other parts. Wherefore let him that shall reade it vnderstand, that many of these things came to passe at one instant; and sometime before those which are treated of.

VALERIANVS then (as we said in the beginning) being taken prisoner, and his sonne vsing no industrie to set his father at libertie, the souldiers and Captaines which remained in the East, went dispersed and scattered with great sorrow for the disgrace they had receiued; greatly offended with the carelesnes of GALIENVS. Wherefore BALISTA, who was Prefect and Generall of VALERIANVS Armie, an excellent man of warre, very sufficient, and diligent in making prouision for the Armie, and in all other things requisite for the warres; and another singular Captaine of great experience and age, who was of greatest estimation of any man of his time, whose name was MACRINVS, assembling the Romane Legions and cohorts together; with the consent and good liking of them all, they agreed to chuse an Emperour, to defend and preserue the bounds of the Empire, to recouer what was lost, and to set VALERIANVS (if possible) at libertie; seeing that GALIENVS took no care thereof. And after long consultation betweene BALISTA and MACRINVS, in the end MACRINVS was chosen and obeied for Emperour; and with him his two sonnes, the one named MACRINVS, and the other QVIETVS, were made his companions in the Empire: and he presently made BALISTA Prefect or Generall of his Armie. When MACRINVS saw himselfe an Emperour and mightie by reason of the Armies in the East, which he speedily drew together and put in good order; he marched with them to the confines of Persia, and in some battailes staied their insolencies by reason of their former victories. But standing in feare of a valiant Captaine whose name was VALENS, who was Proconsul in the prouince of *Achaia* in *Græcia*; hee sent against him a great Armie vnder the command of PISO, who had bin Consul, and was a Noble and valiant gentleman, to seise on that countrie, and thence to passe into *Italy*. When VALENS vnderstood thereof, to the end he might be of greater authoritie and power, he caused himselfe to be chosen Emperour, and took the ornaments and ensignes of the Empire: wherewith hee drew so many men vnto him, that PISO was driuen to retire with his troupes into *Thessalia*, and there was ouerthrowne and slaine by such as VALENS sent against him; PISO hauing first proclaimed himselfe Emperour, vsing the same policie which his enemie had done. But VALENS did not long enioy this victorie; for within few daies after, he himselfe was slaine by his owne souldiers. And MACRINVS, who raigned Emperour in the East, hauing notice what had passed concerning VALENS and PISO, not contenting himselfe with that which he held, determined with a great Armie to goe to *Rome*, to ruine the Emperour GALIENVS (if he were able) and other tyrants which rebelled; leauing behind him QVIETVS one of his sonnes, and with him BALISTA, with certaine troupes of his best souldiers, for feare of ODENATVS, of whom we will speake heereafter. He began his iourney with fiue and fortie thousand good men of warre: and marching ouer land through *Asia* the lesse, passing the streights of *Constantinople*, he entred into *Thracia*. But before all this, there arose another tyrant in *Slauonia* and *Dalmatia*, whose name was AVREOLVS, and was commander of those men,

Macrinus made Emperour in the East, together with his two sonnes.

Valens made himselfe to be chosen Emperour.

Piso slaine by Valens his souldiers.

Valens slaine by his owne souldiers.

of

Aureolus Emperour in Dalmatia.

of warre, which for the Empire were in those quarters, who (as some say) against his will, was constrained by his souldiers to take vpon him the state and ensignes of the Empire. So as it appeareth, that in that small time, euery one held himselfe sufficient to be an Emperour; and that Armie which made none, was held to be of little worth and of no reputation: but truly the world paid them their due, for none of them died of their naturall death, and most of them were slaine by those which chose them. MACRINVS being to passe with his Armie through those countries which were in subiection to AVREOLVS; as both of them sought to be soueraigne Lords, they fell at variance, and MACRINVS fought a battaile with AVREOLVS his forces, whereof an excellent man called DOMICIANVS was Generall: wherein MACRINVS and his sonne were ouercome and slaine, there ending their high dessignes and great power: But before he fought this battaile (in his way passing through the prouince of *Asbaia*) he ouerthrew the *Gothes*, who had made great spoile and slaughter in the lands of the Empire: whereupon they retyred, and a little withdrew themselues. And of MACRINVS his souldiers which escaped from the battaile, 30000. went ouer to AVREOLVS; and so where AVREOLVS thought he should haue lost, from thence arose his gaine. Which newes when the lawful Emperour GALIENVS vnderstood in *Rome*, finding himselfe too weake to subdue AVREOLVS, he made with him a kinde of league and peace, thereby to end the warres which he had begun against POSTHVMVS, another great Captaine who rebelled in *France*, and was called Emperour: of whom (although this be his place) we will speake hereafter, first to make an end of the troubles in the East, notwithstanding that in all parts of the Empire there were tyrants; neither can we make an end of AVREOLVS, because he outliued GALIENVS, and died in the time of his successor CLAVDIVS. I say then, that in the East there was an excellent man, whose name was ODENATVS, who was Prince and Captaine of a certaine people called Palmerini, inhabiting a prouince in *Syria*, who seeing all things out of order (as all the rest did) sought to make himselfe absolute, and in the beginning (as writeth TREBELLIVS POLLIO) had the title of a King: but afterwards things succeeding prosperously, he took vpon him the name and state of an Emperour, imparting the title and dignitie with HERODE the eldest of three sonnes which he had by his first wife. This his tyrannie was both honorable and profitable to the Romane Empire: for he performed many notable exploits against SAPOR King of *Persia*, who held VALERIANVS prisoner: so as sauing the setting of his person at liberty (for that could not be done) in all the rest he gat sufficient satisfaction for that which was lost, and recouered what SAPOR had vsurped. For, raising many troupes of excellent good souldiers; he gaue him many battailes, in which he gat the victorie, recouered all *Mesopotamia*, and the noble cities of *Nisibe* and *Carras*, and compelled King SAPOR to flye (hauing first ouerthrowne him) and taking his wiues, his treasure and riches, he marched to the citie of *Tesphonte*, and had other great aduentures and victories. But for asmuch as his chiefest purpose was against MACRINVS and his sonnes, he sent a great present of the iewels and prisoners which he had taken from the Persians, to the Emperour GALIENVS: and GALIENVS was so inconstant and so base minded, as he not onely accepted the presents, but confirmed his election, giuing him the name of AVGVSTVS and his companion in the Empire, and he triumphed in *Rome* for the victorie which the other had obtained in *Asia*. While as ODENATVS gat these victories in the East, other great multitudes of Gothes (besides those which were alreadie entred by *Thracia* into *Graecia* and into *Europe*) came downe into *Asia* the lesse, and so in *Bithynia*, burning and spoiling the countries.

A battaile betweene Macrinus and Aureolus, wherein Macrinus was slaine.

A peace made by Galienus with Aureolus.

Posthumus Emperour in France.

Odenatus taketh the name of Emperour.

The prowesse of Odenatus.

Odenatus accepted by Galienus for his companion in the Empire.

When ODENATVS vnderstood of the death of MACRINVS and of his sonne, (as I haue declared) he presently resolued to march against QVIETVS, who was his other sonne, whom he had left in the East with BALISTA the Prefect of his Armie, when he was proclaimed Emperor. And this iournie prouing so prosperous to ODENATVS as the rest had done, with little difficulty he gat QVIETVS into his power, and caused him to be slaine, and afterwards did the like to BALISTA. And although that some say, BALISTA was consenting to the death of QVIETVS, and that afterwards he attempted to make himselfe Emperor; yet all agree that he was put to death by ODENATVS: and in this manner remained he without any contradiction Lord of all the Prouinces of the East, and valiantly warred against the Persians. Hee had two other sonnes, the one called HERENNIANVS, and the other TIMOLAVS by his second wife ZENOBIA, the most manly and valiant woman that euer was in the World.

ODENATVS liuing in this prosperity feared of all the Princes of the world, it happened that

that a cosen germane of his, whose name was MEONIVS, practised his death in hope to haue had the Empire of the East after him, and vsed such meanes that ODENATVS and HERODE, his eldest sonne (who by his fathers order was also called Emperour) were both found dead: and MEONIVS the traitor and murtherer, as he was wickedlie moued to kill ODENATVS; so it pleased God to permit him to be slaine in the like manner, who was within few daies after put to death by the same souldiers which holp him to execute his treason; being a man which no way deserued the Empire, except by being of kin to ODENATVS: for he was a most vile and wicked man. ZENOBIA, ODENATVS wife, remaining with her two yong sonnes a widow (seeming rather to haue neede of a tutor and gouernour, then to bee able to rule and gouerne others) with courage and iudgement more then manly beganne to rule, and carried herselfe therein with such wisdome and valour, as is incredible: and to the great disgrace of GALIENVS in his life time, and of CLAVDIVS his successor, she possessed the Empire of the East many yeeres, on the one side making warre against the Persians, and on the other defending herselfe against the Romane Emperours. The vertues and noble acts of this woman were so many, that I would I had longer time to describe them: but because they require a particular historie, we will with our wonted pase hold on our way; wherein of force we must returne to meet with her, because that she liued in her prosperitie vntill the time of the Emperour AVRELIANVS, of whom we are to treate hereafter, where we will speake of her fall and end, if God permit. But to the end that the excellencies and vertues of this woman may be the better knowne, seeing we recite not her acts, I say first that ZENOBIA was of an excellent good constitution of bodie, and was exceedingly faire and beautifull, not very white, but somewhat browne. Her eies were great and black, very cleere and bright, and in all parts of her body she was proportionable. And as she was verie beautifull and amiable, so had she an honest countenance, and had such white and bright teeth, that they rather resembled pearles then teeth. Her voice was cleere, but sounding deepe more like a man then a woman. Herewith she was most honest and continent, and would neuer ly with her husband after that she was conceiued with childe; neither twise, vntill that by naturall signes she knew whether she had conceiued or no. She was very wise, and learned, and spake the Latine, Greeke, and Egyptian tongues perfectly, and was very liberall and temperate in all things; somewhat seuere, and yet pitifull. In her diet she was most temperate: but yet when she inuited any guests, she would a little exceede, more to please others, then for any naturall desire. She was serued very ceremoniously, and with great honour, after the custome of the Kings of *Persia*.

Odenatus and his eldest sonne brought to their end through the treason of his cosen germane Meonius.

The valour of Zenobia.

The stature and beautie of Zenobia.

The chastitie of Zenobia.

Her learning.

Her moderation in her diet.

When she made any speech to her soldiers, or sate in councell among them, she came armed with a caske vpon her head, and rode in the like manner. She delighted much in hunting, and did other things shewing strength and courage, as though she had bin a valiant and gallant Knight. She vaunted much that she descended from CLEOPATRA, and from the PTOLOMYES, Kings of *Egypt*; and she said, that she also descended by another line from great SEMIRAMIS Queene of *Babylon*. By meanes of this her prowesse and valour, she held the Empire of the East, and was callde AVGVSTA, the space of many yeeres. As for her two sonnes HERENNIANVS and TIMOLAVS, I find not written what their end was, but onely that they had the habit and ensignes of Emperors, and are reckoned in the number of the tyrants of those times. TREBELLIVS POLLIO writeth, that the Emperour AVRELIANVS caused them to be slaine. Others affirme, they died of their naturall death. When as the Emperour GALIENVS (being in *Rome*) vnderstood of the death of ODENATVS, thinking to make a better hand against ZENOBIA, he commanded souldiers to be leuied, and to be sent into the East against her and the Persians, and sent with them a Captaine whose name was HERACLIANVS; who with his troupes was ouerthrowne by ZENOBIAS forces. The *Gothes* also in those times made another incursion into *Asia* the lesse, sailing through the sea called *Mare Euxinum*, and were ouercome by ATHENVS and CLEOPHANVS, Captaines sent by GALIENVS: but yet for al that, they made great spoile in those coasts, and were also againe ouercome by sea, by another Captaine called VENERIANVS; and so that nation did much harme in the confines of the Empire, although that sometime they were ouerthrowne. About this time there was in the kingdome of *Egypt* another Captaine of certaine companies of Romanes, whose name was EMILIANVS, who after some tumults which happened there did as he saw others do, and proclaimed himselfe Emperour, and with great courage and audacitie seised on that most auncient kingdome. But as these buildings had but weake foundations, so small force and a little foule weather ouerthrew them, which was in this manner. GALIENVS (notwithstanding

Zenobia delighted in hunting.

Herennianus and Timolaus called Emperours.

Heraclianus ouerthrowne by Zenobias forces.

ding that he was careleſſe and negligent) ſent from *Rome* againſt him a Captaine called THEODATVS; who took ſuch a courſe, that, EMILIANVS friends failing him, hee was apprehended by THEODATVS, and afterwards put to death in priſon.

The Authors excuſe.

I preſume, that the Reader will imagine me to be very tedious in writing the life of this Emperor, ſeeing he was ſo remiſſe and negligent; hauing briefly written the liues of others which were good and excellent. But, if he ſhall conſider, that in this Hiſtory are comprehended the liues of thirty Tyrants (whereof many did better deſerue to haue been Emperours, than GALIENVS) he ſhall haue greater reaſon to accuſe me of breuity, than of being too tedious. But, to auoid the breach of order, I will be as brief as poſſibly I may.

While matters paſſed in the Eaſt in this maner, the other Prouinces of the Empire were neither in reſt nor peace: but rather there was not any of them wherein were not wars, battels, and tyrants which called themſelues Emperors; the right Emperor GALIENVS ſolacing himſelf in *Rome*, contented with *Italie*, which onely obeyed him in peace. The reſt ſometimes obeyed him, and ſometimes they denied him their obedience: and hee, taking no care to finde any redreſſe, ſent onely certain Captains which did ſomething; whereof we will ſay ſomwhat. In this generall combuſtion *Africa* forbare not to make ſome alteration, although not ſo much as other Prouinces did: for, at that time there was for Captain-generall thereof, a Romane Knight called FABIVS POMPONIANVS; and for Proconſul and Gouerner, another, whoſe name was VIVVS PASSIENVS; who, for that they would haue an Emperour of their owne making, agreed to chuſe and nominate a Tribune whoſe name was CELSVS, a man much eſteemed and commended as well for his excellent good carriage, as for his vertue and juſtice, and alſo for his perſonage: for, he was exceeding tall of ſtature, and of an excellent good conſtitution. Hauing effected their purpoſe, the poor mans majeſty laſted but ſeuen daies: for, he was put to death by the order of a woman dwelling in thoſe Countries, who was a kinſwoman to the Emperor GALIENVS, whoſe name was GALIENA: and, after he was dead, they ſhewed extreme cruelty to his body. After whom, I finde not that any man rebelled againſt GALIENVS in *Africa*: yet great and many ſcandals, and much trouble, enſued in that Countrey.

Celſus made Emperor in Africa, and put to death by a woman.

While theſe things paſſed in the places aforenamed, in *Hungarie*, and the marches therof, there was a Captain of the Armies in *Dalmatia* and *Slauonia*, called REGILIANVS, which rebelled; and, with the conſent and good will of the Inhabitants of thoſe Prouinces, he was proclaimed Emperor: for, they were greatly incenſed againſt GALIENVS for the cruelties by him vſed in thoſe Countries, when he ouercame EVGENIVS; who in the beginning (wee ſay) had rebelled in that Countrey, and been ouerthrowne and ſlain by GALIENVS. Truely, it is a troubleſome peece of work, To make relation of all the Tyrants; and it is as ſtrange a thing to conſider, that of all the Captains that VALERIANVS, father to GALIENVS, made, there was not any one of them but in the time of GALIENVS was called Emperor; wherein they ſhewed little loyalty to their Countrey and their Lord: but it was growne to a cuſtome ſo to do; ſo as they ſeemed to haue right of inheritance. Neuertheleſſe, it argued the great judgement of VALERIANVS, in chuſing for his Captains men of ſo great courage and valour. There were alſo, beſides theſe Captains, others, who in this confuſion of the Empire were called Emperors: among which was one TITVS a worthy man, who in the time of MAXIMINVS had been Tribune; but he continued with this title but ſix months: for, the ſame ſouldiers which had elected him, ſlue him. And in the ſame manner began and ended CENSORINVS; a man which had been Conſul, and had held other offices and dignities. And another Captain, called TREBELLIANVS, was choſen and proclaimed Emperour by the Yſauri, which are a people inhabiting the mountains, bordering vpon *Cilicia* in *Aſia* the leſſe; who many times gouerned thoſe Quarters: againſt whom, GALIENVS ſent a Captain called GAVSIOLEVS, born in *Egypt*. Between which two was fought a terrible battell; wherein TREBELLIANVS was ouerthrowne and ſlain. Yet, for all this, the Yſauri continued not in peace; but rebelled many times afterwards, more for that their Countrey was of hard acceſſe, than for the valour or vertue of the Inhabitants. And, to make a concluſion, let vs write of thoſe which in *France*, and the marches thereof, were called Emperors, from the time of the impriſonment of VALERIANVS, vntill the death of his ſon GALIENVS: which of purpoſe I haue left till the laſt, becauſe in thoſe wars GALIENVS employed himſelf, and finally therein ended his daies.

Regilianus called Emperor in Hungary and Dalmatia.

Titus made Emperor by his ſouldiers, and ſlain by the ſame.

Cenſorinus began and ended in the ſame maner.

There was for Captain-generall of the Armies in the Prouinces of *France*, an excellent and valiant man, whoſe name was POSTHVMVS; of whom (ſpeaking of the Tyrant AVREOLVS) wee made mention; whom VALERIANVS did highly honour and eſteem: and for that cauſe his ſonne GALLIENVS held him in great reputation, and as ſoone as he came to the Empire, he ſent him his ſonne SALONINVS, whom hee intituled CÆSAR, to bee brought vp and inſtructed by him: But afterwards ſeeing the neglect and ill gouernment of his father GALIENVS (forgetting the loyaltie which he ought to his ſouereigne Lord) putting the ſonne to death, he ſought to get the Empire for himſelfe. Yet others write, that hee was prouoked and compelled by the inhabitants of that Countrie (which hated GALIENVS) to accept the name of Emperor; and that they ſlew SALONINVS, ſcorning to haue a boy for their Lord. But howſoeuer it was, POSTHVMVS, with great courage and diſcretion made himſelfe Lord of all *France*; and ſo gouerned the ſame for the ſpace of ſeuen yeeres, defending it valiantly; and obtaining many great victories againſt the Barbarians and northern nations, which continually inuaded it and made incurſions.

Saloninus ſon of Galienus put to death by Poſthumus who alſo was called Emperor.

Againſt POSTHVMVS, GALIENVS leuied an Armie, for that he was ſo neere to *Italie*: and notwithſtanding that he was vicious and careleſſe, yet he wanted not ſufficient courage for the warres; if he would haue followed them, as he did his pleaſures and eaſe. He went againſt POSTHVMVS, hauing with him for Generall of his Armie, a Noble man called THEODOTVS; and alſo another called CLAVDIVS, who was a man of great probitie and vertue, and was afterwards Emperour. Being come before a Citie wherein POSTHVMVS was, the French-men did not onely defend him, and the Citie, ſhewing great courage and loue; but the Emperor GALIENVS in a skirmiſh was wounded with an Arrow, by meanes whereof hee was conſtrained to rayſe his ſiege. And holding this for a very doubtfull warre, he made peace with AVREOLVS, who at that time was called Emperour in *Slauonia*. But that was not ſufficient to defeat POSTHVMVS: for he was ſupported by VICTORINVS, who was an excellent Captaine, and a yong man, whom POSTHVMVS made his companion in his Empire; with whoſe aide and diligence (although that moſt commonly his ſide was ouerthrowne) he defended himſelfe and prolonged the warres in ſhy daies; hauing ſometimes proſperous and ſometimes aduerſe ſucceſſe.

GALIENVS returning to *Rome*, as if he had left all in peace, entred in great triumph, giuing himſelfe ouer to his old courſe of life and accuſtomed pleaſures; whither daily newes were brought vnto him (beſides the ſtrange Nations which moleſted the Empire) of captaines and other notable men which intituled themſelues Emperours: whereof his wickednesſe was the occaſion; being hated and ſcorned for his little care and ſtupiditie; which are things which make wicked men audacious; and giue good men hope and meanes to ſeeke redreſſe.

The French rebelled againſt Poſthumus, & in his place choſe Lolianus. Poſthumus & his ſonne ſlaine in the warre againſt Lolianus.

POSTHVMVS liuing all this time (as I ſaid) in great proſperitie, together with his ſonne of his owne name whom he intituled CÆSAR, and afterwards Emperour, and his companion in his Empire; he gouerned with great iuſtice and ſeueritie. But the Frenchmen, deſirous of innouations, rebelled againſt him and choſe for Emperour a Captain whoſe name was LOLIANVS, a man of good ſort, very valiant and of great experience: and theſe two, warring one againſt the other, POSTHVMVS and his ſonne were ſlaine by him and them; and ſo hee was paid for the treaſon which he committed againſt GALIENVS. And LOLIANVS remayning Emperor in thoſe parts, notwithſtanding that he was very valiant and of great power, yet he could neuer attaine to that authoritie which POSTHVMVS had; as well for that he was not choſen by common conſent, as for that VICTORINVS, whom (as we haue ſaid) POSTHVMVS proclaimed Emperour and his companion, held a great part of the countrie and was called Emperor. This VICTORINVS was a womans ſonne, whoſe name was VICTORIA or VICTORINA; which was ſo valiant and manly, and ſo deſirous to raigne, that ſhee was therefore called mother of Armies, and VICTORINVS was altogether ruled by her counſell; and ſhe afterwards after the death of her ſonne, took vpon her to make an Emperor of her chooſing: ſo great was her minde and policie.

VICTORINVS with the fauour and reputation of his mother, made reſiſtance againſt LOLIANVS the new Emperour, which ſlew POSTHVMVS, ſo as VICTORIANVS obtayned a victorie againſt LOLIANVS and ſlew him; and remained ſole Lord, together with his mother whom he called AVGVSTA. To ſay the truth, VICTORINVS was an excellent and valiant Prince; yet luxurious, and therefore raigned but a little: for by the treaſon of a ſoldier (from whom he had taken his wife) he was ſlaine in the Citie of *Agrippina*, now called

Colleine in *Germanie*: which when his mother vnderstood, with the aide and assistance of some of her friends she proclaimed her nephew VICTORINVS Emperour, who was the same VICTORINVS sonne. But the furie of the men of warre was such, as they presently slew the sonne as they had done the father. Yet for all this, VICTORINA gaue not ouer her desire to rule and command: for by the meanes of her friends and fauourites, she perswaded TETRICVS, a Senatour of *Rome*, who had a certaine gouernment in *France*, to proclaime himselfe Emperor, and his sonne CÆSAR; which he did, and prooued an excellent and valiant Prince, and made himselfe Lord of all *France*, and of the greatest part of *Spaine*, obtaining some victories against the Northerly nations: whose raign continued long, even vntill the time of AVRELIANVS. The right Emperour GALIENVS enioyed *Rome* and all *Italy*; which neuer forsooke him: and the other tyrants (by turnes) the one destroied the other, or else were slaine by their owne souldiers. I ghesse that I haue very neere treated of all the tyrants, except of one whose name was SATVRNINVS, and of another called MARIVS. Of SATVRNINVS I say, that the souldiers which chose him, presently bereaued him of his life: and MARIVS his Empire lasted but seuen daies.

Tetricus chosen Emperour by the meanes of Victorina.

Saturninus and Marius called Emperours, the one was slaine presently, and the other raigned 7 daies.

Through all parts and prouinces of the Empire there were committed infinite murthers, robberies, violences, insolencies, and all kinde of cruelties, tyrannies and treasons, with famine, pestilence, and other miseries and calamities, seldome heard of, but in the time of this GALIENVS; and the greatest part thereof caused through his vice, crueltie, and negligence: and so it pleased God that hee had the like end as other euill Emperours had; which was complotted in this manner. A great Captaine (whereof the warres produce abundance) called MARTIANVS, compounding with another called HERACLIANVS, and one other whose name was CERONIVS, determined to kill GALIENVS, to the end that one of them might haue the Empire; either of them pretending that they did it for the generall good of the Empire. And hauing laid their plot, they presently put it in execution: for it happened that GALIENVS went from *Rome* with a great Armie against AVREOLVS, who (as we haue said) was called Emperor: and they two had been companions in the Empire. But afterwards falling at variance, AVREOLVS took the citie of *Milan*; and GALIENVS hauing besieged it, MARTIANVS and the other traitors, which had agreed with AVREOLVS, fained that the said AVREOLVS was making a sallie, and came to charge that place where GALIENVS was: whereupon he with greater haste then good speed, went from his lodging small accompanied; but before that the rest of the Armie could come together, hee was slaine by those which came with him, together with a brother of his, whose name was VALERIANVS. And so GALIENVS ended both his life and raigne, when as the Empire was little lesse then rent in pieces and vsurped by forraine nations: for the Gothes and Scythians held a great part of *Thracia*, and of *Macedonia* in *Europe*, and some prouinces in *Asia*. ZENOBIA raigned and ruled all in the East: and in *France* and part of *Germanie*, TETRICVS and VICTORINVS: and in *Slauonia* and *Illyricum*, AVREOLVS, who was besieged in *Milan*; and so all the rest lived, part vnder the obedience of GALIENVS, and part vnder tyrants. The souldiers of his Armie were greatly offended with his death: for they hoped to haue had the sacking and spoile of that citie; so as MARTIANVS and his companions were driuen to satisfie them with readie money: but none of those conspirators could attaine to the desired title of Emperour. This happened in the yeere of our Saviour IESVS CHRIST 271, after EVSEBIVS, in the fifteenth yeere of the raign of GALIENVS.

A conspiracie against Galienus.

Galienus and his brother Valerianus slaine.

THE



THE LIFE OF CLAVDIVS THE SECOND, AND FIVE AND THIRTITH EMPEROR *of* ROME.

(***)



AM now freed from no small labour, hauing finisht howsoeuer the life of GALIENVS; whose history is confused and out of order, and by authors written obscurely, as it appeareth: which being ended, I come now to relate the life of CLAVDIVS the second, who was one of the most vertuous and valiant Princes that euer was in the world.

As soone as the Emperor GALIENVS was dead, the Souldiers of his Armie were so displeased, as neither MARTIANVS nor any of those which conspir'd with him in his treason, could or durst take vpon him the name of Emperour; but rather by the common consent of al men, CLAVDIVS who came thither with GALIENVS, one of the most excellent Captaines of them all, as well for his bountie and vertues, as for the worthinesse of his person, and the great and notable seruices which he had done in former times, was chosen Emperour. It cannot distinctly be set downe of what linage or country he was: for some affirm, that he was born in *Dalmatia*; and was descended of an antient family: others say, that he was of *Dardania*, and descended from the bloud of the Troians: and some (as AVRELIVS VICTOR saith) affirmed, that he was the sonne of the Emperour GORDIANVS. He was a very tall man of person, his eyes were cleere and bright, and he had a great and full face, and was very strong and of maruellous force: so as in wrestling and other exercises, which young men did vse, he euer wanne the prize; he was also vertuous, and had excellent good parts. He was very chaste and continent, temperate, iust and vpright, both before that he was Emperour, and in the time of his raigne. He deerely loued his friends and kinsmen, and greatly honoured strangers. He hated the euill, and seuerely punished them; and was an extreame enemie to vnjust Iudges. He made excellent lawes and ordinances, and in very short time reformed the Common-wealth: so as when he died, it seemed to be another world. Before that he was Emperour, he did many noble feates of Armes in the seruice of GALIENVS, against POSTHVMVS in *France*, and against the Gothes in many parts, and likewise in other wars. Wherefore he was worthily chosen by all men to the dignitie of the Empire. For which occasion, as soone as his election was knowne in *Rome*, the ioy was great which was conceiued thereat by all estates: and they confirmed his election, with great applauses and blessings of the Senate.

The stature and strength of Claudius.

When CLAVDIVS was inuested in the Empire, he gouerned the same with so great wisedome and courage, as in a good Prince was requisite. The first enterprize he had being Emperour, was against AVREOLVS, who (as we said) was in *Milan*. Who, vnderstanding of the death of GALIENVS, fortified himselfe in such sort, as hee made account to haue remained sole and absolute Emperour. But CLAVDIVS, hauing reinforced his Armie, fought many battailes with him; amongst which, in one which was very famous, he obtained the victorie worthily, fighting therein most valiantly. Whereupon AVREOLVS retired into *Milan*, and from thence sought to come to some composition with CLAVDIVS, as he had done with GALIENVS: but CLAVDIVS, as a vertuous and victorious Prince, would not heare of any agreement with a tyrant; but answered, That such demands might well haue been made to GALIENVS, who could haue endured AVREOLVS his conditions, and stood in feare of him: but of him he was not to expect any vniust or vnlawfull matter. AVREOLVS was afterwards slaine, as some say, by his owne souldiers; and as others say, by CLAVDIVS his commandement, fighting at the foote of a bridge. But whereseuer, CLAVDIVS became Lord of his Armie, and of all the countries which he held: and going with this victorie to *Rome*, he was there receiued with great triumph and feasting; where he settled the affaires of the Empire in such sort, as could not be bettered: he did nothing without the consent of the Senate. And his goodnes comming to be knowne, he was obeied in all parts of the Empire, hauing in such as were vsurped by tyrants and barbarous nations. And as all his studie and care was, how he might restore the Empire to her former libertie, and to recouer what was lost, exposing his person to all kindes of dangers; it was debated in the Senate, and that very doubtfully and with diuers opinions, what warre was first to be vndertaken, and whether he should goe against TETRICVS and VICTORINA, which held *France* and *Spaine*; or into the East against ZENOBIA; or else against the Gothes and other nations, which also vsurped and infested sundrie partsof the Empire.

The victorie of Claudius against Aureolus.

The death of Aureolus.

But the good Emperour CLAVDIVS soone resolued them of that doubt, saying; That the first warre that he would vndertake should be against the Gothes, and other barbarous Nations, for they were enemies to the Common-wealth; but as for the Tyrants they were enemies to him only: wherefore, he was bound to reuenge a publike wrong before a priuate iniurie. This his resolution being approued by the Senate and people of *Rome*, he with all possible diligence raised the greatest Armie that euer was leuied by any Emperour for such a warre; and truely hee could not well haue had any lesse, considering the present necessity: for the Gothes (as IORNANDES in the acts of the Gothes, and PAVLVS OROSIVS, and others doe write) had for the space of fifteene yeeres vsurped many parts of the Empire, and had destroyed many Cities; amongst which some were very great, and of speciall note. And notwithstanding that by MACRINVS, and by CORNELIVS AVITVS, and in one place by the same CLAVDIVS *in the time of* GALIENVS, *they* had been sometimes defeated and ouerthrowne; yet neuertheless they still held all *Thracia*, and in a manner all *Macedonia* and other prouinces.

After sundrie arguments Claudius prepared himselfe to goe against the Gothes.

At such time as CLAVDIVS resolued to make warre against the Gothes, they through their greedy desire of spoile and booty, and for reuenge of some battailes which they had lost, beleeuing that CLAVDIVS would be sufficiently busied in warring against TETRICVS and other Tyrants, moued many northerly people and Nations to come against the Romans. Whereupon they ioined themselues with the Heruli, Trutungi, Virtungi, and other Nations, exceeding, in al, the number of three hundred thousand fighting men besides seruants and disarmed people: and taking their way through *Hungarie*, and downe the *Danubie*, they fraighted two thousand Barkes and Ships with men and munition. Some are of opinion (as I say) that this Fleet came downe the *Danubie*; and others affirme, that this was a Fleet that the Gothes had by Sea: ancient Authors wrote it so confusedly, as I continue of my first opinion, that the Gothes were neuer mighty by Sea, neither then, nor at any time before. In conclusion, they brought so many men, and so great store of Armes and victuals, as they made the whole Empire to quake for feare; only the inuincible Emperor was not dismaied, but with a gallant Army marched against them: and being ready to come to blowes with them, he wrote a briefe Letter to the Senate, wherein he shewed the great difficultie and danger wherein he was; and yet wanted not courage to assault his enemies, the effect whereof was this:

New commotions made by the Gothes.

Claudius his Letter to the Senate of Rome.

Fathers conscript, I do giue you to vnderstand, and hold it for certaine, that into the bowndes of the Romane Empire are entred three hundred and twentie thousand men of warre; I goe

I goe to fight with them; if I ouercome them, it is reason that you giue me such thankes and reward as such a deede shall deserue. But if it happen otherwise, consider I pray you that I fight after that GALIENVS hath raigned, the commonwealth being rent in pieces, and almost ruinate, and that I shall fight after the tyrannies and rebellions of EVGENIVS, REGILIANVS, LOLIANVS, POSTHVMVS, CELSVS, and many others, which in contempt of GALIENVS rebelled against their countrey and commonwealth. And wee may welll say that we now haue neither whole sword nor launce: for *France* and *Spaine* which are the sinewes and strength of the Empire, are vsurped by TETRICVS, and the crossebowes and archers (although it be a shame to speake it) ZENOBIA hath them all: so as hauing such want of all things necessarie, what soeuer small matter shall be by vs performed, is to be reputed great.

Notwithstanding all these difficulties, CLAVDIVS led with him an excellent and well gouerned Army: and by his wisedome and good direction, comming to a battaile, the Gothes were ouerthrowne, and an incredible slaughter made of them. This was one of the most noble victories that euer was gotten, wherein there was a great number of enemies slaine and taken prisoners, and great aboundance of spoile taken by the souldiers. Insomuch as the same CLAVDIVS in a letter (extant to this day) sent by him to IVNIVS BROCHVS, writeth, that he had slaine, taken, and put to flight three hundred thousand men, and taken two thousand ships: so as the houses were filled (almost to the tops) with swords, lances, shields and targets of the subdued: and the banks of riuers, the sea-shore and the fields were full of bones, and the wayes couered with the dead carcases of the enemies. For this victorie there was conceiued great ioy in *Rome*: and for that cause they made many vowes and supplications to their gods. In this battaile were taken many barbarous Kings, and other men of great account; and there were so many prisoners, as there was neither prouince nor citie wherein were not many slaues of that nation.

A most noble victorie obtained by Claudius against the Gothes.

After this victorie in *Thracia* neere to *Constantinople*, and in *Macedonia* neere to the citie of *Thessalonica*, CLAVDIVS his Captaines fought sundrie battailes with the Gothes which were possessed of those cities: in all which, through his good fortune, his enemies were ouercome, in such sort, as he restored to the Romane Empire all that which they had vsurped; so as the Gothes were wholly driuen out, and in long time after durst not hold vp their heads. Likewise this most valiant Prince (as EVTROPIVS and AVRELIVS VICTOR report) had another very notable victorie against the Germanes, neer to a Lake called *Venacus* (now *Garda*) the enemie being little lesse then two hundred thousand strong: so as hauing freed the Empire from strangers, and meaning to haue gon against TETRICVS and ZENOBIA, or against some other tyrants remaining, it happened that the good Emperour fell sick in such sort, that as TREBELLIVS POLLIO saith) within few daies after he died of his naturall death; a thing which I most desire to see in an Emperour, which seldome happeneth but in such as are good and iust, as this Emperour was. When he died he had raigned only two yeeres, and for his death (except TETRICVS and ZENOBIA) all were very sorry: which happened in the yeere of our Lord 279. and by a decree made by the Senate, he was honoured with all kind of honors, and placed in the number of the gods. His statue made of gold was set vp in the Capitoll, and his target of gold was set in the Senate. Truly they did in with great reason, for considering his high attempts in the beginning, without all doubt, if it had pleased God to haue giuen him longer life, CLAVDIVS had wholie defeated all the tyrants of the Empire, and had againe set it in perfect libertie.

Claudius his victorie against the Germanes.

The death of Claudius.

THE LIFE OF THE EMPEROVR *QVINTILIVS*, ONELY OF THAT NAME, AND SIXE AND THIRTITH EMPEROR OF *ROME*.

(***)



HIs Emperour CLAVDIVS had a brother whose name was QVINTILIVS: who as he was his brother by nature; so was he in behauiour, condition, and vertues: for he was very wise, and as expert in the warres as in ciuill gouernement: by reason whereof he was much esteemed and beloued, and was left with certaine Legions to guard *Italy*, when his brother went to the warres against the Gothes. The death of CLAVDIVS being published, the little Armie which QVINTILIVS commanded, moued thereto by his deserts and vertues, chose him Emperour; and his election was approued by the Senate of *Rome* being aduertised thereof, and they gaue him the name of AVGVSTVS, after EVTROPIVS: and hauing accepted the Empire, and beginning to make a good shew of his valour, hauing raigned onely seuenteene daies, newes was brought him that the victorious armie which his brother had with him, as soone as he was dead had made choise of a Noble man called AVRELIANVS for Emperour, of whom we will presentlie discourse. Wherefore QVINTILIVS bring out of hope to be able to make his partie good against him, as well for that he was a man of great valour and courage; as for that his Armie was the whole power of the Romane Empire, desiring to die in his estate rather then to liue depriued thereof, hauing first founded the will of his souldiers, and finding no hope in them, he caused his veines to be opened, and so died voluntarily bleeding, hauing raigned as some say, twentie daies; and as others say, but fourteene.

The death of Quintilius.



THE

THE LIFE OF AVRELIANVS, ONLY OF THAT NAME, AND SEVEN AND THIRTITH EMPEROR of ROME.

(***)



AFter QVINTILIVS, AVRELIANVS succeeded in the Empire, or to say better, after CLAVDIVS: for as soon CLAVDIVS was dead, in the same manner as the Army in *Italy* chose QVINTILIVS, the other great Armie which CLAVDIVS led, chose AVRELIANVS, and he remained Emperor; and was one of the most mightie that euer raigned in *Rome*; and is by Historiographers compared in his feates of Armes with the two greatest and best Captaines of the world, which were ALEXANDER the Great, and IVLIVS CÆSAR, for the great victories which he obtained in the small time of his raigne, and the Prouinces which he subdued with incredible celeritie, marching from one to another, as we will briefly declare; although that in his condition he was neither equall to them, neither did he any way imitate them; chiefly, he did much differ from CÆSAR in clemency, for he was cruell and bloudie: wherefore it was said of him, that he was necessarie for the Empire, but yet he was ill beloued by the greatest part. Others said, that AVRELIANVS was fit to be a Captaine, but not to be an Emperor; and so he is neither accounted among the good Princes, nor amongst the euill: for, of the one side, he set the Empire at libertie, by destroying all the tyrants; and of the other, he vsed much crueltie. Some say, that he was borne in *Dacia*, and others say, in *Misia*, the truth whereof is vncertaine: and so FLAVIVS VOPISCVS, who doth most copiously and particularly write his life, leaueth it in doubt; but all agree that he was of a meane familie, and of poore parentage. He was tall of stature, and of great strength, and had a gracious and pleasing countenance; and with his faire aspect hee seemed to be a perfect man. In his diet he did somewhat exceede ordinary. From his infancy he was inclined to the warres and militarie discipline; and in obseruing it, and making it to be obserued, he was most seuere. He was of great courage and singular strength, and exceedingly desirous to come to blowes with his enemies. Being a priuate souldier, he euer affected battailes, assaults, skirmishes and encounters: and for that there was another in the Armie whose name was also AVRELIANVS; to distinguish the one from the other, they called this, AVRELIANVS with his hand vpon his sword: for vpon all occasions he was in a readinesse with pike or sword in his hand, desiring to be doing. With which readinesse and valour hee made himselfe famous where soeuer he came, and performed notable matters in his owne person. In so much that THEOCLIVS and FLAVIVS VOPISCVS report of him, that in the warres of *Sarmatia* he hapned in one day to kill fortie of his enemies with his owne hands, and at seuerall times aboue nine hundred men: which made him so much esteemed among the Romanes,

The disposition of Aurelianus.

The valour of Aurelianus.

as in their dancings which they vsed in those times, among certaine sonnets and catches sung by the dancer, they vsed to pronounce this verse:

A thousand and a thousand,
one alone hath killed a thousand.
A thousand yeeres and a thousand
line he, alone which killed a thousand.

He did other things, which although they seeme to be but meane and of small importance, yet they demonstrate the valour and fortitude of this man; whereby he was preferred to great offices and commands in the warres. He was many times Captaine and Tribune, and aboue forty times was Lieutenant to other Captaines and Tribunes. In which offices hee did so seuerely punish souldiers for their insolencies, and did so strictly obserue the discipline of the warres, that he was much feared of them: and did likewise many notable things in battailes and skirmishes; and principally in the warres which his predecessor CLAVDIVS had with the Gothes, hee wonne more honour then any other Captaine did; hee being Generall of the horse.

Which his doings were the occasion, that, CLAVDIVS being dead, he was by the general consent of the whole Armie chosen and made Emperor. And, QVINTILIVS being dead, who was obeied in *Rome*, the Senate and people of *Rome* approoued his election, and held him for Emperor. Hauing accepted the Empire, without any longer stay hee marched with his victorious Army against the Suevians and Sarmates, northerly nations, which had inuaded the bounds of the Empire. With whom he came to a battell, and obtained a most honourable victory: but therein befell him one mishap, whereof many inconueniences ensued; which was, that Beeing busied in this warre, the Marcomanni, and other most fierce Nations of *Germanie*, came down into *Italie*, and made great spoil and slaughter in that part which is now called *Lombardie*, and in the marches of *Milan*; whereof they were in so great fear in *Rome*, as they thought they should haue been wholly lost: which put all into combustion, euery man speaking ill of AVRELIANVS. But, when as he heard the newes, hee was greatly grieued, and came with all speed to the rescue of *Italie*. And this was so dangerous a war, that neer vnto *Placentia* there wanted but a little, that the Emperor had not been wholly ouerthrowne: for, joining battell with their whole powers on either side, they fought a whole day from Sun to Sun; and AVRELIANVS lost in that Fight the greatest part of all his troops: so cruell was the battell. But hee afterwards reinforcing his Armie (in three notable battels hauing the victorie) ended the warre, destroying the whole Armie of the Marcomanni; and from thence went to *Rome*, much displeased with those which had murmured and spoken ill of him: amongst which were some that had practised against him. And whereas he was very cruell (notwithstanding that hee was receiued with great feasting and solemnity) he vsed so cruell punishment for light offenses, and of so small importance, that any gentle or mercifull Prince would haue dissembled, and made no reckoning therof. But he would not do so; but, to the contrary, put many cruelly to death: for which cause he came to be extremely feared, and therefore generally hated. Hee enlarged the wals of *Rome*, and fortified the same, repairing that which was decaied; which was not lawfull for any Emperor to doo, but for such as had enlarged the Prouinces and Limits of the Roman Empire: for, by that title, AVGVSTVS CÆSAR, TRAIAN, and also NERO, enlarged the wals.

Cruelty vsed in Rome by Aurelianus, and the occasion therof.

Aurelianus enlarged the wals of Rome.

Hauing settled all matters in *Rome* (his chief delight consisting in Armes) hee could stay but few daies there; but speedily departed towards the East against the great ZENOBIA, accounting it a shame that a woman should hold the East Empire, to disgrace of *Rome* and the Emperors thereof. And, passing through *Slauonia*, and thence through *Thracia*, he had some conflicts against certain barbarous Nations which sought to resist him, and to haue stopped him in his journey. But, keeping his way, hee came to *Byzantium*, which is now called *Constantinople*; and so passed with all his Armie into *Asia* the lesse, which is now subject to the Turk; first pacifying the Prouince of *Bithynia* which then rebelled; all the nations yeelding themselues into his hands, without any battell or making resistance.

Aurelianus departed from Rome into the East against Queen Zenobie.

From thence hee marched into *Cappadocia*, where, for that the City of *Tiana* (which in that Country was an antient Colonie of the Greeks; being the Country also wherein the famous APOLLONIVS TIANEVS was born) made resistance and would not receiue him, hee sware that he would punish the Inhabitants in such sort, that hee would not leaue a dog aliue among them: which his resolution hee afterwards altered and reuoked. For, by the illusion of the

the diuell (God permitting it for some vnknowne cause) there appeared vnto him in a dream (for it seemed vnto him that he saw a vision) one which could him that it was APOLLONIVS TIANEVS, which warned him to forbear to destroy his Countrey *Tiana*, and gaue him also further aduice. Which, as they write, was the occasion that hee not onely pardoned the Tianeans, but from thenceforth he was not so cruell as formerly hee had been. So as in *Tiana* hee onely put HERACLAMON to death, who betraied the City into his hands; which hee said he did, for that he which had been a traitor to his Countrey, could neuer bee faithfull to him. But his wealth which was very great he commanded to be giuen to his heirs, to the end that no man should think he had condemned him to bee executed for the desire of his goods. And to the souldiers, complaining that hee had not giuen them the spoil of the City, wherein hee had sworn that he would not leaue any liuing, no not a dogge; hee answered, I promised that there should neuer a dog remain aliue in *Tiana*, and I giue you leaue to kill them all.

A iust reward for treason.

When the Emperor had gotten this noble City, he from thence marched to *Antioch*, which bordereth vpon the Mount *Taurus*; where, granting a generall pardon, with one onely battell of small resistance, neer to a Wood called *Daphne*, he seised vpon all that Prouince. And, leauing all those Countries in peace, hee passed thence into *Syria* against ZENOBIA; who with another woman called ZAVALLA (in a manner as manly as herselfe) attended his coming with a very great Army of singular good Souldiers and excellent Captains, trained vp with great experience in the warres with her husband ODENATVS; and afterwards in other wars against the Persians. The two Armies coming neer the one to the other, a most cruell warre beganne between them. For, ZENOBIA, not as a woman, but as though she had bin HANNIBAL, prouided and performed whatsoeuer was fit, against the Romans. Finally, after some encounters they came to a battell neer to the City of *Emesa*, which bordereth vpon the deserts of *Palmerina*, a Prouince in *Syria*; which was so bloudy and doubtful, that AVRELIANVS was welneer ouerthrowne: for, his Cauallerie, being tired with fighting, began to retire, refusing the battell, and were ready to haue turned their backs, and to flee: but beeing detained by their Captains, and by the footmen constrained to stand firm, he obtained the victory, and ZENOBIA escaped by flight.

A cruell battell betwixt Zenobia and Aurelianus.

Zenobia ouerthrown and put to flight by Aurelianus.

When AVRELIANVS had obtained so noble a victory, he went into the City of *Emesa*, and from thence to the City of *Palmyra*, which is the Head of that Prouince, and ZENOBIA'S principall seat. In which way his souldiers endured many wants and difficulties, wrought by their enemies where they were to passe: and the City with such courage made resistance, that his souldiers were greatly distressed, and the Emperour himself in person incurred many great dangers; which plainly appeareth by a Letter written by him to a familiar friend of his. Whereupon AVRELIANVS, desiring to make an end of this war, thinking to induce ZENOBIA to yeeld herself into his power, sent her a Letter wherein he did assure her of her life, and that he would giue her all her treasure, her jewels and her money; and that shee should liue free and at liberty in any place or city where the Senate should appoint.

ZENOBIA, hauing receiued this Letter, in lieu of granting or requiring peace, became therewith more haughty and proud than before; answering him with another very proud Letter; which, NICOMACHVS, a Writer of those Times, translated out of the Syrian into the Greek Tongue; and FLAVIVS VOPISCVS hath left it to vs in Latin: which I will sette down, to the end that the haughty presumptuous minde of this woman may bee made knowne to the world, which saith thus:

A Letter written by Zenobia to Aurelianus.

ZENOBIA, Queen of the East, to AVRELIANVS AVGVSTVS, greeting. No other Captain vntill this day, but thou, hath required by Letter that which thou demandest of mee: for, those things (AVRELIANVS) which are to be tried by warre, by Arms and force are to be demanded and determined. Thou requirest that I yeeld and giue my self into thy power, as if thou hadst neuer read that CLEOPATRA Queen of *Egypt* (from whom I am descended) would rather kill herself, than liue in the power of OCTAVIANVS, in any dignity or liberty granted by him whatsoeuer. I let thee knowe, that I shall not want the relief of the Persians, which I expect. The Saracens will also come to my aid; and the Armenians fauour me. Thou dost well knowe, that the theeues of *Syria* were sufficient to ouerthrowe and disorder thy Army. If then the forces and succours which I expect shall come vnto mee, thou wilt abate the pride and presumption wherewith thou dost now command me to yeeld my self, as though I were absolutely ouercomn. And so she ended her Letter, glorying more in her valour, than in her eloquence.

This

This Letter being receiued by AVRELIANVS, hee made no account thereof; but drew neer with his Armie, and commanded his Captains to beſiege the City more ſtraightly, and with ſuch order and policy to aſſault the ſame, and to defend his Camp, that he failed not in any thing of the duty of an excellent Captain. For, upon the way coming to ZENOBIA, hee ouerthrew the ſuccours which came from *Perſia*, and did the like by certain companies of Saracens. And the forces which came from *Armenia*, what through fear and fair promiſes, hee drew to his ſeruice, and made them his friends; in ſuch ſort, that ZENOBIA, ſeeing herſelf ouercome, in the beſt manner ſhee could fled from the City with Dromedaries, carrying ſuch treaſure with her as the ſhortnes of the time would permit: and, trauelling towards *Perſia*, ſhee was ouertaken upon the way by certain horſemen which the Emperor ſent after her. And ſo AVRELIANVS tooke her, and the City of *Palmyra*, and afterwards all the whole eſtate of the Eaſt. And although many counſelled him, yet he would not put ZENOBIA to death, purpoſing to haue her aliue in his triumph. But he put the Philoſopher LONGINVS to death, for that it was ſaid he had penned the Letter which ZENOBIA wrote unto him. TREBELLIVS POLLIO writeth, that when this valiant woman was brought into the preſence of AVRELIANVS, he ſaid unto her; Tell me, ZENOBIA, how durſt thou preſume to contemn Emperors, and to defend thy ſelf againſt their power? Whereto ſhe anſwerd, excuſing herſelf, and honouring him, ſaying: Onely thee, AVRELIANVS, I acknowledge to bee an Emperor, for that thou knoweſt how to ouercome. But as for GALIENVS, AVREOLVS, and the reſt, I never held them for Emperors nor Princes. In this manner (as I ſaid) ended the power of ZENOBIA.

Zenobia taken priſoner by Aurelianus.

The anſwer of Zenobia made to Aurelianus.

The Emperor AVRELIANVS hauing ended this warre, leaving order and forces in the Eaſt, returned into *Europe* the ſame way he went: and, coming into high *Germanie*, he ſubdued a certain people called Carpi, which were in Arms, and ouerthrew them in battell. Vpon this occaſion he was in *Rome* called CARPICVS: whereat he was both angry and ſorry, that for that onely victory they ſhould giue him a ſurname; And therefore cauſed himſelf to be called GOTHICVS, SARMATICVS, ARMENICVS, PARTHICVS, ADIABENICVS, GERMANICVS, and SYRICVS, after the names of the Countries and Nations which he had ſubdued.

Aurelianus his ſurnames.

As matters ſtood vpon theſe tearms, and he being to march againſt TETRICVS the tyrant of *France*; newes was brought him that the Palmerins which had beene under ZENOBIA were reuolted, and did rebell, and had ſlaine SANDARIO whom he had left there for Captaine and gouernour of the Citie, with ſixe hundred archers with him; and that they had made ARCHELAVS, who was of kinne to ZENOBIA, their Prince. When AVRELIANVS vnderſtood thereof, with his accuſtomed courage and expedition (which was naturall unto him) he returned by great iournies into *Aſia*: and being come into *Syria*, he made no ſtay untill that he came to the Citie of *Palmyra*; which when he had taken, he inflicted moſt cruell puniſhment, by putting all ſorts of people to death, men, women, old folkes and yong children, without leaving any liuing creature therein. And afterwards he left the whole Citie deſolate, and almoſt all the other Cities, which conſented and conſpired therewith in the rebellion. Without any long abode in *Aſia*, in great haſte he returned into *Europe*, where he happily pacified all matters; ſo as there remained no part, but all was in obedience. Neuertheleſſe, for as much as the people were accuſtomed to the libertie and evill cuſtomes permitted vnder the gouernment of GALIENVS, a certaine Captaine called FIRMVS, who was in *Egypt*, aroſe, and made all that Kingdome to rebell; and, as ſome write, made himſelf Emperor: and, as others write, crying Liberty, hee promiſed to maintain the liberty and priuiledges of that Country. Which when this warlike Emperor underſtood (who, for expedition in the wars, was a ſecond IVLIVS CÆSAR) he would put no man elſe but himſelf in truſt, and returned the third time into *Aſia*, and thence came into *Egypt*: and at his firſt entry with great difficulty hee recouered all that Kingdome, and left it in peace and quiet.

The Palmerins rebelled.

The Egyptians rebelled.

At that time (as AVRELIVS VICTOR and EVTROPIVS report) there was a Captain in *Dalmatia* whoſe name was SEPTIMIVS, who alſo rebelled, and proclaimed himſelf Emperor. But AVRELIANVS needed not to come againſt him: for, the ſame legions and ſouldiers which choſe him, conſpired againſt him and ſlue him. So as there reſted nothing for AVRELIANVS to do, but to defeat TETRICVS, who held a great part of *France* and *Spain* with title of Emperor, as is before ſaid. Whereof AVRELIANVS made great account, and came from *Egypt* with intent to go againſt him; this warre being in all mens opinion very doubtfull: neuertheleſſe AVRELIANVS tooke ſo good order therein, as it was ſoone ended. The reaſon was, that TETRICVS being a tyrant, and no lawfull Emperour, the legions and men of warre vnder his command, became ſo diſſolute and preſumptuous, as he was no longer able to endure their inſolencie and pride, but choſe rather to liue a ſubject to the Emperour AVRELIANVS, then to be an Emperour ouer ſuch ſubjects, with vexation toile and reproach. Wherevpon hee ſecretly wrote to AVRELIANVS, and brought it ſo to paſſe, that hee voluntarily yeelded himſelfe; and ſo all became in peace and quiet, ſubject vnto AVRELIANVS.

Tetricus ſubmitted himſelfe to Aurelianus.

And as at other times the legions had betrayed their Captains & Emperors: ſo now the Emperor to be rid of trouble deliuered vp his legions to another: which is a great example & proof of the miſeries, ielouſies, and troubles, into which they are involved, which vniuſtly and tyrannouſly hold dominions; daily expecting and fearing death, and to be diſpoſſeſſed of their gouernments; whereof ancient Hiſtories are full: and in our time we haue ſeene with our eyes, that although they eſcape for a time; yet there is no day wherein they are not vexed with the inſolencies and diſſolutenes of thoſe, by whoſe aide they maintaine their tyrannies: and moſt commonly they are by them brought into greateſt danger. And ſo to keepe themſelues on foot, they vſe great cruelty againſt their ſubiects; and ſhew themſelues partiall, remiſſe; and humble to their fauorites and friends. And above all, the ſecret martyrdome and remorſe of conſcience doth torment them: whereof DIONYSIVS, MARIVS, SYLLA, and other famous tyrants which haue been, are fayre preſidents: who, vpon their ſubiects, committed moſt horrible cruelties, and of their friends and companions endured incredible inſolencies and intolerable audacious preſumptions. Which TETRICVS knowing well, although he were not vnprouided nor deſtitute of power, courage or valour; yet he voluntarily yeelded himſelfe to AVRELIANVS, holding it for a more difficult thing to commaund with trouble, then to ſerue with quiet. Which diſcreete advice may ſerue for a rule and admonition to flie and eſchew a vanitie much vſed by thoſe which in townes and common-wealths maintaine factions and diſcords, and will command and tyrannize ouer that which is none of their owne; who thereby vainely and fooliſhly make themſelves ſervile and ſlaves to very baſe fellowes, flattering them and giuing what they will have; becauſe they will not endure the companie of thoſe which are their equals: then which there can be no greater madneſſe. It proued no evill courſe that TETRICVS tooke: for he liued many yeers after in great honour and peace, and ended his dayes as we will declare: whereas otherwiſe if he had perſiſted in his tyrannie, he had made ſuch an end as all ſuch had: which was eyther to haue been ſlaine by his enemies, or by his owne ſouldiers; and the time which he ſhould haue liued, would haue been full of continuall feare and Ielouſie.

AVRELIANVS having fully ſubdued and pacified all the Prouinces of the Empire, and reduced the ſame to the antient power and reputation, by taming and ſubduing the tyrants, and by expelling the ſtrange and barbarous Nations with force, felicitie, and admirable expedition, hee reſolued to come to *Rome* to receiue the triumph for his victories: which was giuen him with the greateſt ſolemnity and pompe that could be deuiſed, which in reſpect of my accuſtomed breuity cannot particularly be recited. It may ſuffice to ſay in briefe, that it was one of the moſt ſtately triumphs that euer was made in *Rome*, wherein were led an infinite number of Priſoners and Captiues of diuers and ſundry Nations, great variety of wild Beaſts, as Tigres, Lions, Ounces, Elephants, Dromedaries, Beares, and ſuch like. There was alſo aboundance of Armes taken from thoſe which were overcome, and moſt rich and ſumptuous chariots: one, which had beene of ODENATVS, ZENOBIAS husband; another which ſhe herſelfe had made: and another which the King of *Perſia* voluntarily ſent to AVRELIANVS for a preſent.

A moſt ſtately triumph prepared for Aurelianus.

There went alſo in that triumph the great ZENOBIA, moſt richly attired, in cloth of great price ſet with pearle and ſtone, in manner of a priſoner bound with chaines of gold. There were in the number of them, of whom AVRELIANVS triumphed, TETRICVS and his ſonne, whom the father had intituled Emperor. AVRELIANVS entred in another chariot, which had beene the Kings of the Gothes, drawne by foure ſtagges: and after him came all the victorious legions both of foote and horſe, moſt rich and gallantly armed, bearing boughes of lawrell or of palme in their hands: there were alſo many other things of great Pomp. And he in this maner went to the Capitol to do his ſacrifices according to the cuſtom, & thence to his Palace, and the next day were made in *Rome* all kinds of ſports and feaſts, ſuch as were wont to be made,

made, with addition of many things aboue ordinary, and more than other Emperors had don. He likewise gaue many gifts to the people, as the custome was at such times. TETRICVS he made Governer of *Lucania*, *Calabria*, *Puglia*, and *Campania*, with other Prouinces of *Italie*; and did him great honour together with his sonne. To ZENOBIA he gaue lands and possessions, the rents whereof sufficed to maintain her honourably: and so she lived and died, being highly honoured and commended of all men; still preserving her antient reputation, and the honour of her person.

Prouinces giuen to Tetricus by Aurelianus.

His bounty to Zenobia.

AVRELIANVS being victorious, and in this prosperity (as his chiefest delight was in the warres, and to bear Arms) resolued to leuie a choice and selected Armie, and therewith to goe into the East to make warre against the Persians, in reuenge of the injurie done to the Empire by the imprisonment of the Emperor VALERIANVS; and within short space he marched thitherwards. And as he was valiant, wise, and a most excellent Captain; so had he without doubt performed great matters, had not death (through the secret judgement of God) by the way made frustrate his high attempts and desseigns: which (as OROSIVS and EVSEBIVS testifie) God permitted for a punishment of his wickednes. For, hauing raigned six yeers, fauouring, or at least wise tolerating the Christians to liue free and at liberty, he suffred not the Catholick Church to be molested or persecuted: wherefore, notwithstanding that he was an Infidell, our Lord God (who leaueth no desert vnrewarded) gaue him so many victories, and so good successe in all his actions. But in the end, deluded by the Diuell, and the counsell of wicked men, he determined to persecute the Christians, and sent abroad his Letters and Edicts to that effect; which was the tenth persecution of the Church. But, beeing ready to signe the same, there suddenly fell a thunderbolt from heauen so neer vnto him, that all men thought hee had been slain: yet, besides this signe and warning giuen him to desist from his wicked resolution, God permitted his death; and that his owne seruants, in whom hee reposed most trust, should kill him, which was thus: As he was euer cruell, and had put many to death for light occasions; his principall Secretarie, who managed his most secret affairs (whose name was MENESTHEVS) being in fear of his life, for that AVRELIANVS had threatned him for a matter of smal importance, resolued to practise the death of his Lord: which to effect, hee presently wrote a forged memoriall, wherein it seemid that AVRELIANVS had set down the names of certain persons which he would cause to be slain: among which he wrote his owne name, and shewed this memoriall to all those (or to the greatest part of them) which were contained therein: many of which were odious to the Emperor; which made the matter the more likely to bee true. And as the Secretary was of great credit by reason of the place hee held, and they knowing the Emperors cruelty, presumed as much, and throughly beleeued it: whereupon, they speedily agreed to make an end of the Emperor, for fear that hee otherwise would haue done the like by them. And, hauing resolued vpon the manner, they slue him as he went one day with a small guard from *Heraclea* in *Thracia* (for, many Cities are so called) towards *Byzantium*, now *Constantinople*.

The tenth persecution of the primitiue church

Menestheus procured the death of Aurelianus.

The death of Aurelianus.

He died (according to EVSEBIVS computation) in the yeer of our Lord 278, and in the sixt yeer of his Raign; a small time truely, considering his great and noble acts. He left neither sonne nor nephew, but one onely daughter. The Senate was very sorrie for his death; but the people, much more: for, they liued in greater security, and without danger of his cruelty. And for his noble acts they canonized him, and numbred him among their holy Emperors. When the treason of MENESTHEVS was discouered, they draue a stake through him, and did cast out his body to the dogs, and to bee deuoured by wilde beasts. It is not written that the rest were punished, because peraduenture they were prime men; and so great, that no man durst procure their punishment.

THE

THE LIFE OF TACITVS, ONLY OF THIS NAME, AND EIGHT AND THIRTITH EMPEROR OF *ROME*.

THE warlike and inuincible Emperor AVRELIANVS being dead, as we haue said, who with such valour brought all the Prouinces of the Empire to peace and tranquillity; and in so short a time, that it seems the fear and reuerence which they bare him in his life time, held the same authority euen after his death [For, no man attempted to make himselfe Emperor in any of the Prouinces wherein Legions lay in garrison, as at other times they were wont to doo; neither durst the Armie which was with him chuse an Emperor, he had in such manner tamed the Prouinces and the pride of the people: And the Captains which then were with him were also better aduised, and took warning by the death and confusion of those which in the time of GALIENVS had vsurped the name of Emperors] Therefore, for that they deemed none worthy of the Empire; they desiring to auoid the like inconueniences as befell in times past, and to the end that a good Emperor might be chosen, who with his authority might preserue and maintain the present estate, the men of warre of AVRELIANVS his Armie sent word to the Senate, that (as reason was) they should chuse and name an Emperor; and that they would obey him, and confirm his election.

The Armie sent to the Senate to chuse an Emperor.

The Senate, knowing that the Armie was not wont to bee contented with a Prince of their chusing, made answer, that they should name and make choice of one, and that the Senate would approue their doings. In this straining of courtesies, six moneths passed (which may serue for a wonder to him that hath read the former Histories); in which the world was without an Emperor, and the Empire was gouerned by the Senate, and such Officers as AVRELIANVS had left. At the end of which time, ouercomn by the entreaties and Ambassages from the Armies, the Senate made choice of TACITVS, a Noble-man, who had been Consul, and was a good man, and of great age, who earnestly refused the same; so as there were many complements between them about the matter. But in the end he accepted thereof, to the great ioy of the Senate and Roman people, and also of the Pretorian Cohorts which ordinarily lay neer to *Rome*. And so he performed the solemnities, donatiues, and gifts which the new Emperors were accustomed to make. TACITVS was very ould when hee came to the Empire; but of great experience in magistracies and offices of charge, and had euer liued a vertuous life. Hee was very temperate in all things, milde and kinde, and a louer of iustice and equity.

Tacitus chosen Emperor.

When as TACITVS had taken vpon him the gouernment of the Empire (as a good Prince free from ambition) he did all things by the aduice and counsell of the Senate; and held such a course in all his actions, that the whole Empire was in peace and tranquillity, and iustice was euery where administred with quietnes: and to that end he made excellent lawes and ordinances, abolishing certain abuses and euill customes in *Rome*. But, for any notable matters which Readers commonly desire in Histories (as, wars, battels, great aduentures and accidents) there

were none in his time; as well for that he found all in peace and in good order, as for that hee raigned but a small time; which was but six moneths, and those not fully expired. What death hee died, the Authors doo not certainly set down. Some say, that his owne souldiers slue him vpon the way trauelling towards *Asia*, whither he was going with an Army to make war against the Persians: but SEXTVS AVRELIVS VICTOR and others write, that hee died of a burning Feuer in the City of *Tharsus*; which seemeth most likely to be true: for, he was a vertuous man, and much beloued. Among his other vertues, hee was very temperate in his diet, and in all other things; so as hee would not allow his wife the Empresse to wear any pretious stones or jewels of any great price: and he much honoured the memory of good Emperours. His countrey or linage I finde not written. He left no son, either naturall or adoptiue.

The death of Tacitus.

The originall of the heresie of the Manichees.

In those times sprang the famous Hereticks of the Manichees; whose Originall and Maister was a wicked man called MANES: who with his Followers were so wicked and such Infidels, that they presumed to say, that there were two Gods, the one good, the other euill; adding thereto, that the one was the Originall of all goodnes; and the other, of all euill. And this horrible and diuelish Heresie lasted in some wicked men aboue two hundred yeers: against which, Saint AVGVSTINE and other holy Doctors opposed themselues. The life of this TACITVS is written by FLAVIVS VOPISCVS, whom I haue followed, and the other Authors aboue-named.

THE LIFE OF FLORIANVS, ONELY OF THIS NAME, AND NINE AND THIRTITH EMPEROR OF ROME.

(***)

AS soon as TACITVS was dead, a brother of his named FLORIANVS, trusting in the neernesse of bloud to the last Emperor, without any authority or election took vpon him the name of Emperor: which hee did through the fauour of part of the Armie, and of certain principall men which were with him. But his estate continued but a small time: for, when the Armies in the East vnderstood of the death of his brother TACITVS, they made choice of PROBVS, of whom we will speak heerafter; who was a man of such authority, and so well beloued, that FLORIANVS vpon the newes thereof held himself forlorn. And, knowing that all the martiall men would abandon him (as, many of them alreadie had done) he made his veins to be opened (imitating QVINTILIVS, who, as we haue said, did the like); and so he died (as the other did) bleeding, about two months after hee had taken vpon him the name and title of Emperor. Wherefore, he could doo no such notable matter as might be worthy writing. He was a man very like his brother TACITVS; as well in condition and goodnes of life, as in the shortnes of the time he held the Empire. He died in the yeer of our Lord 279.

The death of Florianus.

THE

THE LIFE OF PROBVS, ONELY OF THAT NAME, AND FORTITH EMPEROR of ROME.

THE ARGVMENT.

ALthough Probus *were of no very Noble Family, he was so honest a man and so vertuous, that, in consideration of his vertuous deeds, he worthily deserued to be chosen Emperor. After that he was confirmed in that dignity, he shewed himself to be so affected to the people, and so kinde and louing to the Senate, that by common consent and a publique decree hee was called* Pater patriæ; *and to him moreouer were granted all the titles and dignities that might enoble and make him famous. In his time arose infinite wars and troubles, so as hee spent all his life time in managing of Armes: wherein being victorious, he entred Rome in triumph, hauing tamed and vanquisht the Frenchmen and the Germans, and subdued some which would haue made themselues Emperors: amongst which was one* Saturninus, *a valiant and politick man. And, seeing that all the Empire was in peace and vnder obedience, he vsed to say, that within a while there would be no need of martiall men: which when they vnderstood, they began to murmure and to conspire against him; principally, because he would not permit them to line in their accustomed liberty. And going with great preparation towards the wars against the Parthians, he was slain by them vpon the way. His death was greatly lamented in Rome, and generally through the whole Empire; missing such a father as in euery respect did worthily deserue to be called* Probus.

PROBVS succeeded FLORIANVS (or rather TACITVS) in the Roman Empire; who was chosen Emperor by the Legions & the Armie in the East, presently when as they vnderstood of the death of TACITVS, to the end they would not stay for one to be chosen at the pleasure of the Senate. But this PROBVS was so valiant a man, and so excellent a Captain, and so held and reputed for such by all men, that the Senate and people of *Rome* presently confirmed his election.

There hapned, in the time of this excellent Prince, such and so many wars, as well against tyrants as strangers, and he obtained so many victories, that hee might very well be compared to AVRELIANVS; of whom a little before we haue written: and in like manner wee may parallell him with HANNIBAL, with CÆSAR, or with any other great and famous Captain of antient time; whose acts seem greater than the acts of this Prince, by reason they were so fortunate, as to haue them registred by those eloquent and excellent Writers which celebrated the same. Which ornament failed in those which wrote the liues of the Emperors of these times, and a hundred yeers before: and in long time after there were not found any so eloquent; or rather, neuer since. And although they write the truth of the History, yet oftimes it is written so abrupt, and so brief, as it makes their acts to seem lesse than they were. But the discreet Reader, considering the acts of some of those Emperors which we haue already written, and which we are to write heerafter, shall certainly knowe, that the deeds and prowesse of some

of these Princes, were no way inferiour to theirs which were so famous; but in some sort might rather seeme greater, if they well consider what nations and people they were, against which they fought. Which as they were no lesse valiant or fierce, then those of ancient times; so were they more expert and of greater skill in the warres, and in aught else that was requisite.

The origine of Probus.

But to returne to our good Emperour PROBVS: he was borne in *Hungary* in a citie called *Sirmio*, of noble parentage, principally by his mothers side. His fathers name was MAXIMVS, a man very famous, and one which followed the wars, and had had the leading of martiall men; and being Tribune, died in *Egypt*; His wife liuing after him, with this sonne and one daughter, which was his sister. This young PROBVS prooued to be so vertuous and so valiant a young man, as the Emperour VALERIANVS who died prisoner in *Persia*, made him a Tribune, being so young as hee then had no signe of any beard. He performed in the time of VALERIANVS, and of his sonne GALIENVS, and of AVRELIANVS, and CLAVDIVS (wherein happened great warres, with many battailes and conflicts) such notable seruices, both as a souldier and a Tribune, and afterwards when he was a Captaine; that he was held and reputed for a most valiant man, and make men now to admire him, which reade his doings. In giuing assaults to cities, he was many times the first man vpon the scaling ladders, and the first that entred the enemies camp or fortresses. He was victorious in many single combats, man to man, and in battailes freed many Romane citizens from death: wherefore according to his deserts, there were giuen to him many ciuical crownes, collars, braceles, launces and banners, with other ensignes, deuices and martiall priuiledges. And afterwards being a Captaine of Legions, and Generall gouernour of prouinces; there was almost no nation but was subdued by him, in the infinite warres which were in those times.

In *Africa* hee subdued a people called Marmarides, and ouerthrew some mightie tyrants and rebels. In *Egypt* being a captaine, he fought against the Palmyrines, who would haue vsurped that countrie and kingdome; but he brought them to quietnes with great part of the East, in the seruice of AVRELIANVS. In the time of CLAVDIVS, he ouercame the Gothes in many battailes; and in the time of AVRELIANVS, the Sarmates and Germanes; and often was victorious in many other parts. And with these victories and noble acts, with the goodnes of life and behauiour hee made the discipline and knowledge of Armes equall: So as he was in all, a good and a valiant Souldier, Captaine, and Emperor.

Many letters (recited by FLAVIVS VOPISCVS) written by GALIENVS, CLAVDIVS, AVRELIANVS, TACITVS, and other Emperours and Princes of that time, beare record of that which is said of him; in which they extoll the vertues, valour, and excellencie of this man: wherefore he was infinitely beloued, and honored generally. Which plainely appeareth by the manner of his election: for the Armie which was in the East desiring to make haste in choosing an Emperour, being aduertised of the death of TACITVS; the Captaines, and Coronels drew their souldiers into the field: and without any former request, practice or agreement, they began to shew vnto them, that it was requisite to make choise of an Emperor, a man which should be valiant, honest, religious, good, pitifull, wise, and adorned with all vertuous qualities: which speech they vsed in sundrie squadrons and parts of the Armie. The souldiers without any priuate conference cried out with one voice, Let PROBVS be Emperour AVGVSTVS, God keepe and preserue thee PROBVS, and with such other words and applauses, shewing the great loue and affection they bare vnto him.

Probus proclaimed Emperour.

When PROBVS had accepted of the Empire, he presently wrote a briefe letter to the Senate, but yet with great honor and respect, approuing what was done the last yeere in the election of his predecessor TACITVS: and excusing himself for hauing accepted of the Empire, without the knowledge and confirmation of the Senate, he laid all the fault vpon FLORIANVS, who for that he had taken vpon him the name of Emperour, the Armie was therefore forced to make choise of him. His letters being read, there was made great shew of ioy, and they applauded his election with many blessings, and gaue him the name of AVGVSTVS, Father of the countrey, and they also made him high Priest, and gaue him tribunall power and authoritie.

When PROBVS had receiued this decree from the Senate, he was very glad: and taking good order for all things, and leauing sufficient garrison in the East, he came into *Europe*; where he was receiued by the Armies; which sware to be faithfull vnto him. The first thing he did after his comming, was, to leuie the greatest Armie hee could; wherewith hee went into *France*, which euer after the death of AVRELIANVS was subject to the Germans, who made themselves Lords and masters of all the chiefest Cities of that countrie. After that he came into

to his enemies countrie (whose number was infinite) there began a most cruel and bloudie war: for the souldiers of either side were very valiant and expert. There passed (as saith VOPISCVS) many bloudie battailes betweene them, whereof one continued two daies together: so as each day the darknes of the night parted the fight, the victorie seeming to incline sometimes to the Romanes, and sometimes to the Germanes, which is found written in the antient Chronicles of *Germany*, as witnesseth HENRICVS MVTIVS a modern writer: but in the end through the good prouision, and direction of PROBVS, he preuailed after that he had obtained many victories against the Germanes, wherein died 400000 of their men and a great number of the Romane Army. He wrested out of their possession sixtie principall cities, and draue them out of all that which they had vsurped: and passing forwards he took other cities, and his Armie made great spoile and hauocke. Being thus ouercome, they yeelded obedience, and became vassals to the Empire: which without my particular relation will plainely appeare by a letter written by PROBVS to the Senate, which saith thus.

A cruell battaile fought between Probus and the Germanes.

A Letter written by Probus to the Senate.

I giue thanks (fathers conscript) to the immortall Gods, seeing they haue approued your iudgement of me, shewing it to be reasonable and true. For, know that I haue conquered, and subdued all *Germany*, and that nine Kings of sundrie Nations and Prouinces haue prostrated and humbled themselues at my feete, or to say more rightly, at yours; and are now become subjects, and fight in our armie against other barbarous Nations more northerly. You shall (fathers conscript) make your accustomed prayers vnto the Gods, seeing that we haue slaine foure hundred thousand of your enemies, and sixteene thousand men very well armed haue yeelded themselues vnto us; and we haue recouered threescore Cities which they held, and all the Prouinces of *France*. All the Crownes of gold which the French Cities gaue vnto me for presents, I send vnto you, to the end that by your hands they may be consecrated, and offered to the most good and mightie IVPITER, and to the rest of the immortall Gods. The prey that we haue taken, is greater then all the harmes that they haue done vnto us. The fields in *France* are ploughed and tilled with Oxen taken from the barbarous, &c.

And so in his letter he proceedeth, signifying vnto them his victories: for which, in *Rome*, was made great ioy, feasting, and supplications to their gods, according to their rites and customes. After this conquest, he came with his forces into the Provinces of *Slauonia*, inuaded by the Sarmates, which are the inhabitants of *Muscouia*, *Russia*, *Polonia*, and others as is aforesaid, and had the same in possession; which warre was no lesse dangerous then the last, for the great multitude and fiercenes of those Nations with which he fought certain battailes: Wherin he shewed himselfe a most prudent, hardie, and valiant Captaine; and hauing wholly subdued them, he forced them to flie out of the bounds and confines of the Empire, the greatest part of them being either slaine or taken. And from thence with great expedition hee marched with his Armie into *Thracia*, which with the rest is now called *Gracia*, wherein is the great Citie *Constantinople*; and marched farther towards the North, with a resolution to make warre against the Gothes in their owne countrey, and wholly to subuert that Nation for reuenge of the harmes and spoiles which they in time past had done in the Empire. He was of such reputation, and all Nations stood in such feare of him, that whersoeuer he came, he found no resistance: for they sent to yeelde their obedience, and bound themselues to be confederats and friends to the Empire. Whereupon leaving *Europe* in peace, he went into *Asia*, with a resolution to haue made warre against the Persians and NARSEVS, who then was King of *Persia* and *Parthia*: and passing so through *Asia* the lesse, he inuaded the Province of *Isauria*, which is a part thereof, bordering vpon *Cilicia*, which (as in the life of GALIENVS we said) is mountanous, craggie, and hard to be assaulted, ill to be conquered, and easy to defend, wherein were many theeues and tyrants which sought to make themselues Lords of that Countrie; all which the valiant Emperour subdued, not without great toile and danger: for the inhabitants being fortified by the naturall situation of that countrey, defended themselues courageously, so as there passed dangerous battailes and conflicts betweene them; but PROBVS in short space pacified all. And they say, that entring the countrey he desired to see the naturall and artificiall fortifications thereof: which he much meruailed at, and said, that the countrie was hard to be wonne, and easy to be defended. He diuided the fields which he there took from the tyrants, among his old souldiers, and such as had borne themselues valiantly in that service. After that he had pacified al that region, he marched into *Soria*, and into the Eastern parts: but first he went against a certaine people which they called Blemij, which came out of *Ethiopia*, and had taken part of *Arabia*, of *Palestina*, of *Iudea*, and the Cities of *Ptolomais*, and *Ioppa*, now called

Probus draue the Sarmates out of Slauonie.

Iaphe, which was then a famous cittie. And hauing ended this iourney, he marched towards Persia against NARSEVS King of the Persians and Parthians; who was the most powerfull King of the world, and whose predecessors euer troubled the Romane Empire. But PROBVS (of whom we now treate) was so much feared and esteemed, as NARSEVS durst not oppose against him, but by all meanes procured peace, restored what he had vsurped, gaue him other great gifts, and yeelded to such conditions as PROBVS required. So as hauing no enemie against whom he might wage warre, he returned againe into Europe, leauing the whole state of the East in peace and vnder good gouernment. Comming into Thracia, which countrie was dispeopled, through the warres and spoile which the Gothes, Sarmates and other barbarous nations had made; and for that many nations which were wont to be enemies, had now submitted themselues to do him seruice, and desired him to giue them som land to inhabit, where they might be his subiects; he gaue vnto them the prouince of Thracia and the marches thereof; diuiding fields by lottes amongst them, where they should inhabit and till the earth. These were of many Tribes and nations, as Vandals, Gothes, Guntanes, and other people, whose number was infinit. But this counsell proued afterwards very dangerous, and preiudiciall, as hereafter you shall heare.

Narseus King Persia yeelded to Probus.

In this time was a generall peace through the whole Empire, and there was no King of forraine nation, that durst attempt any alteration. But as mens harts are commonly (euen from their infancie) more inclined to euill then good through the corruption of our nature, wanting forraine enemies, there arose some domesticall cumbustions; and those which were wont to make head against forraine enemies, made themselues enemies.

There was in the East parts a Captaine whose name was SATVRNINVS, who was both valiant, expert in the warr, discreete and of great iudgement, and in the time of AVRELIANVS had been Generall of those frontiers, being by birth a French-man. This man comming to Alexandria in Egypt about some matters of importance which wee know not; without his knowledge or imagination, the Egyptians, as they were euer vnquiet, rebellious and desirous of innouations, by a common and general consent, hailed him Emperor; and called vpon his name with so great obstinacie as he durst not refuse it, neither forbear to say that he consented thereto. But imagining that through his absence this tumult would haue bin pacified, he departed from Egypt and came into Palestina. But they neuer giuing ouer what they had begun, and as those troupes whereof he had the commaund, did not onely consent thereto, but were very glad thereof; He himselfe standing in feare of PROBVS, clad himselfe in purple, which was the impetiall colour (but some say crimson; which was the colour of the imperiall robe) accounting it the safest way. But it is written, that when his Captaines and souldiers came to sweare obedience, and to doe him such honour as was accustomed in such actions; SATVRNINVS entertained them weeping, saying vnto them, Let it not my brethren ond companions in Armes be imputed vnto me for pride and presumption, what I now shall say vnto you; for this day doth the common-wealth lose in me a necessarie member; for I was the chiefest man in restoring France. I being a free Captaine recouered Africa from the Moores. I pacified Spaine, and did other things to the honour of the Empire; but what auaileth it to haue done all this? for with this daies worke all is lost. And as his Captaines and Coronels encouraged and entreated him to be merrie, this wise man, who well knew what it was to raigne with tyrannie, answered them, saying; My friends, you know not what it is to raigne. But I will make you vnderstand it in my selfe: for from henceforth there will daily hang ouer my head, threatning me and putting me in feare of my life, swordes, gleaues, shields, and on euery side I see my selfe assaulted with halberts, launces, and other weapons; and I begin to stand in feare of those which haue the guarde of me, and to suspect those which keepe me companie. I shall not eate any thing that shall taste well, neither without suspicion. I can trauaile no way in safetie. I shall not vndertake any warre to my owne liking, neither shall I beare Armes for exercise, but forced: and although I did assure my selfe to the contrarie, yet truly it is impossible for any Emperour to please and content all his subiects. For if he be an old prince; they will say that he is insufficient and an vnprofitable dotard: if he be young, they will say, he is rash and furious, and hath not wit enough to be a soueraigne. And so there will neuer want imputations to blemish him. Beleeue me my friends, in that you make me Emperor, you binde me to death. But one thing doth some thing recomfort me; which is, that I shall not die alone. But seeing that you will haue it so, I pray to the Gods that the time come not wherein you will be as sorrie for what you haue done, as I am at this present. These speeches are recited by FLAVIVS VOPISCVS; who

Saturninus made Emperor against his will.

The miserable condition of tyrants.

writeth that he vnderstood them by the report of his Grandfather, who was present when they were spoken.

SATVRNINVS, although (as a wise man) he knew and foresaw into how great danger he thrust himselfe (seeing he could not desist) was nothing dismaied, but with great courage prouided all things necessary for the preseruing of the estate which he had taken vpon him. And notwithstanding that he was made a Tyrant against his will, yet he desired rather to ouercome, then to leaue to be. But as the Emperour PROBVS was no lesse wise and valiant then himselfe; so when he was aduertised what had passed, with the greatest Forces he was able to leuy, he returned into Asia, ordering all things after a new manner with great care, being very iealous of this warre, in respect of the quality of the Captaine and Souldiers. Both Armies being come into one Countrey, they made of either side cruell warre, and the battailes were verie fierce and bloudie; yet the Emperor PROBVS sought to haue come to some composition with SATVRNINVS, promising to pardon him, and to intreate him well. And it is supposed, that SATVRNINVS would willingly haue accepted thereof, but his souldiers would neuer yeeld thereto; holding themselues thereby to be in no security, seeing they had forced him to take vpon him the name of Emperour. But in the end, SATVRNINVS being apparantly ouercome, he was besieged in a Castle, and there was slaine by the Souldiers against the Emperors will, who would rather haue forgiuen him.

Warres between Saturninus & Probus.

After this Victorie, which was held so doubtfull, PROBVS returned into Europe, and the Souldiers & Legions remained so quiet, and in such obedience, as it grew to be a common by-word; that the Mise did not dare to gnaw for feare of PROBVS. But as he was busie in this action (the successe whereof was doubtfull); in France and Germanie were two Captaines, the one called BONOSVS, who was the chiefe; and the other PROCLVS: who raising mightie Armies in France and in Britannie (where PROBVS was ill beloued, for the Victories which he had obtained there) and hauing also some Spaniards, besides the ordinarie Legions of their gouernments; they both tooke vpon them the name of Emperors, and the purple Robe. But for that it would be a long Storie, particularly to recount all that passed; it shall suffice to know, that PROBVS neuer rested: so as according to the small time of his raigne, which was but fixe yeeres, it may seeme a wonderfull thing to consider the warres and voyages which he made. But in the end, he found out these Tyrants, and inuaded them both; of which, the warre against BONOSVS (as they write) was very dangerous and lasted long: but in the end PROBVS had the victory, and BONOSVS falling into despaire hung himselfe. PROCLVS being likewise ouercome, fled into the Countrey, where the Germanes (thereby to winne PROBVS loue) deliuered him: and so he had an entire and compleat Victorie ouer all.

Bonosus and Proclus called Emperors.

Bonosus in despaire hung himselfe.

This PROCVLVS was borne in a place among the Alpes neere to Geneua, and BONOSVS was a Britaine, bred vp in Spaine; of whom they write, that he would drinke so much wine, as tenne great drinkers could not drinke so much; and that therewith he had two wonderfull properties: the one was, that how much soeuer he dranke, he was neuer drunke; the other that when it pleased him, he could pisse as fast as he did drinke, without containing any iot within his bodie: wherefore the Emperor AVRELIANVS was wont to say of him, that BONOSVS was not borne to liue, but to drinke.

Proclus was fame by his owne Souldiers.

strange qualities.

After that PROBVS had defeated these two great Captains and Tyrants, it might haue bin held reasonable, that Arms should haue giuen him leaue to haue reposed himselfe in Rome; for now his yeeres and trauailes required no lesse: but it hapned otherwise; for the Nations and people which he left (as we haue sayd) to inhabit Thracia, notwithstanding that the Bastarnari remained in peace and quiet: yet the Vandales and other Nations seeing the Emperour pestered in the warres (trusting in their strength and multitude) resolued to make no longer abode there, but to inuade all the Prouinces of the Empire, robbing and stealing all they could lay hands vpon: and their number was so great, that no City or Countrey could make head against them, but they spoiled and burned all where soeuer they came. Which, when the Emperour had well considered, imagining that whatsoeuer he had formerly done for the good and liberty of the Empire, was to no effect or purpose if he suffered this plague to goe on, hee resolued to put himself in hazard, and to go in person into al those parts which these people inuaded. And for that (by reason of their multitudes) they could not march together, he fought with them in sundry places: wherein many were slaine of either side, and the Emperor himself was sometime wounded, and in danger of death. But in the end he ouercame them all, and

took such order, that he compelled those which by flight escaped from the battels, to flee out of the confines and frontiers of the Empire. And, very joyfull and victorious, finding now no resistance in the world, hee came to *Rome*; whereinto hee entred in triumphy which truely was well deserued: for, in *Rome* there was a law that the triumph should not be granted but for great victories obtained. Which being so, I see not that either CÆSAR or POMPEY could or did better deserue it, than PROBVS. For, if we consider the number of battels and victories (although they be not at large described) which he fought and wanne before that he was Emperor, and those also after; I knowe not when we should make an end of reciting them.

Probus warred against the Barbarians.

Probus came into Rome in triumph.

There was neuer a Prouince in the Empire when it was furthest extended, which was not conquered anew or pacified, and brought into subiection by him. CÆSAR was much commended for expedition, surprising his enemies suddenly and vnprouided: PROBVS was no lesse diligent and actiue than CÆSAR; and although his enemies were prouided for him, yet he ouerthrew them and put them to flight. It is said, that CÆSAR slue in diuerse battails a-boue a million of men: and PROBVS, in the first warre hee made being Emperor, slue foure hundred thousand; and *France* (wherein CÆSAR made warre ten yeers before he could subdue it) PROBVS conquered in one yeer. As for the other battels which he fought when hee was but a Commander, I hold the number of those which were slain therein, as innumerable as the wars were dangerous and desperate. But if we come to the ciuill wars which CÆSAR made against the Romans; I conceiue those which PROBVS maintained against three tyrants with their ould Legions, to be no way inferiour. So as I knowe no reason why wee should not as much extoll the actions of some of those Emperors, as of POMPEY or CÆSAR. But, not to swarue from the common opinion, against which we may not contend, giuing to CÆSAR and such excellent men the first place; yet it is reason we should also make an honourable mention of those which were vertuous and valiant, and that we should preserue the memoriall of them for an example to posterity. Which wanted no other thing (as I said in the beginning) but Writers; who might eloquently, and in a good stile, haue particularly written their acts, which the others had: for, if of PROBVS, and of some others of whom we haue already treated, and are to treat hereafter, there had been any which had eloquently written the Histories, relating all their acts and valiant deeds in particular (their bold attempts, their counsels, their orations, their aduertisements, their wonderfull policies, stratagems, and other matters of importance) which, doubtlesse hapned without number in such and so great enterprises and battels; wee should not onely bee content to giue vnto these men the second place, but peraduenture wee should contend for the first; considering, they were no lesse excellent in vertue and bountie, than in Arms and valour.

A comparison betwixt Probus and Iulius Cæsar.

Probus his triumph in Rome.

But, leauing this disputation apart (for, in the end, the world will giue Sentence in the behalf of CÆSAR, and of those famous men of antient times) our PROBVS entred *Rome*, triumphing of the Germans, of the Blemij, and of many other Nations and Tyrants. His triumph was most solemn; and his men of warre entred with him: among which were Germans, Spaniards, and other Nations which had serued him in the warres, as well as the Romans. There were also some excellent and great Captains: of which the most noble were, LEONIDES, DIOCLESIANVS, CARVS, CONSTANTINVS, ANABALLIANVS, MAXIMINIANVS, PISONIANVS, HERCVLEVS, CECROPIVS, and others; whereof some were afterwards Emperors.

This triumph being ended, the next day (according to the antient custome) began the feasts, games and sports; wherein were huntings of sauage beasts; more, and more strange, than euer before that time were seen in *Rome:* for which purpose he caused, in a place called *Circulus Maximus*, a great Groue of wood and a Mountain to bee made, full of very great trees; set in such sort, that they seemed naturally to haue growne there. The place was so capable and so large, that therein were hunted a thousand Ostriches, a thousand Stags, a thousand mountain Goats, a thousand wilde Boars, a thousand fallow Deer, and other kindes of beasts: and the people were permitted to kill and take thereof at their pleasure. Afterwards there were killed with Lances three hundred Bears; and, in a maner, as many Lions, of those of *Libya* and of *Syria*: which was a spectacle representing more maiesty and greatnes, than delight or pleasure.

The next day came three hundred Sword-plaiers; which were men (as wee haue alreadie said) who slue one another to make the people sport; and those which suruiued, gained reward and liberty.

These feasts being ended, the Emperor made certain laws, and took care for the good gouernment of the Empire; and all men liued in such peace and quietnes, that PROBVS vsed to say, that he would speedily take such a course, that there should be no more neede of any men of war. Wherfore, as also for that he would neuer suffer his soldiers to be idle, but imploid them in labours and necessarie edifices, they began to hate him and to wish his death; as men which had been accustomed to robbe and steale, and to liue licentiously. And hauing taken order for all matters concerning a peaceable gouernment, he determined to goe into the East, to subdue and wholly to subuert the kingdome of the Persians and Parthians: for there now remained no other power that he needed to care for, to confirme that peace which hee resolued to settle through the Empire. And vndertaking this enterprise, with greater preparation, then euer was made in any other (for now nothing letted him) it seeming to his souldiers that it was not good to haue a Prince so valiant, in whose time they were compelled to liue in such subiection and were punished, and could not follow their old course and former libertie; they resolued to kill him; and in secret many of them conspired against him: So as when hee passed through *Sluonia*, they murthered him by treason; when he had raigned (after EVTROPIVS) sixe yeeres and foure moneths; which (as I said of AVRELIANVS) was a very short space, for the accomplishing of such and so great acts and enterprises, as his were. And some authors write that he raigned not so long. His death was much lamented in *Rome*, both by the Senate and Roman people. The armie stood not vpon the punishing of the offenders; for no man durst attempt the same: but they erected to this inuincible Emperor a most honorable Sepulchre, whereon was engrauen this Epitaphe.

Proclus slaine by his owne soldiers.

Here lieth the Emperor PROBVS; *iustly for his goodnesse called* PROBVS; *of all the barbarous nations and tyrants a Conqueror.*

This passed (as EVSEBIVS testifieth) in the yeere of our Lord 285. He left neither sonne nor kinseman that durst make challenge to the Empire: and so there remained not any man that sought to eternize the memorie of so great and excellent a man.



THE LIFE OF CARVS, ONLY OF THAT NAME, AND ONE and fortith Emperor of *Rome*. And of CARINVS and NVMERIANVS, his sonnes, which *were also called* AVGVSTI.

(***)

NOW were the souldiers againe in possession of authority to chuse Emperors. For, as it appeareth by the processe of this Historie, they euer hated that Emperour which was chosen by the Senat. And although that in diuers parts of the Empire there were Armies and ordinary Legions; yet that Armie wherein the Emperor was at the time of his death euer pretended to haue greatest right: and he that was chosen by them, seemed to haue the best title, and was held for right Emperor. And for as much as PROBVS was dead and buried, as we haue said, the souldiers began to consult about the election of a new Emperor: and they all desired to make choise of such a man as might seeme to deserue the same;

The men of warr euer hated those Emperors, which were chosen by the Senate.

so as neither the Senate nor other Armies should haue any just cause to except at his election. And in the opinion of the greatest part, CARVS (whom PROBVS had made Pretorian Prefect) was thought very sufficient, as well for that he was a man of great worth, as for that he was of great experience in gouernment, by reason of the charge and offices which he had held: and finally they chose him Emperor, and sware obedience vnto him, to the great good liking of the whole Armie.

Carus chosen Emperor.

When his election was published in *Rome*, the Senate was nothing pleased therewith: not in respect of himselfe; for of his good conditions and vertues they were very well assured; but for that he had two sonnes, the eldest of which expected to be his successor, whose name was CARINVS, who was a wicked and most vicious man: but they durst not denie their obedience, and so approued his election, through the desire they had to preserue the peace and quietnes wherein PROBVS had then left them. Whence, or of what countrie this Emperor CARVS was, I finde not written in any author. FABIVS CECILIANVS, which wrote the Historie of his time (as VOPISCVS reporteth) saith, that he was borne in *Slauonia*, but by descent he was an African. ONESIMVS saith, that he was born in *Rome*, and that his father was a Slauon; neuertheless, he was held for a Roman: which he sheweth in some letters that are by VOPISCVS mentioned. But AVRELIVS VICTOR, EVSEBIVS, and PAVLVS OROSIVS make him a Frenchman, born in *Narbone*. It little importeth whence he was: but as soone as he was chosen Emperour, hee made his two sonnes CÆSARS, CARINVS and NVMERIANVS, with the name and authoritie of AVGVSTI, and hee receiued them as his companions in the Empire. NVMERIANVS was valiant, wise, learned, a great Musician, and a Poet: But CARINVS was wicked, dishonest, insolent, and giuen to all kinde of vice.

Hauing ended these things, he presently began to make most diligent search for those which had murthered PROBVS; whom he seuerely punished: which, together with the loue which PROBVS in his life time did shew him, took away the suspicion which some conceiued that he had been consenting to his death. Hauing done iustice, and written his ordinary letters to the Senate, he marched with his Armie to make warre against the Sarmates, who as soone as they vnderstood that PROBVS was dead, came with great furie into *Pannonia*, and with such pride, as they threatned all *Italy*, and the rest of the Empire: where, after some conflicts, he came to a battaile, wherein he had the victorie, slue of them sixteene thousand, took twentie thousand prisoners, and put the rest to flight.

Carus his victory against the Sarmates.

After this victorie, he vnderstood that in the East, the Persians made some alterations. Wherefore, to effect what PROBVS had intended, he resolued to march presently thither, leauing to his eldest sonne CARINVS the gouernment of *France* and *Spaine*, and NVMERIANVS, he took with himselfe; and went with such power and so great an Armie, as he presently tooke all the countrie of *Mesopotamia*, meeting not any man to make defence or head against him. And passing further, he besieged the Citie of *Thesiphonte*, where the Persians sallied forth to encounter him with a sufficient Armie, between which (as EVTROPIVS writeth) was a most cruell battaile; wherein CARVS ouerthrew them; and following his victorie, he tooke by force the famous Cities of *Selencia* and *Thesiphonte*. And as he was of a great spirit, and experience in the warres (if death had not surprised him) it was then conceiued, that he would haue wholly ruined the power of the Persians: for at that time they were at ciuill warres among themselues. But comming with his Armie to the bankes of the riuer *Tigris*; through his trauell and heate, he fell extremely sick. Wherwith being much oppressed, there happened one day a great tempest of thunder and lightning, and there fell a thunderbolt into the Emperors tent, wherewith some of those which were about him were slaine, and among them the Emperour himselfe, having raigned but two yeares, which hee spent in continuall travaile and warres, in the yeere of our Lord 287, in the beginning thereof. Notwithstanding that CARVS was a great and mighty Prince, yet the thunderbolt had no respect of him; and I see, that those good Princes had as ill fortune as the most base and wicked. I haue read the Chronicles of Kings, and of other great Princes of many Kingdomes and Provinces: but I never heard nor read, that the like deaths ever happened vnto any as to the Romane Emperours, at least so commonly: for it is certaine, that no kinde of death, how vile or strange soever, but hath bin inflicted vpon some Romane Emperour. For amongst them, some have bin slaine by treason, and commonly by the sword: some by thunderbolts from heaven, as CARVS: some were burnt with fire, as we will tell you of VAIENS: Others were hanged, as before we told you of

Carus ouerthrew the Persians.

Carus slain with a thunderbolt.

Sundry kindes of death hapned to the Roman Emperors.

BONO-

BONOSVS, who was called Emperor in the time of PROBVS; and before him, old GORDIANVS in *Africa*: others tormented and dragged along the ground, as we told you of HELIOGABALVS and VITELLIVS: others were poisoned, as some before named: others Captiues and throwne into prison, like most base and vile slaues, and so VALERIANVS dyed: others opened their veines and bled to death, as QVINTILIVS and FLORIANVS: others vvere drowned, as DECIVS; and to others hapned other kinds of death. So as hauing not written the liues of aboue forty or forty one Emperors, it seemeth that death hath made experience in them, that there be as many conditions of death, as of dead men: among which may be numbred the deaths of CARINVS and NVMERIANVS, sonnes to the Emperor CARVS, who were called AVGVSTI: from whose life we will presently begin; and the processe of the history will shew others no lesse strange and fearefull.

Of CARVS his two sonnes, which he made CÆSARS with power and authority of AVGVSTI; the younger, whose name was NVMERIANVS, was with his father when hee dyed: who as well for the worth and deserts of his father, as for his owne, was much beloued of all the Armie and Romane people: wherefore by common consent, as soone as his father was dead, he was chosen Emperour, and for such was generally obeyed. He was maried to the daughter of a rich and mightie man, whose name was ARRIVS APER. This new Emperour greatly lamenting the death of his father, and imagining that in that warre at that time there was no more to be done, raised his Camp, and began to retire: and for that he was diseased in his eies, and could not endure the light; he made himselfe to be caried in a close Litter, so as he could not be seene. But as the desire to raigne is the most violent of all other passions; so his father in law ARRIVS APER forgetting the dutie which he ought to his soueraigne Lord, and the loue to his daughter and sonne in lawe, resolued to kill him, and by meanes of his great wealth and friends to procure the Empire for himselfe: which he might easily bring to passe, for that he was allowed to come to him when he pleased: so as by his hand (or some other mans by his direction) NVMERIANVS was slaine in his Litter; and to the end it should not be reuealed, they left him therein: and giuing it out that hee could not indure to see any man, they caried him dead two or three daies, practising in the meane time what they had proiected: but as the dead bodie began to smell, the treason was discouered sooner then ARRIVS would, and there was so great a confusion and sorrow in the whole Armie, that euery man took Armes and said, that they would choose an Emperour which should punish so great a treason. But first of all ARRIVS APER was brought prisoner before the Imperiall Iudgement seat: for it was presently knowne that he had committed this murther.

Numerianus chosen Emperour.

Numerianus slaine by his father in lawe.

The Armie being in this confusion and tumult, by the common consent of all men DIOCLESIANVS was chosen and saluted Emperour, who was the chief man in the Armie, and one of the most excellent Captaines in the time of PROBVS: he was (as it were) the Emperours steward, and had the rule and gouernment of his household. He was borne in *Dalmatia* of obscure parentage, in so much as some say that his father was a Notarie: and others say, that he was the sonne of a bondman. But he was a man of a great courage, very wise, a great defender and louer of the common-wealth, of a quicke wit and vnderstanding to make prouision for any occasion that might be offered, according to the time and season: and was of great experience in affaires and charges of importance. He was also a man of high conceites, which he put in execution; but with great wisedome and discretion.

Diocletianus chosen Emperour.

DIOCLESIANVS seeing himselfe called by all men Emperour, with great courage accepted the Empire: and clothing himselfe with the Imperiall robe, he set him in the tribunall seate; and being saluted AVGVSTVS, the first thing he did, was to make inquirie, how NVMERIANVS came to his death, notwithstanding that he alreadie knew the same. The treason and practice being discouered vnto him, he made the wicked ARRIVS APER to be brought before him; and with his owne sword slew him; so much was he displeased therewith: And afterwards he made those which were his complices and partakers to be slaine. In this manner was the death of the good Emperour NVMERIANVS reuenged. CARINVS the other brother, who was left CÆSAR and was gouernour of *France* and *Spaine*, was very vnlike vnto him: for as this was noble, vertuous and giuen to all vertuous actions and exercises; and besides all his other excellencies, we read, he was the best poet of his time, and an excellent Orator; so was CARINVS dishonest, luxurious, an adulterer, and giuen to all kind of vice: wherfore, he was generally abhorred of all men; in so much that his own father hated him, and being aduertised of his behauiour, said, he held him not his sonne, purposing to depriue him of the Empire.

Arrius Apee slaine by Diocletianus.

Hee

He then remaining in *France*, hauing put from him all the good and vertuous men which his father left with him, conuersing altogether with such as himselfe vnderstood of the death of his father, and of his brother, and also of DIOCLESIANVS his election. And as (although wicked and vitious) he was valiant and of great courage, without amending any of his euil conditions, but rather with his liberty encreasing the same; so he leuied the greatest forces he was able, and with great diligence made prouision to make head against DIOCLESIANVS, hoping to remaine sole Emperor. Whereof when DIOCLESIANVS was aduertised, he with great expedition came out of the East into *France* against him. And as of either side there was both great power and courage; so they had sundry skirmishes, which were very fierce and cruell; but in the end, each of them setting vp his rest, they came to a battell, which was the last and most cruell; wherein CARINVS was justly ouerthrowne and slain. And in this manner remained DIOCLESIANVS at that time sole Lord and Emperor, which was in the yeer of our Lord 288.

Carinus ouerthrowne and slaine.

THE LIFE OF DIOCLESIANVS, ONLY OF THAT NAME, AND OF MAXIMINIANVS, THE TWO AND FORTITH EMPEROVR OF ROME.

(***)

DIocletianus, *for his vertue, deserued the dignitie of the Romane Empire: to whom the gouernment seeming heauie and burthensome, he took for his assistant and companion* Maximinianus; *who carried himselfe with such loue, loyaltie and so much reuerence towards him, and he towards* Maximinianus, *as they seemed to be rather two most louing brothers then Emperors. He made* Constance *and* Galerius Armentarius, Cæsars; *to which hee gaue the charge of managing sundrie warres, which he could not himselfe follow in person: and hauing obtained many victories, and triumphed together with his Cæsars and his Augustus; in the end he resolued to leaue the Empire, being growne old; and he perswaded* Maximinianus *to doe the like; wherewith he was well content, and neuer after could be induced againe to accept of that dignitie and gouernment; notwithstanding that he was by many men much entreated. He was very cruell against the Christians and destroyed many of their Churches, because they should not haue conuenient meanes and places to assemble together. In the end being very old, it is said that he killed himselfe with poyson, for feare to be put to some soarefull death. An end vnworthy truly of his glorious life.*

THE originall of DIOCLESIANVS, and the manner of his election we haue aboue expressed; together with his wisedome and valour: It remaineth now to declare the successe of his life, and acts, in such manner, as PAVLVS OROSIVS, EVTROPIVS, and other ancient authors haue left it in wrighting. Before which I will tell you one thing of DIOCLESIANVS, which I doe not vse to obserue in the liues of other Emperours, for that I hold it a vaine thing; although recorded by those authors which I follow in this Historie: which was, the augurie or forewarning that each of them had, that he should be Emperor before he was so. Which I will set down for that it seemeth pleasing; and a little to withdraw the readers minde from too much thinking of serious matters, of greater importance. FLAVIVS VOPISCVS writeth in

in the life of NVMERIANVS, *sonne to the Emperor* CARVS, *that* DIOCLESIANVS being a poore souldier, and in his youth seruing in the warres of *France*, was lodged in a womans house which was a Magician or southsayer; or as we say, a cunning-woman, one of those which by the French-men were called Druides: Which woman was his hostesse and did dresse his meate. And making his reckoning with her for his diet (which he did euery day) as he was very sparing of his purse, this woman said vnto him; Thou art very sparing with me DIOCLESIAN, and truely art too very a niggard. DIOCLESIAN in iest answered her; Pardon me in that I am so sparing in my expences, for I am but a poore souldier: but I promise thee, that when I am an Emperor, I will be very liberall vnto thee. Quoth this woman vnto him; Do not iest with me: for thou shalt be Emperor when thou hast slaine a Boare. DIOCLESIAN took this for a iest: and, as he was of a very hautie mind, he neuer forgat these speeches: and although that he alwaies followed the warres, yet he gaue himselfe much to hunting, and to kill wilde Boares; mou'd thereto by her words. Afterwards in processe of time, AVRELIANVS, PROBVS, TACITVS and CARVS came to be Emperors, and he had already killed and daily did kill Boares; and sometime vsed to iest at the prophecie of this Druid, saying; I doe daily kill wilde Boares, but others eate the flesh. At the last, when with his own hands he had slaine the father in law to NVMERIANVS, whose name was APER, which signifieth a Boare; it is written that he then said; Now is my prophecy expired and accomplished: for I haue killed the Boare which did prognosticate to me the Empire: and so he held the Druids prophecy fulfilled. It is said, that he came downe from his throne of purpose to kill ARRIVS APER with his owne hand: although it seemed not fitting his greatnes to do so vile a deede, yet he did it to confirm the prophecy. It is so written by these authors: and although I thinke not but that it happened so; yet I hold it but a iest: for this Southsayer did not know what she said, and this which hapned was but by chance; and so much the more, for that DIOCLESIAN was not made Emperor when he had killed one Boare, but after that he had slaine many: and in the end he was made Emperor when he had slain *a man whose name was* APER, *which in English signifieth a Boare.* And for that all the prophecies which I finde written of these Emperors are after *this manner*, I forbeare to write them: for that they bring no fruit with them, but rather hurt and danger, inticing Christians to haue regard to Southsayings; a thing truly very pernicious, which the infidels obserued through the instigation of the diuell. As soone as DIOCLESIAN saw himselfe free from the warres of CARINVS, beginning to take the gouernment of the Empire into his hands, an infinite number of people which were laborers and pezants, rebelled in *France*, in manner of a communalty; the captaines were men fitting their humors, whose names were AMANDVS and HELIENVS: wherfore accounting that war vnworthy of himselfe, he sent thither MAXIMINIANVS, whom he had already made CÆSAR, for that hee was a man of much worth and very valiant in Armes, who (although with great danger) put to flight and slew a great number of them, so as all places there were in peace and quietnes. But other wars and tyrants rising, holding himselfe alone insufficient for so great a charge, he now made MAXIMINIANVS (whom before he had made CÆSAR) AVGVSTVS, Emperor his companion and equall with himselfe in the Empire; as some other Emperors had done the like. And truly it was a wonderfull matter to see, that they agreed so well together: for MAXIMINVS was not only a good and loyall companion in the Empire, but there was neuer any son more obedient vnto his father, then he was to DIOCLESIAN; and so in loue and concord they gouerned the Empire a great space, and obtained many noble victories against their enemies. When DIOCLESIAN had made this choise, he took his way towards the East, for that there was a certain Captayn in *Egypt*, whose name was ACHILLEVS, who had seised on that kingdom, and was called Emperor, being mighty and of very great power; and MAXIMINIANVS went also into *Africa*, where all the legions and old soldiers were drawn together in a mutinie, and so other nations with their Captains very orderly rose with the countries, and enioyed the rents and tributes; and these for their continuance were called QVINGENTIANI or QVINQVAGENARII. These two enterprises were held to be most important, wherein they had good successe, as we will presently declare. But before those wars began, there hapned other of no lesse importance: for a principall captain called CRAVSIVS, or (as others say) CARAVSIVS, rebelled in *Britanny*, possessed himself of that Iland, and was called Emperor. And NARSEVS King of *Persia* and *Armenia*, taking the benefit of the time, began to war against the Empire, and inuaded *Mesopotamia*. One IVLIANVS also in *Italy* rebelled, and would haue made himselfe Emperour: But seeing how small meanes he had to maintaine the same, he

A Druid tells Diocletian that he should be Emperor.

Diocletian chose Maximinianus for his companion in the Empire.

Achilleus called Emperor in Egypt.

Carausius rebelled in Britanny.

Iulianus, rebelling in Italy, slue himself.

stabbed himselfe with his poinlard, and fell into a fire; as AVRELIVVS VICTOR reporteth. For which occasions the two Emperours agreed that each of them should name one to be CÆSAR and his successor, which should be such a man, as should be of qualitie able to helpe to preserue and defend the Empire, which they did: and DIOCLESIAN chose one GALERIVS MAXIMINVS, who by his surname was called ARMENTARIVS. This man was of so base a linage, that they report him to be the sonne of a Cowheard, and born in *Dacia*; but was a most valiant man, very wise, and an excellent Captain; yet very seuere, and of a churlish disposition. MAXIMINIANVS named another called CONSTANTIVS, and by his surname CLORVS; a man very vertuous, wise, a valiant Captain, and a Roman Gentleman, born of high and Noble parentage. His fathers name was EVTROPIVS, and his mothers CLAVDIA; Neece to the Emperour CLAVDIVS who had the great victory against the Gothes: and, to bee the better assured of them, they caused them to put away the wiues they had, and to marrie others. CONSTANTIVS did put away HELEN, by whom hee had already one sonne called CONSTANTINE, who afterwards was an excellent Emperor; and he married with THEODOSIA, the daughter-in-law of MAXIMINIANVS.

Constantius Clorus made Cæsar by Maximinianus.

When they had made this prouision, diuided the Empire among them, and leuied their Armies, the Emperor MAXIMINIANVS went into *Africa*; and DIOCLESIAN into *Egypt*, against ACHILLEVS. GALERIVS ARMENTARIVS went into the East against the Persians. CONSTANTIVS CLORVS CÆSAR remained in *France*, to make head against CARAVSIVS, who called himself Emperor in *Britannie*; and against the incursions of the Northerly Nations. Which warres, although some of them hapned at one instant and together, I will relate in such manner as shall seem most expedient. And to begin with the Emperors: I say, that DIOCLESIAN being arriued in *Egypt*, ACHILLEVS attended his coming with a great and mighty Armie: and joyning battell (notwithstanding that ACHILLEVS fought very valiantly) DIOCLESIAN had the victorie; and ACHILLEVS, saluing himself by flight, recouered the City of *Alexandria*: where, seeking to repair his forces, hee was besieged by DIOCLESIAN; and in the time of eight moneths (for, so long the siege lasted) there hapned many battels, skirmishes, and encounters: but in the end the City was taken by force, and ACHILLEVS by DIOCLESIAN'S commandement was cast to be deuoured by Lions and other wilde Beasts. And so in all that Kingdom he vsed cruell & extreme punishments, putting to death many thousands of men; but principally of those which had bin leaders and motiues of this rebellion, or had consented thereto.

Alexandria taken by Diocletian, *and* Achilleus *was cast to the Lions.*

MAXIMINIANVS the other Emperor, who went into *Africa* against the Quingentiani, in the beginning warred very doubtfully, and with great difficulty: but the greatest part of that people fighting with his power, he vanquished, and constrained the rest to sue for peace; and afterwards went into diuerse parts, destroying the tyrants and theeues which were in those Countries: wherefore he was called MAXIMINIANVS HERCVLEVS, for that HERCVLES trauelled many parts of the world, doing the like. And DIOCLESIAN by a new surname was called IOVIVS, of IVPITER; who, they said, did ouercome and kill the Giants. And so hee and his companions (in his name) ouercame and slew the tyrants. The other wars made by the CÆSARS proued not so well at first: for, CONSTANTIVS CLORVS, who was left to make head against CARAVSIVS; as CARAVSIVS was valiant and wily, and possessed of all *Brittannie*, so could he no way preuail against him, but was rather forced by the Germans that came down against him, to conclude a peace with CARAVSIVS. And so CARAVSIVS remained peaceable Lord of *Britannie* 7 yeers. Yet afterwards his companion and familiar friend called ALECTVS, slue him, and took the rule of the countrey to himself, which he held 3 yeers. But he at last was ouerthrown and slain by ASCLEPIODOTVS, or ASCLEPIVS DOTVS, a Pretorian Prefect: and so *Britanny* was again recouered, after it had bin vsurped by rebels 10 yeers. When CONSTANTIVS made peace with CARAVSIVS, hee had a dangerous war with the Germans & barbarous nations: with whom, among other battels, he fought one very memorable; wherein, in one same day, he was ouerthrown, and Conqueror; which hapned thus: Coming to a battell with them in the morning, neer a city of the Ligones or Cigones in *Gallia Belgica*, part whereof is now called *Flanders*; his troops fought so ill, as they were constrained to turn their backs, and to retire to the City: and CONSTANTIVS CLORVS was forced to do the like. But when he came to the gates of the City, he found them fast locked; and was in such a streight, that if they had not let downe a rope wherewith hee was drawn ouer the wall into the City, he had then been slain by the enemie. When he was within the

Maximinianus cald Herculeus

Constantius made peace with Carausius in Britanny.

Constantius in great danger was ouerthrown and ouercame both in one day.

the city he call'd the souldiers together, and made such a speech vnto them, as they were greatly ashamed at their dishonor: so as in the euening within fiue houres after the first fight (the enemy mistrusting no such matter) he commanded all the gates to be opened, and sallied out suddenly, setting vpon his enemies with such courage, that after a long fight they were ouerthrown and cut in peeces, being fewe lesse then 60000 men.

In like manner hapned many great accidents to CONSTANTIVS in those parts. And while as DIOCLESIAN and MAXIMINIAN. Emperors, and CONSTANTIVS CÆSAR followed these warres, GALERIVS began a warre no lesse dangerous, against NARSEVS King of *Persia*: against whom (as we haue said) he went. For, besides that it continued long, there were many men slaine on eyther side, without any aduantage or hope of victory to either party, vntill at the last they came with their whole power to a set battaile neere to the city of *Carrãs*; into which GALERIVS CÆSAR entred with lesser forces then hee ought to haue done or was requisite: and fighting with greater courage then discretion, hee was ouerthrowne, and losing almost his whole Armie, he escaped by flight. Wherat the Emperor DIOCLESIAN was so much grieued, that GALERIVS coming to his presence into *Mesopotamia*, meeting him vpon the way alighted from his horse, and came to the litter wherein the Emperor was, to do him honor: but DIOCLESIAN suffered him to go a great while ouer the fields on foote, without staying or willing him to take his horse; blaming him, that he had with so little discretion suffered himselfe to be ouerthrowne in battaile. In the end, he gaue him leaue to depart, inioyning him to leuie a new Armie, and to endeuor to recouer his lost honor, and to defend his prouince. Which GALERIVS (parting from him much ashamed) with all diligence put in execution; DIOCLESIAN remaining with his troups in *Mesopotamia* in the meane time, to the end the *Persians* should not inuade it. And so GALERIVS with all speede went into *Europe* to leuie souldiers; and bringing with him the legions of *Slauonia*, *Dacia*, and *Mesia*, he returned into *Asia*, and went into the greater *Armenia*, whither NARSEVS the King of the Persians, by whom he had been ouerthrowne, was already come, with whom hee beganne the warre againe in very good order, with good aduice, and no lesse courage. The two Armies came so neere the one to the other, as by a mutuall consent of their Generals they ioyned battaile: The one presuming on the victorie past, and to preserue the honor which they had gotten; and the other to recouer their losses. And so the souldiers for these reasons, fought with incredible courage and resolution; which made the battaile very cruell and bloudie: But the Romane Armie consisting of more choise men, and better trained, obtained the victorie; but not without great difficultie and danger. The King escaped by flight, and GALERIVS following the execution entred his camp; where he found great riches, and tooke his wiues, his children, his sisters, and many Noble and principall men of the Kingdome of *Persia*. And marching forwards with his forces, he inuaded his countrie, and did great spoile therein, not finding any man that durst to make resistance against him. And from thence he went into *Mesopotamia* to see DIOCLESIAN, where he was receiued as in a triumph: and DIOCLESIAN himselfe went to meete him, and entertained and embraced him cheerefully, doing him great honor.

Galerius reproued by Diocletian.

A second battaill between Galerius *and the Persians.*

Galerius *his victorie against the Persians.*

All matters in the East being pacified, and the Persians & Parthians ouerthrown; hauing therin spent many yeers, they returned into *Europe*, where MAXIMINIANVS, called HERCVLEVS, Emperor and his companion, and CONSTANTIVS CÆSAR were, who were busied in the wars before recited; all being (in truth) gouerned and directed by the wisedome of DIOCLESIAN: whose valour, policie, and courage was such, as there was not any that durst disobay him, no not his equall MAXIMINIANVS; so as they all seemed to be his sons and his Captains, rather then Emperors and his companions.

These men held the Empire in peace in three parts, to wit, East, West, and South: but the Northerly parts could neuer be throughly subdued, as well for their fierceneſs, courage, and valor, as for that when they were ouerthrown and put to flight, they withdrew themselues into most cold, barren, and inaccessible places, which they could well indure being born vnder that climate: so as the Roman Captaines held it impossible to passeany further with their Armies, contenting themselues to haue chased them out of the bounds of the Empire; but they would afterwards returne again with more furie then at the first, and were euer troublesom and feared. Now the Scythians, the Goths, the Sarmates, the Alans, the Carpi, the Catti, the Quades, and other nations in great numbers assembling themselues, with a desire to rob and steale, and to inhabit some more fertile soile, began to make war and did great spoile in the territories of the

Barbarous nations rose against the Empire.

Empire; against whom the Emperors and their two CÆSARS marched with their Armies: and dispersing themselues into sundrie parts they followed the wars, although not without losse and great difficultie, the one helping and assisting the other. In the end they all obtained victorie, and the barbarous nations were repulsed, and many thousands of them were taken prisoners: and afterwards being set at libertie, certain Prouinces, which by the wars were dispeopled were giuen them to inhabit. DIOCLESIAN hauing obtained this victorie and many other, and hauing settled peace in the Empire by the industrie of himselfe, of MAXIMINIANVS his companion in the Empire, and of GALERIVS & CONSTANTIVS who were CÆSARS; now willing to enioy the accustomed reward of victories, he came to *Rome*, where he entred in triumph together with the Emperor MAXIMINIANVS, and the two CÆSARS aforesaid, where was made vnto them one of the most stately triumphs that euer was seene in *Rome*, wherein was an infinite masse of treasure of the spoile of the East, of *Egypt*, and of other nations by them subdued: there were chariots full of arms, and of vessels of gold, and siluer; and there also wereled prisoners the wife and children of the King of *Persia*, with many other Kings and Captaines of sundrie armies of the Alanes, of the Catti and others, which was in the eighteenth yeer of the raign of DIOCLESIAN: for so long was the time that he had been busied in the wars, and in prouiding and giuing order for such things as were done therin. This DIOCLESIAN was so wise, so politick and so valiant in the gouernment of the Empire, as no Emperor either before or after him, held the Empire in the like subjection: for MAXIMINIANVS obeyed him as his father, and GALERIVS & CONSTANTIVS as their Lord, and so he was honored and reuerenced more like a King, then an Emperor; and he would haue his subjects adore him, and do him reuerence kneeling vpon the ground, after the maner of the Kings of *Persia*. And as the custome of the Emperors in former time was, when they were intreated by any eminent men to giue them their hands to kisse, they, raising them vp, gaue them peace with their lips on the cheeke, and meane men vsed to kisse their knees: but DIOCLESIAN commanded by a publike edict, that without any difference all men should kisse his foote prostrate vpon the earth; and for the greater reuerence, he made his shooes to be set with pearle and stone of great worth: And in the top of this his great prosperity, by the instigation of the Diuel, he resolued to persecute the Christians, and this was the 11th generall persecution of the primitiue Church after NERO, and cruellest of them all, and lasted longer then any other, for it continued 10 yeers. The Christians had liued in rest and libertie many yeers after the persecution of AVRELIANVS, and the number of them and of their Churches was now so great, that in all the cities of the Empire and out of it there was a great concourse of people, and their Churches were much frequented: with which rest and tranquillitie (as EVSEBIVS, who was a christian author of those times reporteth) the ceremonies and discipline of the Church began to bee corrupt, and feruent deuotion began to wax cold, enuie and contention growing between the Bishops. There was such discord among them, that (as he conceiueth) God did justly suffer the persecution which then happened, which in truth was so cruell, as no tongue is able to expresse the same: Wherefore well saith the same EVSEBIVS, who was present and saw the same, that hee cannot thoroughly expresse with wordes all that which hee saw with his eyes. And both hee and PAVLVS OROSIVS write such things, which were of that qualitie, as there can be no heart so hard, but will haue compassion, and bee grieued to heare what they haue written: So as it is wonderfull to consider of the patience and constancie of the persecuted, and of the rage and crueltie of those which persecuted them.

Diocletians triumph.

The eleuenth Persecution.

In generall, DIOCLESIAN endeuoured to destroy all the Churches and Temples of the Christians, to the end they should not assemble to pray and to vse diuine seruice, and hee burnt all the bookes he could get of the holy scriptures, and would not permit that any man of what condition soeuer, if he were a Christian, should hold any office or Magistracy: and if he were already aduanced to any, he should be depriued and held for infamous, if he escaped with his life. The souldiers and men of warre, being Christians, which would not renounce their faith, were cassiered, and depriued of all military honour, and some of their liues. The Bishops and Prelates were spoiled of that which they had, and many of them slaine and martyred, and a slaue which was a Christian could by no meanes obtaine his freedom. This was common in all the prouinces of the Empire: but particularly in some of them was committed very great crueltie, as in *Phrygia*, in *Egypt*, in *Syria*, and in other parts. Some were fleyed aliue, others were torne with iron combes: and so their skins being rent, they were returned to the prisons,

Horrible cruelty vsed by Diocletian against the Christians.

prisons, where they were lodged vpon tile stones, and the sheards of broken pots, to the end that their rest should be more cruell and terrible then their martyrdome. Honest and delicate women, but strong and constant in Faith, were hanged vp by the feete as naked as they were borne, to the end that their life should continue for a space with shame and double torment. Others had their eares, noses, lips, hands, fingers, and feete cut off, hauing onely their eyes left, for a greater torment, and martyrdome vnto them: For others, they with great force bowed downe great armies and boughs of Trees, and fastned the one leg to one bough, and the other leg to another; and then letting loose the said boughes with the force thereof the bodies were rent in sunder. Betweene the nailes of the fingers and toes, which are very sensible and tender parts, they thrust thornes and splinters of Canes. Vpon other men, being naked, they cast melted lead and tinne, wherewith they indured most cruell torments. Finally, there were vsed against the Christians such torments and cruelties, as the like had neuer been seen nor imagined: and the number of the murthered (during the time of this persecution) was infinite.

As DIOCLESIAN was in the height of this felicitie obeyed and feared of all the World, he resolued to doe a notable act, the like whereof was neuer obserued in any other Emperor before his time: which was, to renounce the Empire and to liue a priuate life; considering (as som write) like a wise man, the mutabilitie of all things in this life, which neuer continue in one estate; but when they are growne to their height, naturally decline and fall; Taking example by the great POMPEY, MARCVS ANTONIVS, HANNIBAL, and other great Captains and princes, who hauing attained to the highest of all felicitie and prosperitie, were afterwards throwne downe and brought low. Accounting himself also insufficient for so great a charge, by reason of his decrepit old age, and fearing to fall into contempt, he would first contemn all dominion and rule, with so many cares and troubles; and so leade a quiet life in meane estate without care or disturbance. And he was not contented to leaue the Empire himselfe, but he perswaded, and (as we may say) in a manner compelled the Emperor MAXIMINIANVS to do the like. Which between them was concluded and agreed vpon by letters and Embassies, in such sort, that both of them vpon one day, hauing gouerned the Empire the space of twentie yeeres, in the yeere of our Lord three hundred and seuen, MAXIMINIANVS being in *Milan*, and DIOCLESIAN in *Nicomedia*, renounced the Empire; and putting off their imperiall robes and ensignes, they came downe from the thrones where they sate, and made themselues equall with other particular and priuate men; First nominating and chusing for Emperors and AVGVSTI, CONSTANTIVS CLORVS, and GALERIVS ARMENTARIVS; who before were CÆSARS. Which, DIOCLESIAN did so willingly and so vnfaynedly, as he afterwards vsed to say; that he then began to liue, and saw the beautie of the sunne. And it seemeth to be true: for after that these two had left the Empire, as we haue said, he would neuer intermeddle with any matter of gouernment whatsoeuer. But all his care was to plant and set a garden, and an orchard which he had in *Solonia* a citie in *Dalmatia*, where hee was borne, and whither he retired himselfe. And afterwards in processe of time being required by his companion MAXIMINIANVS and his son in law GALERIVS, who then was Emperor, vpon some vrgent occasions which happened, againe to receiue the Empire, alleaging that it was necessarie and expedient for the common good; he would not accept thereof; but answered, that if they had seene and enioyed such quietnes and rest as he had, and the hearbs and trees which he possessed in his countrie, they would not haue sent to haue made any such request vnto him: for he had already trauailed and done enough for the common-wealth; and that now God had giuen him time to trauaile and to liue to himselfe; and that he could not put to account that he had euer liued, but since that he liued in peace and rest in his own countrie. They replying, that he ought to haue respect vnto the great acts which he had done, and not to lose the reputation of the victories which hee might haue in his owne time: Hee answered, That hauing settled his felicitie in the gifts of the minde, it was no vile or base thing, neither ought it so to be adiudged to contemne temporall riches and rule; and to professe an honest poore life; agreeing with the discipline and examples of the sage and auncient Philosophers: and so finally he would not alter his determination. It cannot be said, but that this wise Prince did well vnderstand how little worldly dominion and command is to be esteemed; seeing that with it, it bringeth so much trouble, anguish and vexation. And I doo partly beleeue, that for some good deed which hee had done, it pleased God (who leaueth no merit vnrewarded) to giue him that rest and judgement in this world; seeing that in the other life, as a cruell Infidell,

Diocletian renounced the Empire.

Constantius Clorus and Galerius Armentarius made Emperors by Diocletian.

The death of Diocleſian.

he was to pay for the cruelties which he had committed againſt the Primitiue Church; and in the end gaue him ſuch a death as he had deſerued. Some ſay, that he poiſoned himſelf for feare of LICINIVS and of CONSTANTINE, who afterwards were Emperors; who in their Letters had threatned him, for that he would not come to their nuptials. Others ſay, that hee died mad, after that he had liued (as ſaith AVRELIVS VICTOR) ſeuenty and eight yeers. What death his companion MAXIMINIANVS died, I will tell you in the liues of his Succeſſors. Of two wiues which DIOCLESIAN had, I finde not that there remained any other ſonne or daughter but VALERIA, whom he married to GALERIVS ARMENTARIVS when he made him CÆSAR. Of MAXIMINIANVS remained one ſon, whoſe name was MAXENTIVS, who afterwards took the name of Emperor; whom hee had by a woman of *Soria*, called EVTROPIA; and one daughter named FAVSTA, whom he maried to CONSTANTINE, ſon of CONSTANTIVS CÆSAR, who afterwards was Emperor.

THE LIFE OF CONSTANTIVS *CLORVS*, THE FIRST OF THAT NAME, AND OF *GALERIVS ARMENTARIVS*, THE THREE AND FORTITH EMPEROR OF *ROME*.

(***)

Conſtantius Clorus & Galerius Armentarius made Emperors.

PReſently after that DIOCLESIAN and MAXIMINIAN had reſigned the Empire, CONSTANTIVS and GALERIVS without any contradiction were obeyed and accepted for Emperors, accordingly as the others had ordained; they being, as we may ſay, ſons-in-law to the two laſt Emperors: for, GALERIVS was maried to DIOCLESIAN's daughter; and CONSTANTIVS, to THEODORA the daughter-in-law of MAXIMINIANVS.

This CONSTANTIVS was a very Noble, vertuous, courteous and valiant Gentleman, both of condition and bloud: And GALERIVS although he were but of a baſe ſtock and linage, yet was hee neuertheleſſe valiant, and a ſingular good Captain; but therewith cruell, terrible, churliſh, incontinent; but well proportioned, and (as AVRELIVS VICTOR ſaith) *of a comely and goodly conſtitution of body*. Notwithſtanding that in conditions there was great difference betwixt them, yet DIOCLESIAN through his great wiſdome made them to liue in peace and concord; ſo as they no way diſagreed. But, he being dead, they (as wiſe men) for feare to fall out, agreed by lot to diuide the Prouinces of the Empire between them. To CONSTANTIVS befell *Italie*, *Sicilia*, and *Africa*, with all the Prouinces thereof, together with *France*, *Spain*, *Germanie* and *Britannie*: and to GALERIVS was allotted *Slauonia*, *Macedonia*, *Thracia*, *Theſſalia*; all the Prouinces of *Gracia*, of *Aſia*, of *Egypt*, of *Soria*, and all the Eaſt, and the Ilands therein.

The Empire diuided between Conſtantius and Galerius.

This

This diuiſion being made, it ſeemed a great charge and a burden to the milde condition of CONSTANTIVS CLORVS, To haue the gouernment of ſo many Prouinces as fell to his ſhare: for, he rather deſired to gouern well, than to gouern much; and therefore renounced to GALERIVS the Prouinces of *Africa*, and of *Italie*, contenting himſelf with *France*, *Spain*, and the Iles of *Britannie*. Truely he had reaſon, ſeeing that one of theſe Kings at this day is held for one of the moſt mighty Potentates of the world: ſo as that part which CONSTANTIVS did hould for the ſmall time he liued, he gouerned very wiſely and vprightly, to the great good and content of the ſubiects; and was ſo highly eſteemed and beloued, that in his time there was not any warre or rebellion in any of thoſe Prouinces. He did much honour and fauour the Chriſtians, and would not conſent that any violence or diſpleaſure ſhould bee done vnto any of them. He died in *England* of ſickneſs, after that he had been (as witneſſeth EVSEBIVS) ſixteen yeers CÆSAR, and two yeers Emperor. And in his place his ſonne CONSTANTINE (whom he had by his firſt wife called HELENA, from whom he was diuorced to marrie with the Emperor MAXIMINIANVS daughter-in-law) was choſen Emperor. The ſaid CONSTANTINE was alſo married to FAVSTA, the daughter of MAXIMINIANVS. And this was the end of CONSTANTIVS. But his companion GALERIVS hauing accepted that which he deſired not (which was *Italie* and *Africa*) and conſidering alſo that one man alone could hardly rule and gouern ſo great an eſtate well; to the end therefore that he might bee aſſiſted in the wars, and in all other accidents that might befall him, he made two CÆSARS, which were almoſt equall in dignity to himſelf: the one was called SEVERVS, whom hee ſet in the gouernment of *Italie* and *Africa*; and to the other, whoſe name was MAXIMINVS, beeing (as ſaith AVRELIVS VICTOR) his ſiſters ſonne, hee gaue the gouernment of the Eaſt; houlding to himſelf the Prouinces of *Slauonia*, and of *Gracia*, with ſupreme powr, as ſoueraign Emperor aboue the CÆSARS: ſo as by four heads the world was gouernd: which were CONSTANTINVS and GALERIVS, Emperors; and SEVERVS and MAXIMINVS, CÆSARS.

The Emperour Conſtantius Clorus *died in* England. Conſtantine *choſen Emperor in his fathers place.*

Seuerus and Maximinus *made* Cæſars *by* Galerius.

After that DIOCLESIAN and MAXIMINIAN had renounced the Empire; the Pretorian ſouldiers, who (as hath been often ſaid) remained neer to *Rome*, diſcontented with the gouernment of SEVERVS which ruled it (he being farre abſent from thence, going into *Slauonia* to ſee the Emperor GALERIVS) aſſembling themſelues in a great tumult, choſe MAXENTIVS for Emperor, who (as is ſaid) was MAXIMINIANVS his ſonne, who renounced the Empire; whom hee had by a baſe woman of *Soria*, called EVTROPIA: the which bred a great confuſion in the Empire, being then in peace; and there enſued ſo great troubles, as can hardly be deſcribed. When the Emperor GALERIVS vnderſtood heerof, hee commanded SEVERVS CÆSAR with all ſpeed to take his way towards *Rome*, where the new Tyrant MAXENTIVS was. Being incamped neer to the City, the greateſt part of his Armie (for, *nouelties are euer moſt pleaſing*) went ouer to MAXENTIVS: which his father MAXIMINIANVS, being then in *Lucania*, after he had renounced the Empire, vnderſtanding, through deſire to rule, came in great haſte to *Rome*, vnder pretext to counſell and aſſiſt his ſon in the gouernment; and ſent to DIOCLESIAN, deſiring him to do the like; who (as wee haue ſaid) would not accept of his counſell, but liued in peace.

The Pretorian ſouldiers diſcontent with the gouernment of Seuerus, *made* Maxentius *their Emperor.*

MAXIMINIANVS hauing receiued his anſwer, and finding himſelf to be much eſteemed, reſolued to repoſſeſſe the Empire, and to diſpoſſeſſe his ſonne; ſurmiſing, that he being in poſſeſſion of *Rome*, and that his ſonne-in-law CONSTANTINE raigning in *Britannie*, *Spain* and *France*, all would yeeld obedience to him. But his imaginations had ſo ill ſucceſſe, that hee not onely miſt of his purpoſe, but was ſo hardly dealt withall by the Pretorian Cohorts (his ſonne permitting the ſame) that he was glad to flie out of *Italie* into *France*; where his ſonne in law the good CONSTANTINE had the gouernment; who very honourably receiued him, as his father in law, and as a man which had beene Emperor. But he which had ſet his thoughts only vpon the Empire, and ſought by all meanes how he might attaine thereto, like a wicked and diſloyall father in lawe purpoſed to haue ſlaine his ſonne in law CONSTANTINE: but it pleaſed God to diſcouer his treaſon, to the end that he ſhould receiue puniſhment for the cruelties which he had vſed againſt the Chriſtians: for flying from CONSTANTINES Court he was ouertaken at *Marſeilles*; where hee ſought to haue embarked himſelf, and there was ſlain: and ſo MAXIMINIANVS made an vnfortunate end, his ſonne MAXENTIVS remaining Emperor and Tyrant in *Rome*, as is aforeſaid.

Maximinianus who had renounced the Empire, came to Rome vnder colour to giue counſell to his ſon in the gouernment of the Empire.

Maximinianus praiſed the death of his ſon-in-law Conſtantine. *The Emperor* Maximinianus *ſlain in* Marſeilles.

When GALERIVS ARMENTARIVS, who was the right Emperor, vnderſtood of the

ill succeſſe and death of SEVERVS CÆSAR, whom he had ſent againſt MAXENTIVS; he reſolued in perſon to go againſt him with the greateſt power hee was able to make: and, to the end he might leaue a good guard in the Prouinces of *Slauonia*, hee made an excellent Captain called LICINIVS, CÆSAR; who was a man of meane condition and baſe parentage, being but the ſonne of a poor Labourer of *Dacia*; but very wiſe, and an excellent Captain in the warres.

This being done, and hauing taken ſuch order as was requiſite, hee departed with his Armie towards *Italie*, directing his journey for *Rome*: but by the way he was aduertiſed, that his owne ſouldiers did treat among themſelues of abandoning him, and of going ouer to MAXENTIVS; and that certain companies of ſouldiers in *Italie*, which vntill then had held for him, had done the like. Whereupon, fearing to be ouerthrowne, he returned to the place where he left LICINIVS; repenting alſo that he had made him CÆSAR, for that he ſaw he was of greater power and authority than he deſired he ſhould haue bin. GALERIVS being ſo returned, there grew in his flank an impoſtume; ſo noiſome and peſtilent, that no medicines or remedies whatſoeuer were of force to cure it: and it becam ſo corrupt, that there fell a number of worms from it: which did put him to ſuch intolerable pain, that he was ready in deſpair to haue killed himſelf. Seeing himſelf to dy in this manner, he made ſome of his Phyſicians, which had him in cure, to bee ſlain, becauſe they could not cure him. And now at the laſt, without any true repentance, he beganne to think that this hapned vnto him for perſecuting the Chriſtians: and therefore in great haſte, conſulting with CONSTANTINE who raigned in *Britannie*, *France*, and *Spain*, he commanded all lawes and edicts whatſoeuer made againſt them, to ceaſe, and to bee aboliſhed; and to that effect ſent his Letters and Decrees into all the Prouinces of *Gracia*, and of the Eaſt, where MAXIMINVS (who was CÆSAR for him) gouerned; which, EVSEBIVS (an Author of great truth, and an ey-witnes) ſets down *verbatim*. And, beſides this, he made many Chriſtians to be brought into his preſence, whom hee deſired and intreated to pray to God for his bodily health; for, hee remembred not the health of his ſoule, but would haue continued an Infidell ſtill. Wherefore either they would not make ſo vnjuſt a ſupplication to God for him, or elſe it pleaſed not God to hear their praiers: for, within few daies after, he died of that his incurable diſeaſe; yet ſome Authors ſay, that he killed himſelf.

Galerius incurable diſeaſe, & infirmity.

The death of Galerius Armentarius.

This his death hapned in the yeer of our Lord 312, he hauing raigned ſix yeers; the firſt two in companie with CONSTANTIVS, and the reſt with the CÆSARS. Being dead, all things remained in this eſtate: MAXENTIVS, who tyrannouſly was called Emperor, held *Rome* and all *Italie*. CONSTANTINVS, who indeed was Emperor, held *France*, *Spain*, *Britannie*, and part of *Germanie*. LICINIVS, whom GALERIVS had made CÆSAR, remained in poſſeſſion of *Slauonia*, and of the Prouinces of *Gracia*, and preſently made himſelf to be called Emperor: and MAXIMINVS enjoyed all the Eaſt, with the dignity and name of CÆSAR. Among all which, onely CONSTANTINE ſeemed to haue juſt title, for that he was the ſonne of CONSTANTIVS, and had married the daughter of MAXIMINIANVS; both which had been Emperors.

THE LIFE OF CONSTANTINE THE GREAT, FIRST OF THAT NAME, AND FORTY FOVRTH ROMAN Emperor; And of MAXENTIVS, and of MARCVS LICINIVS, *which in his time were called* EMPERORS.

THE ARGVMENT.

THE Empire was diuided among diuers Princes, and each gouerned his part with equall authority: but Maxentius *raigning in Rome as a Tyrant, behaued himſelfe in ſuch ſort, that* Conſtantine *bare Armes againſt him notwithſtanding that he was allied vnto him, and ioined battaile with him, leſſe confident in the force of his Armie, then in the viſion which he had ſeene, that vnder the ſigne of the Croſſe he ſhould ouercome; which he euer after bore for his deuice. He likewiſe ouercame* Marcus Licipius, *who alſo gouerned a part of the Empire. Hee greatly fauoured the Chriſtians: and while he liued, the perſecution of the Chriſtians ceaſed, and the Prelates of the Church were had in great veneration, and made rich. He did put a ſonne of his owne to death, whoſe name was* Criſpus, *by the inſtigation of his wife* Fauſta, *whome he afterwards alſo ſlew, being grieuouſly reprehended by his mother* Helena *for the death of his ſonne. He would haue rooted out the hereſie of* Arrius: *but death intercepted him, which took him out of this life when he was very old: he died a Chriſtian, as he had Chriſtianlike liued, leauing the Church in great honour and rich, whereto he had of his bountie giuen many great and rich gifts.*

AM of opinion, and do verely beleeue, that it cannot be otherwiſe, but that the Reader ſhall ſee himſelfe in a great confuſion, and will not without ſome trouble comprehend the ſubiect of this Hiſtorie; by reaſon of the multitude of Emperours and CÆSARS, which concurre at one inſtant: ſo as if it be a hard matter to remember their names only, how much more then will it be to vnderſtand the actions of euery of them particularly? It is true, that the Romane Empire was then ſo great, as no one man alone was able to gouerne the ſame; neither was it poſſible that many ſhould rule it: for in raigne and command (as I haue elſewhere ſayd) equality and company cannot be indured. And from hence aroſe ſo much diſcord, murther, and other ſtrange accidents, which then could not throughly be vnderſtood, neither can now be ſo clearely deſcribed, as they may be diſtinctly conceiued as they paſt. Wherefore, it ſhall be needfull that the curious Reader remember well what is paſt, to the end he may the better comprehend that which followeth.

The greatnes of the Roman Empire.

The Tyrant MAXENTIVS being as Emperour in *Rome*, CONSTANTINE in *France*, LICINIVS in *Slauonia* and *Gracia*, who alſo called himſelfe Emperour, and MAXIMINVS CÆSAR in the Eaſt; The life and behauiour of MAXENTIVS in *Rome* was ſuch, as hee was therefore extreamely hated of all men: for he was a cruell homicide and a murtherer of Noble-men, libidinous, an adulterer, diſhoneſt, couetous, and aboue all a perſecuter and deſtroyer of the Church of God. Finally, in all his actions he was a Tyrant, a great Sorcerer, and a friend to Southſayers, Enchanters, Charmers, and ſuch like. For which, the vertuous and moſt noble CONSTANTINE (being in *France*) was very ſorie: and being called by the Senators of

In what ſort the Romane Empire was diuided.

Maxentius a great enchanter.

of *Rome* and other Noblemen, he resolued to leuie an Armie against MAXENTIVS, notwithstanding that he was brother to his wife FAVSTA, as I haue sayd. But the better to preserue his owne Empire, he made MARCVS LICINIVS, who commanded *Slauonia* and the other prouinces aforesaid, his friend, giuing to him his sister CONSTANCE to wife, in the citie of *Milan*, where they two met for that purpose, and made great feasting. Whither was inuited (but would not come) the old Emperour DIOCLESIAN, who yet liued in his voluntarie pouertie. Wherewith CONSTANTINE and LICINIVS being discontent, wrote vnto him sharpe and threatning letters, alleaging that he fauoured MAXENTIVS; wherefore (as some write) he took poison wherewith he killed himselfe; and others say that he died mad.

The death of the Emperour Diocletian.

After the feasts were ended in *Milan*, the good CONSTANTINE comming with his Army into *Italy* against MAXENTIVS, who (although he were a wicked man) was both valiant and hardy: and raising also the greatest and best forces that he was able, went to meet him, trusting in the enchantments and charmes which he had made, and in the masters which he had with him, which for that purpose killed innocent children, making with their bloud a thousand charmes and other vanities: wherewith he held the vnlearned and vnbeleeuing people so amazed, that the greatest number of his friends gaue credit thereunto; and his enemies stood in feare to giue him battaile. Wherefore, and also for that in truth he had a great Armie and very expert, principally the Pretorian souldiers which first made choise of him; the warre grew to be very doubtfull, and there were some encounters and battailes betweene them, wherein for the most part CONSTANTINE had the victorie. But MAXENTIVS reinforcing his Armie, and vsing his diuelish arts, came finally to *Rome*, where he procured all possible fauour: and making greater preparation to offend his enemie; by the counsel of a Magician woman, or rather a witch, he resolued to sallie forth and to giue CONSTANTINE battaile, who with his forces was come neere to *Rome*. Who vnderstanding what MAXENTIVS meant to put in execution; considering the great losse that might ensue, and standing in feare and doubt of the issue of the battaile, aswell for the great number of the enemies, as for MAXENTIVS enchauntments wherewith he amazed the world; he was in great care and perplexitie: And as he gaue great credit to the Christians, and was their protector and defender (notwithstanding that yet he was not baptized) but had a firme and stedfast hope in IESVS CHRIST; EVSEBIVS, CASSIODORVS, and others write, that there appeared vnto him one of the greatest miracles that euer was seen in the world: which was, That he saw in the heauens a great crosse, of the colour of fire, like vnto that whereupon our Sauiour suffered his passion; and therewith he heard this voice, *In hoc signo vinces*. By vertue of this signe thou shalt ouercome. By meanes of which signe and miracle, God gaue him so great confidence, as he presently assured himselfe of victorie: and therefore caused the signe of the crosse to be made in his imperiall standard; and euer after vsed to beare it wrought in som iewel or otherwise in his right hand, and on his forehead: and finally, from thenceforth his deuice was continually the crosse, and he made it to be set in all his ensignes.

Warres betweene Constantine and Maxentius.

A miracle appeared to Constantine when he prepared to fight with Maxentius.

CONSTANTINVS then putting his hope and trust in the voice which he heard from heauen, and MAXENTIVS his beliefe and confidence in his diuels and enchauntments, ioyned battaile neere to a bridge ouer the riuer *Tiber*, called *Pons Miluius*, which was somewhat more then a mile from *Rome*; whither MAXETIVS very courageously came in the foreward of all his Armie. The fight being begun, and he ouercharged by CONSTANTINES vauntgard, before which was carried the crosse, he fled: and entring vpon the bridge which he had commanded to be made vpon Barkes and Boates neere to the other, both he and his horse fell into the riuer, where he was drowned: which bridge he himselfe had caused to be made, to the end therewith to haue deceiued his enemie. Wherefore to him may be well applied the saying of the Psalmist, *Lacum aperuit, & effodit eum, & incidit in foueam quam ipse fecit.*

A fight betweene Constantine and Maxentius.

Maxentius flying was drowned in the riuer Tiber.

CONSTANTINE hauing obtained this victorie in the seuenth yeere of his raigne (accounting from the death of his father) without any losse or slaughter of his people; the Senators and people of *Rome*, with their wiues and children came forth to receiue him, as the Prince who had freed them from seruitude; and they gaue him the title of Father of the countrie, and restorer of peace and libertie. In this manner was he attended into *Rome*, with incredible ioy and feasting, euerie one singing his praises; yeelding generally, sundrie congratulations, with mirth and gladnes. But he attributed nothing to his owne power or policie, but all to God onely. And in the right hand of all the Statues and Images, which in *Rome* by decree of the Senate were erected to his honour for his victorie against MAXENTIVS, he caused to be engrauen

Constantine accompanied into Rome by the Senate and whole Romane people with great ioy and gladnes.

grauen the signe of the crosse, with the words which hee heard from heauen, *In Hoc signo vinces*. And then he commanded by publike edict that no man should be condemned to the death of the crosse: which vntill his time was vsed and held for an ignominious death. Setting all matters in good order and peace in *Rome*, making holy and iust lawes and statues, and to shew himselfe gratefull for the benefits which he had receiued; he did much good to the Christians, bestowing many fauours and gifts vpon them, building them Churches and houses of prayer, endowing them with rents and necessarie meanes for the maintenance of the Priests and Ministers thereof, with ornaments and necessaries for diuine seruice. And he and his brother in law LICINIVS, the other Emperor, by common consent sent their general edicts and decrees through all the prouinces and cities subiect to the Empire, commanding that the Christians should be eased from all grieuances, made free, and receiued into honours and offices of dignitie and authoritie; in which decrees were contained the great praises of our Lord, reciting the victories which CONSTANTINE had obtained vnder his banner with the signe of the crosse. Which decrees being sent into the East, where MAXIMINVS CÆSAR bare the sway, were obeied by him, as the Emperours commandement, but much against his will: for he was wicked and a most cruell enemie to the Catholike Church: and so although he conteined himselfe for a season, yet afterward he returned to his diuelliſh disposition.

Decrees made by Constantine in fauour of the Christians.

CONSTANTINE liuing in this felicitie, being Lord of all the prouinces of *Africa* (I meane of that part which was subiect to the Empire) of *France*, *Spaine*, *Germanie*, and also *Italy*, with the Ilands of *Britannie* and *Sicilie*; in all which countries he maintained peace and iustice (for the wisedome and police of this prince was exceeding great, and no lesse was his courage and valour) in such sort that as he was most valiant and venturous in Armes, so was hee very wise and politick in peace; and made new lawes, against the new slanders and inuentions of the wicked. He also took great care and paine to reduce all Arts and Sciences to their ancient perfection, greatly honouring such masters as were excellent, who then were greatly decaied and diminished, and he gaue them more honor: he also exercised himselfe in most honourable exercises, reading, writing, and inditing, and in hearing the Embasses and complaints which were brought to him from sundrie prouinces; and to all men was affable, milde, courteous and liberall; preseruing in all things the bountie and sinceritie of his minde.

Being in *Rome*, as some reckon in the yeere of Lord 314. and as other say 316. some say more, some lesse (for which computation I take no great care, seeing it little importeth the truth of the historie) he was there instructed by Pope SYLVESTER in all matters concerning the Christian faith: which he (as some writers affirme) receiued with great feruencie; and with his son CRISPVS, whom he in the beginning of his raigne had made CÆSAR, was baptized in *Rome*, hauing first made for that purpose a most sumptuous Font, which (as PLATINA affirmeth) is at this day there to be seene: yet some others affirme, that hee was baptized but a little before his death. But whensoeuer, it hath greatest apparance that it was solemnized in *Rome*. But wee will leaue this controuersie vntill another time. He liuing thus in quiet in *Rome*, MAXIMINVS CÆSAR, who ruled in the East, seeing himselfe rich and mightie, held it for a disgrace to be inferiour to LICINIVS or to CONSTANTINE; and therefore taking vpon him the name of AVGVSTVS and Emperour, and reuoking the priuiledges giuen to the Christians, he began to declare himselfe an enemie, especially to LICINIVS, who commanded neereſt vnto him: and knowing that LICINIVS prouided for him; trusting in the multitude of his men of warre, he marched towards LICINIVS: but before they fought any generall battaile, they made most cruell warre both by sea and land in many parts: and after many conflicts, at the last they came to fight, Armie against Armie, wherein MAXIMINVS was ouerthrowne: and the battaile was so cruell, as the greatest part of his men were slaine, and those which escaped yeelded themselues to LICINIVS. MAXIMINVS himselfe escaping by flight, changed his habit, to the end that he would not be discouered, vntill he might come to some place of safetie. And (as EVSEBIVS writeth) imagining himselfe to be deluded by his Magicians, and the false Priests of his diuelish gods, he put many of them to death, and began to intreate the Christians very well; and sent abroad his decrees, wherein he commanded that they should be suffered to liue at libertie, and to build Temples, and to doe what they thought good. Which this wicked man did, more for that he hoped that God would therefore giue him victorie, and so he might be reuenged of his enemies, then for any beleefe he had in him: for what he did was not willingly, but with a dissembling heart, and through desire of reuenge: for this wicked man thought that Christ should assist him with his mercie, who vpon the crosse

Constantine instructed in the Christian faith by Pope Sylvester.

Maximinus calling himselfe Emperour, reuoked the priuiledges giuen to the Christians.

A battaile betweene Maximinus and Licinius.

pray-

prayed to his father to forgiue them which had nailed him thereon. Hauing once againe leuied the greatest and best forces he could, with an intent to retutne to fight with LICINIVS, it pleased God to frustrate his purposes by his death, afflicting him first with the most cruel and grieuous disease that euer was heard of; wherein through the intolerable paine which he felt in his guts and intrailes, he did bite his owne hands, and did cast himselfe desperately from his bed to the ground: and this torment continuing many daies, so as hee could neither eate, drinke, nor sleepe: at length his eyes started out of his head, and so he died mad and in despaire. Through his death the Christians enioyed an absolute peace and quietnes through all the prouinces of the Empire: and CONSTANTINE and LICINIVS remained absolute Lordes and Emperors, and so continued in great peace and tranquillitie for a season: LICINIVS went presently into the East, where he slew VALENS, a Captaine whom the Armie there had made Emperor after the death of MAXIMINVS: and that tyrant being slaine, and he in possession of the countrie, he punished the Sorcerers, the Inchaunters, and the ministers of MAXIMINVS cruelties; and he also caused his sonnes to be slaine whom hee had made CÆSARS. EVSEBIVS, who was an eye witnes, reciteth, what great libertie the christians obtained through the death of MAXIMINVS; and how they built Churches and beautified the same, and in how great account and reuerence CONSTANTINE held the Bishops and Prelates; And likewise the gifts, rewards, and reuenewes which hee bestowed vpon them.

The death of Maximinus.

Valens slaine by Licinius.

The Empire being gouerned in this manner; in those times one ALEXANDER a Captaine in *Africa* rebelled and vsurped the name and title of Emperour; against whom CONSTANTINE sent from *Rome* an Armie: which comming to a battel, ALEXANDER was ouercome and slaine. So as all remained vnder the command of CONSTANTINE and LICINIVS onely. And although their dignitie and Empire was equall, yet was the authoritie and valour of CONSTANTINE farre greater, and he much more esteemed and better beloued of all men then LICINIVS, and for the most part remained in *Rome*, doing iustice to all men indifferentlie; particularlie honoring and enriching the Church of God, hearing and reading the holie scriptures, and in this manner remained in rest for a space. But the Deuill, who neuer ceaseth to induce men to do euill, and to sow discord and enmitie amongst them, made LICINIVS to alter his mind, who in his hart fauoured not the Christians, and drew him to persecute them. The first thing he did, was to cast out of his house and seruice, and so, out of all offices and places of charge, any one what soeuer that was a Christian; and afterwards he committed such cruelties against them as had seldome been seene: which he did (as some write) thereby to pick occasion of discord and war with CONSTANTINE, whom he enuied for his great authoritie and goodnes. He also sought many meanes to make him away either by poison or treason; wherein failing of his will, he resolued openlie to fall out with him: whereto CONSTANTINE suffered himselfe to be induced, more as a true Christian, for the defence of the Christian faith, then for his owne particular honor or intereſt: for LICINIVS, now ruined the temples and churches which he himselfe had before commanded to be built; and without either feare or shame, commanded all those Christians to be slaine which would not commit idolatrie, and adore his idols: whereupon many being weake and inconstant renounced their faith, and others ioyfullie receiued the crowne of Matyrdome.

Alexander rebelled, and taking the name of Emperour, was ouerthrowne and slaine by Constantines forces.

Licinius perſecuted the Christians.

Licinius made those to be slaine which would not commit idolatrie.

Each of these two Emperours mustring vp his souldiers and men of warre, they hauing raigned twelue yeeres in peace together, there began very cruell warres betweene them: and as CONSTANTINE euer bare the crosse in his ensigne and standard, it pleased God that most commonlie his people preuailed. And both these Emperours comming into *Hungarie* with his forces, there drew neere one to the other, the good CONSTANTINE hauing a fit opportunitie (for LICINIVS, was encamped neere to the side of a lake) in the night gaue him a camizado: and notwithstanding that LICINIVS fought very well and made great resistance, yet in the end his forces were ouerthrowne, and his camp was entred; and he escaping by flight, came to the citie of *Bizantium*, which ere long after was called *Conſtantinople*. Where to relieue himselfe and to recouer greater authoritie, he made one of his Captaines whose name was MARTIANVS, CÆSAR, who was maister of his offices, or high steward of his house; and raising the greatest power that he was able both of foote and horse, he prepared himselfe for a second battaile: But in the meane season CONSTANTINE seised on the prouinces of *Dacia*, *Misia*, *Macedonia*, and others which were vnder LICINIVS his gouernment.

Licinius ouerthrowne and put to flight by Constantine.

LICINIVS hauing gathered his Armie to a head, againe renewed the warre, which (as EVTROPIVS and AVRELIVS VICTOR write in his life) was very variable and cruell, vntill

vntill that by the intercession of CONSTANTIA sister to CONSTANTINE, and wife to LICINIVS, there was some truce and peace taken betweene them: but through the enuie and malice of LICINIVS it held not long: and they both againe returned to Armes, warring with greater malice and power both by sea and land then before. And both these Emperours comming againe to a bataile, in the prouince of *Bithynia*, in *Asia* the lesse, whither LICINIVS had withdrawne himselfe (hauing lost all that he held in *Europe*) it was extremely bloudie and cruell; but in the end CONSTANTINE had the victorie, and LICINIVS escaped by flight: And yet afterwards through the intreatie of his sister CONSTANTIA, wife to LICINIVS, CONSTANTINE graunted him his life, he yeelding himselfe into his power; but he confined him to the citie of *Nicomedia* in the same prouince: where afterwards fearing he should rebell againe as MAXIMIANVS had done, or as some thinke, for that LICINIVS began to practice with some to take Armes, he was put to death by CONSTANTINES command, and with him MARTIANVS whom he had made CÆSAR, in the fifteenth yeere of his raigne, and the threescore of his age, and in the yeere of our Sauiour Christ three hundred and seuen and twentith.

Licinius the second time ouerthrowne.

Licinius put to death by Constantines commandement.

This Emperour LICINIVS was of a most wicked and cruell disposition, beeing dishonest, incontinent, couetous, and also most ignorant, as hee who had no Learning; and (which is worse) did abhorre and detest it, affirming that Learning was a publike plague: whereas to the contrarie (to whom is it not euident) that without Learning, or learned Councell, there neuer was yet any King that either did or could rightly gouerne and minister Iustice? Neuertheless, hee was very valiant, and followed the warres all his whole life time.

The whole Empire remaining vnder the command of the good and Christian Emperour CONSTANTINE alone, the world enioyed a most happy time: for so great was his goodnesse and wisedome, that generally euery where he ministred iustice mixed with clemency; so as there was vniuersall peace and quietnesse. And by all his subjects hee was beloued, and much honored, and by barbarous and strange Nations greatly feared: and aboue all, the Christian faith was held in great reuerence, and embraced euery where. It is wonderfull what EVSEBIVS doth write in the end of his Ecclesiasticall historie, and SOCRATES in his Tripartite Historie, of the fauors, graces, priuiledges, benefits, and gifts, which CONSTANTINE bestowed vpon Bishops and the Churches, and generally vpon all christian people, abolishing all the laws which his predecessors had made against their libertie: and he commanded by publike edict, that there should no more temples be built to the honour of the false gods and idols which the Romanes adored. But he commanded through all the Prouinces of the Empire: that the Bishops commandements should be obeyed; and that to those which had not whereof to liue, there should be assigned goods and rents to maintaine them during their liues. And he not only tooke care for the Christians which liued in Countries subject to the Empire: but vnderstanding that to those Christians which liued in other Prouinces subject to the King of *Perſia* was vsed force and oppression, he sent his Ambassadors to that King, requiring him to command that fault to be amended; perswading him to honour and beleeue in IESVS CHRIST: So as by his meanes CHRIST was adored, and the Gospell freely preached through the whole world; and vnder this good Emperour the Christians indured not any oppression, or suffered persecution: and so there were many holy and learned Doctors.

Benefits bestowed by Constantine vpon the Church and christen-men.

CONSTANTINE liuing in this great power and prosperity, was worthily surnamed the Great, and in all Historics hee is called CONSTANTINE the Great. Besides this, other honourable names and titles were giuen him by the Senate of *Rome*: as, the restorer of mankind, the enlarger of the Romane Empire, the founder and preserver of perpetuall peace and safety, and so he was generally honoured and beloued of all men, as much as possibly a man could be.

Titles of honour giuen to Constantine.

Some Authours write, among which EVTROPIVS is one, that CONSTANTINE through his great power and prosperity blemished his vertues, waxing proud and cruell; and they tax him also for being too desirous of glory and honor: wherof AVRELIVS VICTOR also maketh mention, and proueth the same by the death of his sonne CRISPVS, whom he had made CÆSAR, and of his wife FAVSTA, who as we haue sayd, was MAXENTIVS sister; and of many other noble and eminent men. But it cannot certainly be said how it fell out, thereby to condemne or excuse this Emperour: for as a man, hee might fall into such sinnes;

and yet afterwards acknowledging his errour, might aske mercie at Gods hands for his offences.

Constantine did put his wife, his sonne, and his Nephew to death.

True it is, some say, that he put his son CRISPVS to death, because that his wife FAVSTA, and mother in law to his said sonne, had complained to him that he would haue rauished her; whereas to the contrarie she had dishonestly sought it of him, procuring his loue and dishonest companie; whereto, he as a loyall and dutifull childe would not consent. The truth whereof being afterwards knowne, CONSTANTINE caused her to be slaine: which he did with great reason; although hee were deceiued in the death of his sonne. Others say that she as a mother in law, practized the death of CRISPVS, because he should not be preferred before the other sonnes which she had by CONSTANTINE. But I am of opinion that these executions were not but for some offences and iust causes which moued him thereto, although they were not published and made knowne to the world.

Warres against the Sarmates.

PAVLVS OROSIVS reciting the deaths of his wife, of his sonne, and of his Nephew, saith that the causes were secret and vnknowne, which mooued him. And truly a man can presume no otherwise, considering how wise and how good a Christian this Prince was. And so SOZOMENVS doth excuse him, as relateth CASSIODORVS in his Tripartite Historie. EVSEBIVS and RVFFINVS in their writings, and the same CASSIODORVS, onely declare his vertues, and blame him in nothing. Saint GREGORIE calleth him Emperour, of holy memorie. Saint AMBROSE speaking of the death of THEODORVS saith, that CONSTANTINE was worthie of great praise, who with the Empire left the Christian faith for an inheritance to his successors: So as what such men commend, I dare not reprehend or condemne. Holding it then for certaine, that he was a good man, returning to his Historie, I say, that after that he raigned alone, their failed not warres: for the Sarmates inuaded the Empire, and he in person with a mightie Armie marched against them; and ouerthrowing them a in battaile, he forced them to obey, and to be quiet. The like he afterwards did by the Gothes, and other barbarous nations. Which when he had performed, and hauing made his three sonnes CONSTANTINVS, CONSTANTIVS, and CONSTANS, CÆSARS, and also his Nephew DALMATIVS: for some resonable considerations, holding it more conuenient for matters of the East and to be neere at hand, which was his greatest care; he determined to transport his imperiall throne and seat from *Rome* into *Bithynia* in *Asia*, or into some other part of that countrie: and hauing considered thereof, and thought vpon sundrie fit places; he resolued in the end to reedifie the citie of *Byzantii*, which is in *Thracia*: and meaning to call it new *Rome*, he beautified it with edifices, priuiledges, and other riches, more then any other citie of the world. And as Saint IEROM saith in his additions to EVSEBIVS, he enriched and adorned that citie with the spoiles of all the rest. For all the worthie and notable monuments which were in *Rome*, as statues, pillars, colosses, and all other things which were singular and excellent, of gold stone or metall, he made to be taken from *Rome* and to be carried to that citie: Whereto notwithstanding that he gaue the name of new *Rome*; yet was it then, and now to this day is called *Constantinople*, after his name: and so it became one of the greatest and most noble cities of the world: and he went thither, and there settled his imperiall throne and state, leauing his sonnes in *France*, *Spaine*, and *Italy*, which prouinces he had giuen them to gouerne.

Constantine reedified the citie of Byzantium, now called after his name Constantinople

The Empire being in this prosperitie, the heresie of the Arrians, through the suggestion of the diuell arose in the City of *Alexandria* in *Egypt*, which denied the eternitie of the Son of God with the Father, alleaging that he was not of the same substance with him. This heresie did then, and a long time after, trouble the quiet estate of the Church. The head and inuentor of this heresie, was one ARRIVS a Priest in the said citie of *Alexandria*, who was a man which outwardly made great shew of holinesse, and liued morally, well. At the same time was Bishop of *Alexandria* one ALEXANDER, a man of great holinesse & learning: But as he was gentle and of a mild condition, so he endeuoured in the beginning to haue cured ARRIVS of that heretical infirmitie, with soft and gentle medicaments; praying and admonishing him to leaue his errour and misbeliefe, with holy speeches and exhortations; but being proud and insolent, persisting in his heresie, he induced many others to follow his errors: and this pestilence increased and extended it selfe so far, that many were infected therwith: and all the possible diligence that ALEXANDER could vse, did nothing quaile to suppresse the same; notwithstanding that ARRIVS was by him excommunicate out of the Church. Whereupon ALEXANDER aduertised the Emperor thereof: and the mischief grew to be so great, as it required a great remedy; and so by order of the same Emperor, a generall Councell was called in the City of *Nicea*, which is in

The original of the Arrian heresie.

in the prouince of *Bithinia* in *Asia*, where ther assembled three hundred and eighteene Bishops. And CONSTANTINE himselfe in person was present in the same councell: finally, ARRIVS, and his wicked sect, was therein condemned by all the Bishops, excepting seuenteene which held with him. Whereof eleuen afterwards (as saith RVFFINVS) made shew of recantation: and ARRIVS together with the other sixe were excommunicated and banished; to all which the Emperor consented and approued the same, submitting himselfe to the iudgement of the holy councell. And so the opinion of ARRIVS was held for a wicked heresie: but he persisted in his error, and had disciples and followers. And notwithstanding that the Emperor took great paines to redresse it, yet he could not by any meanes effect the same. This euil did a long time trouble the Chuch, and extended it selfe euen into *Spain* and other prouinces; in somuch as it seemed impossible to finde any redresse for so great a mischiefe: but afterwards in processe of time, it pleased our Lord of his infinite goodnesse and mercie, to cure the same.

The Nicen councell.

Among many other things which CONSTANTINE did in this councell, one was very notable. As among so many Bishops, although many of them were holy and good men; so their wanted not enuie and contention among those which were not such: for some held erronious opinions; and others which were in sute and at debate, accused one another to the Emperor, exhibiting their complaints and informations vnto him in writing, entreating him to punish the offenders; The Emperor received the accusations, & concealed the same, so as no man saw them: afterwards calling those Bishops which thus complained before him, he made a briefe speech, saying; Fathers, Bishops and Prelates, it hath pleased God to ordaine you for Prelates and Priests, and hath giuen you power to iudge of me, and I may iustly and orderly be iudged by you, but you cannot be iudged by me: wherefore I referre your sutes and debates to the diuine iudgement, and to the iudgement of the Church and councell. And seeing that you are set before vs in the place of God, it is not fit that I iudge of you, but should leaue you to the iudgement of God, of whom it is written, *Deus stetit in synagoga deorum, in medio autem deos discernit*; God stood in the synagogue of the Gods, and God alone among them is iudge. Wherefore setting apart all this malice, discord and contention, apply your selues diligently to that which appertaineth to the Christian faith, and to the Church, and for Gods sake forget these rancors and priuate iniuries. These speeches are written by RVFFINVS and CASSIODORVS, and are also seene in the Decrees, wherewith the good Emperour exhorted those Bishops to concord and friendship, without interposing himselfe betweene them as their iudge, and so was that most holy & Christian councell dissolued. About the same time or little after it, the holy woman HELENA, mother to the same Emperour CONSTANTINE, went to *Ierusalem* (I meane to that which is new builded: for of the old *Ierusalem* there remaineth not one stone vpon another) to seeke the crosse whereon our Sauiour CHRIST suffered his passion. And commanding a Temple to be throwne downe, which by the Gentiles was builded in that same place to their Goddesse VENVS, there were found three crosses, but not in such manner as that it might bee well perceiued which was the crosse of CHRIST: for the superscription was taken away, or else the letters could not be read, and the one was like the other. And HELENA being in this confusion, and with her MACARIVS, which at that time was Bishop of *Ierusalem*, they caried the three crosses to the house of a great Ladie, which in that citie was then at the point of death, sicke of a great and incurable disease; where (as it is written) the right crosse was miraculously discouered. SOZOMENVS in his Tripartite historie writeth wonders, concerning the same. The feast of the finding of the crosse is celebrated by the Church of *Rome* with great solemnitie, vpon the third day of May. And HELENA, hauing found what she so earnestly fought, caused in the same place where it was found, a most rich and sumptuous Temple to be built: and taking the crosse asunder, the one halfe shee left there inclosed in a siluer chest, and the other halfe shee caried with her to *Constantinople*, where it was kept by CONSTANTINE with great reuerence. She caried vnto him also the nailes wherewith CHRIST was nailed to the crosse, the one of which hee alwaies wore in his helmet or caske; and of another he made a bit for his horse, agaiast such time as hee should enter into any fight or battaile; and the other naile, it is said, that bearing it about him, and being in a great storme at sea, he threw it into the sea to asswage the tempest. How true or false I will not argue. This historie and the finding of the crosse, besides RVFFINVS and CASSIODORVS alreadie alleaged, Saint AMBROSE writeth at large in the oration by him made to the honour of the Emperour THEODOSIVS.

The finding of the Crosse.

Helena caused a Temple to be baile in the same place where the crosse was found.

CONSTANTINE hauing now happily raigned about thirtie yeeres, in the later time whereof hee wholly applied himselfe to roote Idolatrie out of the world; and to builde Churches, which he dedicated to CHRIST IESVS and his Saints; and to extirpate ARRIVS his heresie, which yet had some roote: but in the end he was was forced to leuie an Armie to go against the Persians and their king, which inuaded the Empire. And marching thitherwards, in the 66. yeere of his age, and the thirtith of his raigne (although that herein is some small difference among authors) he was taken with a grieuous sicknes; and to the end hee might recouer health, he caused himselfe to be caried from *Constantinople*, with intent to goe to *Nicomedia*, which is a citie in *Bithynia*, to certaine Bathes of hot water: but before he could come thither, his disease so increased as he died, humbly recommending his soule to IESVS CHRIST, in whom he constantly beleeued. And so holily died this holy and great Emperor; leauing behind him three sons, CONSTANTINVS, CONSTANTIVS, and CONSTANS; whome he constituted and ordained for his heires and successors in the Empire, together with his nephew DALMATIVS; and two daughters, the one named HELENA, which was afterwards maried to IVLIANVS who was Emperor: and the other CONSTANTIA who maried with GALLVS. Some suspected that CONSTANTINE was poisoned. He died in the yeere of our Lord 342.

The death of Constantine the Great.

Although that we shall somewhat exceed ordinarie in this discourse, yet I account it time well spent to treate of some doubts, which grow in the life of CONSTANTINE. The first is, for that some say this holy Emperour was not baptized, vntill a little before his death, and that he was then baptized by EVSEBIVS, Bishop of *Nicomedia*; and that all the rest of his time he liued without baptisme: alleaging a reason why he did so, for that he hoped to haue been baptized in the riuer *Iordan*, wherein our Sauiour CHRIST was baptized by S. IOHN. But I account the opinion of those to be most certaine, which write that he was baptized in *Rome* by the hand of Pope SYLVESTER, after the death of MAXENTIVS. For it is hardly to be beleeued, that there could be such deuotion found (as CONSTANTINE shewed in his works) in a man which was not baptized; and therefore it carieth no colour of truth. Writers doe also proooue, that he was baptized with his sonne CRISPVS, and that he caused his sonne to bee slaine long before he died, as by vs hath been alreadie declared: so as it appeareth that he could not be baptized with his sonne, being alreadie dead. And whereas it is written in a little booke, that CONSTANTINE was infected with a leprosie, and that he was cured with the bloud of certaine little children which he caused to be slaine for that purpose; PLATINA holdeth this for a fable and a forgerie: and none of the ancient writers neither moderne that are of any credit, write any such matter. Some also write, that CONTANTINE was baptized in his later daies, and that he seemed to be inclined to the Arrian heresie. But he was deceiued which wrote so: for that was his sonnes error, who was also called CONSTANTINE: and that which was written of his sonne (being deceiued through the name) was imputed to the father, of whose true faith, life and death there ought no doubt to bee made; neither in their histories treating of his life, do they make any doubt, as OROSIVS, EVTROPIVS, S. GREGORIE, RVFFINVS, and CASSIODORVS testifie: Of which S. GREGORIE calleth him, of holy memorie. S. AMBROSE in an oration which he made at the death of THEODORVS, giueth him the title of holie, and highly extolleth him because he left the Christian faith, for an inheritance, with the Empire. And the Greek Church doth celebrate his feast as a Saint, vpon the twentith day of Aprill. And so doe also defend his faith and holinesse both in life and in death, ANTONIVS SABELLICVS in his Æneades; PLATINA in the life of Pope MARCVS; POMPONIVS LETVS in his abbridgement of the Roman historie; and BAPTISTA IGNATIVS in his epitome of the Emperours; and S. ANTONINVS in his Historials: and generally all the moderne authors, besides the auncient alreadie named. And wheras it is written that he recalled ARRIVS from exile; if he did so as some write, yet according to the same authors, he was induced thereto by a certaine Priest, and at the entreatie of his sister, but principally through a writing sent to him by ARRIVS, wherein he declared what opinion he held concerning the faith; seeming by his words to be conformable to the decreee of the Councell; and the Emperour not comprehending his deceit in those words, released him from banishment. Neuertheless he referred the examination of the cause to a new councell of Bishops, which was then assembled about the building of the Temple at *Ierusalem*; without approouing his opinion in any respect. And it happened that ARRIVS died in this demand, accordingly as his sinnes and heresie had deserued: for it pleased God that he died suddenlie, and

The opinion of the Author touching the baptizing of Constantine.

Constantine was falsly taxed to be a Lepar.

The error of some betwixt Constantine the Great and Constantine his sonne touching the faith.

The death of Arrius and how.

and his bowels came forth at his lower parts. Many of these Authors affirme, that this hapned in the time of the Emperor CONSTANTINE the sonne, and not of the father. They being both of one name causeth this confusion and doubt in the Historie. So as it may be set downe & auouched for certain, that the Emperor CONSTANTINE at what time soeuer he was baptized, sure it was in *Rome* many yeers before his death: And he died holding and beleeuing the holy Catholike faith. And as an holy and true Christian he neuer consented vnto, nor beleeued any point of ARRIVS his heresie, as some charge him, being deceiued by the name of his sonne, who was infected with the venome of that wicked heresie.

Now concerning the donation, which some say that CONSTANTINE made to Pope SYLVESTER and to his successors, of the Citie of *Rome* and of all *Italy*, when hee went to *Constantinople*; notwithstanding that all authors agree that he gaue great gifts, and builded many Temples; yet of this so notable a donation, I find not that any author of that age doth testifie or auerre any such matter. PAVLVS OROSIVS, EVTROPIVS, S. IEROME, or THEODORETVS which liued neere to that time, and wrote the rest, make no mention thereof. Wherefore it is to be doubted, whether there were any such donation.

It is true that there is a text in the decree, which reciteth this said donation of *Rome* and of *Italy* and other orientall Prouinces: But that text is held for Apocrypha; neither is it found in GRATIANS ancient originals. But finally, this is a question which I cannot determine, and therefore I will not thrust my sickle into another mans haruest, neither will I be iudge herein, seeing that I am but onely an Historiographer. Yet to one thing I will not forbeare to make answere, in some sort to satisfie the malice of our times. I say, that they haue no reason to taxe the Emperor CONSTANTINE, as some haue done, pretending that hee hath been the cause of much euill, in that he inriched the Bishoppes, Prelates and Priests, for that before his time they followed the true rule and forme of a Christian life; all liuing in the perfection of the Gospell, imitating the pouerty of CHRIST and of his disciples. To the first, let it be that this were true; the good and holy meaning of CONSTANTINE was much to be commended, and therein he did well and acceptably before God. To the other, it is not certaine that before the time of CONSTANTINE the Clergie had no temporall goods: for it seemeth to the contrarie in the Chapter *Videntes* 12. *quæstione* 1. wherein it is expressed that the ancient Fathers, considering that it was not so profitable to sell the goods and to distribute the mony *in commune*, as the Christians did in the beginning; as it was to keepe those heritages and possessions, to the end that by meanes of the fruites thereof, the Ministers then being might be maintained, and their successors might do the like after them: And comming to the ground of the matter, although that our Lord IESVS CHRIST and his holy Apostles and Disciples, commended pouertie, preferring it before riches, as chastitie before wedlock, for the full perfection of the holy life which he had chosen; it doth not therefore follow that he would that Bishops, Priests and Ministers should haue no temporall goods of their owne: for if he had meant so, it is to be presumed that he would haue ordained it, and so it should haue been obserued euen to this day. And if they shal say to me, that before the time of CONSTANTINE, they liued without rents or reuenewes, and yet there were many holy Bishops, as CLEMENT, LINVS, CLETVS, IGNATIVS, POLICARPVS, MARCELLVS, and such others which liued in pouerty, contenting themselues with a little in holy exercises: I answere, that all these holy men were not altogether without goods, but that they and their Churches had some possessions. And I also affirme that it is certaine, in the beginning, about the first propagation of the Gospell, as the name of Christian was odious and hatefull to the Emperors and Princes of those times, principally the Bishops and Priests: so it behooued them of necessity to be contented with that which they had, and to maintaine themselues as they were able. And wheras it appeareth that commonly they then liued more deuout, more holy, and in greater humility, then after that the Emperor CONSTANTINE became Christian, and the Church obtayned libertie, and that the authoritie thereof was confirmed with riches; Yet it is certaine, that after that time there were also very many holy men. And although that afterwards there was not generally so great sincerity and holinesse of life, as before: yet neither the Emperor, nor the riches he gaue were to be blamed, but the euill disposition and conditions of those which had the vse thereof, and did abuse the same. For it is not to be beleeued, that those ancient holie men in the beginning of the Primitiue Church, would, by reason of riches, forbeare to haue been holy and deuout; neither am I assured that those which afterwards were

proud

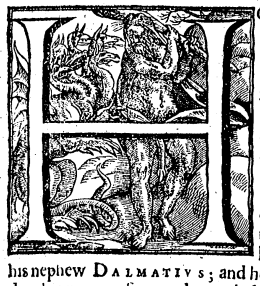
proud and insolent, would haue been holy and deuout, notwithstanding that they had been poore. It is true, and I acknowledge the same, that *voluntarie* pouertie is a state of great perfection, and that great riches oftentimes minister occasion of pride and wickednesse: but hereof men themselues are the cause; for we are naturally inclined to euill: but to put the same in execution, the rich haue greater power then the poore. Therefore neither riches nor pouerty are the occasion: for neither are all rich men wicked; neither are all poore men good: which would be so, if riches only be the occasion thereof. For neither riches nor pouertie in their owne nature are good or euill: but rather, as saith S. PAVL; *All things are cleane to the cleane.* Neither ought riches to be contemned, because that some wicked man doth abuse his wealth: For, if that Argument were of force, so were likewise to bee condemned and despised the strength of the bodie, beautie of countenance, sharpenesse of wit, and quicknesse of vnderstanding; and a man should desire to be vgly, feeble, dull, ignorant and of little discretion: for those which be strong, faire, beautifull, quick-witted, and of great capacitie and vnderstanding, may doe more harme and vse greater deceite, then the deformed, decrepit and ignorant. And if a man shall judge according to the occasion only; pouerty bringeth with it little care, and great distrust, and therewith men become enuious, greedily couetous, malefactors, coueting and stealing other mens goods: yet I will not denie, but that in riches is the greater danger. But in both, the fault is in vs, and not in the goods, which of themselues are neither good nor euill, but are as is he who hath the vse of them. And so not to swarue any further from our History, I conclude and say; Let vs forbeare to blame CONSTANTINE, and blame those which haue abused and misspent the goods which were giuen by CONSTANTINE. And let those which are so zealous of the generall reformation of the Church, reforme their owne Consciences, and amend their owne liues and abuses; and let them with teares pray vnto God to amend the rest. For if euery man in particular would doe thus and amend one, all would presently be amended. But truly most men take care for the gouernement of Empires and States, euen at home in their houses: but of their owne houses and Consciences they take little care. And to the end that they thinke not, that all the mischiefe consisteth in the Church goods, let them know that after that the Churches were rich, and that the Prelates were of great power and authority, there were therein a S. LEO, a Pope, a S. GREGORIE, S. AMBROSE, S. IEROME, S. AVGVSTINE, S. BERNARD, and an infinite number of other Bishops which possessed riches, and despising them were poore in spirit, which is acceptable before God.

THE LIFE OF CONSTANTINVS, *CONSTANTIVS*, AND *CONSTANS*, Brethren; Sonnes of the Emperor CONSTANTINE the Great, *and fiue and fortith Emperour of* ROME.

(***)

THE ARGVMENT.

THE Emperour Constantine *being dead, the gouernment of the Empire remained in the hands of his sonnes* Constantius, Constans, *and* Constantinus: *But as commonly it hapneth in matters of State; so after that the Prouinces were diuided, they imagining them to be vnequally shared, fell together by the eares among themselues: and two of them being dead, the gouernment of the Empire rested wholly in* Constantius, *who had no lesse to doe to defend himselfe against domesticall tyrants, which sought to vsurpe his estate, then to offend forraine Princes, thereby to preserue the Romane Empire. After many accidents of warre, he ouercame* Magnentius, *and the last battaile betweene them was so bloudie, and the execution so great, that in a manner it weakned the forces of the whole Empire: but finally,* Magnentius *was driuen to such extremity that he slue himselfe. He made his Cosen-Germane* Gallus, Cæsar, *giuing him his sister* Constantina *to wife; who behaued himselfe so wickedly in his gouernment, that* Constantius *was forced to cause him to be slaine: in whose place he made his brother* Iulianus, Cæsar, *who going into Germany against the high Dutch, had so good successe in all his enterprises in the warres, that the souldiers of France constrained him perforce to take the Ensigne and name of Emperor. Which when* Constantius *vnderstood (who then was in war against the Persians) he ordered that war in the best manner he could, and came with a mightie Army against* Iulianus: *but falling grieuously sick by the way, he died, and made* Iulianus *his successor, leaning the Empire to him, whom he was going to depriue.*



NOW necessarie and good the raigne of the Emperour CONSTANTINE was, and how great his bountie and valour was, plainly appeareth, seeing that immediatly with his death the vniuersall quiet and peace was disturbed, the fauor and respect of the Church was diminished, and the administration of justice was likewise peruerted and troubled. The good Emperor CONSTANTINE left behinde him when he died three sonnes, and two daughters. His sonnes names were CONSTANTINVS, CONSTANTIVS, and CONSTANS; his daughters were called HELENA, and CONSTANTIA. The sons presently after the death of their father were Emperors: for in his life time he had made them CÆSARS, together with his nephew DALMATIVS; and he also left them by his testament heires to the Empire. The daughters were afterwards married to Emperors; as in the processe of this Historie we will declare: which in truth is very abrupt, as well for the varietie and difference among authors, as for the great discord and warres which grew betweene these three brethren, and through the tyrants and vsurping Emperours which arose in their time. Let the Reader endeauour to reade attentiuely: For I will doe my best to write it as plainely and cleerely as I shall be able.

Constantine his children.

These three Brethren diuided the Roman Empire among them in this manner: To CONSTANTINE, who was the eldest Brother, was allotted *Spain*, *Britanny*, *France*, and that part of *Germany* which was subject to the Romans. To CONSTANS, the second Brother, there fell *Italy*, and all *Africa*, with the Iland *Sicilia*, and the rest between them, together with *Slauonia*, *Dalmatia*, *Macedonia*, *Achaia*, *Morea*, and all *Græcia*. The third Brother, which was CONSTANTIVS, possessed the Prouince of *Thracia* where the City of *Constantinople* stands, with all the East Prouinces of *Asia* the lesse, *Soria*, *Mesopotamia*, and *Egypt*. And in the dominion of this CONSTANTIVS, by his consent and accord, his cosen DALMATIVS gouerned as CÆSAR. SEXTVS AVRELIVS VICTOR saith, that he raigned also in *Armenia*, and in the borders thereof, and that ANNIBALLINVS was therein established CÆSAR.

Constantine his three sonnes diuided the Empire betweene them.

And so in this manner began the Empire to be gouerned by three Emperors, and one CÆSAR which was DALMATIVS: whereof ensued great discord and warre, for that either of them would take place before other, and be Lord of the whole. And, on the other side, the Roman Empire was so great, that no one man could well gouern it alone; and so very few held the whole in quiet possession: and therefore it declined, as all kingdoms and dominions which are farre extended and enlarged, will doo: for, neither mans life, force, nor humane policy, are able to manage and gouern that which is of too great an extent.

In the beginning of their Raign these Brethren liued in peace, for joy to see themselues so great Lords: and DALMATIVS, who in the East assisted CONSTANTIVS, began to make shew of himself to be a most excellent Prince, in his actions & vertues imitating CONSTANTINE the Great: wherefore by the good he was much beloued; but feared of the wicked, and enuied by CONSTANTIVS himself, who was the cause of his death. CONSTANTIVS permitting it, or being accessary thereto, hee was vpon a day in a mutinie slain by the souldiers which he had leuied against the King of *Persia*: and so the Empire remain'd absolutely betwixt the three Brethren.

Dalmatius loued by the good and feared by the wicked.

Dalmatius slaine by the souldiers through the practice of Constantius.

Soon after this, CONSTANTINE (who was the elder Brother) beganne to finde himself grieued, alleaging that he had the least part in the diuision of the Prouinces: for, hee possessed

but *France*, *Spain*, part of *Germany*, *England*, and *Scotland*; his other Brethren houlding so many Prouinces. And therefore hee sent Ambassadors vnto them, requiring a new diuision: and as their parts seemed to them to be but little, they would not yeeld to his requeſt. Whereupon he muſtered vp his men and leuied an Armie, reſoluing to take that perforce, which they would not allow him by their free will, and with a great power inuaded the Frontiers of his brother CONTANS his Empire, to whom befell *Italy* and *Africa*. At that time CONSTANS was in *Dacia* (which is *Tranſiluania* and *Walachia*) making warre vpon the Gothes and Sarmates, who had made incurſions into the limits of the Romane Empire: and he vnderſtanding what his brother did, ſent a Captaine with men of war into *Italy*, who with ſuch power as he was able to raiſe, made Head againſt CONSTANTINVS, neere to the City of *Aquileia*. But CONSTANTINVS, little regarding his brothers forces, vnaduiſedly reſolued to fight: and being entrapped in an ambuſh laid by his enemies, fighting vnknowne, his horſe being killed vnder him, and he falling to the earth was ſlaine, hauing enioyed his Empire but three yeeres, being of the age of 25. yeeres, in the yeere of our Lord, 343. Which as ſome imagine hapned vnto him for his ſinnes: for they write of him, that he fauoured the hereſie of ARRIVS. And CASSIODORVS, RVFFINVS, and THEODORETVS in their Eccleſiaſticall hiſtories write, that vpon the death of CONSTANTINE the Great, father of theſe young men, thoſe which were infected with the hereſie of ARRIVS, tooke courage audaciouſly to maintaine the ſame, contrary to the decree of the holy Councell: and by their illuſions they perſwaded CONSTANTIVS thereto, who ruled in the Eaſt parts, and many Arrian Biſhops ſought to ſuppreſs and diſpoſeſſe the Catholikes; againſt whom CONSTANS the other Emperour and brother made great reſiſtance, who was of the Catholikes opinion. And particularly the holy Biſhop ATHANASIVS was perſecuted, who was the chiefe man in the Nicene Councell, and in that perſecution were ſent into exile, both he and others, which ſuffered great iniurie and infamie. There were alſo many councels and aſſemblies held by the Heretikes, and others by the Catholikes, wherein were many contentions. Finally, the Catholikes were greatly troubled and moleſted, by reaſon that many reuolted from the faith, and ioined with the heretikes: which I forbeare to write, becauſe it requireth much time to relate the ſame; and alſo, for that I rather write the liues of Emperors, then any Eccleſiaſticall Hiſtorie, wherof I muſt of neceſſity make often mention hereafter.

Constantine warred againſt his brother Conſtans.

Conſtantine ſlain in Italy.

CONSTANTINE the elder brother being ſlain by his brother CONSTANS his ſouldiers, CONSTANS took poſſeſſion of all the Countries his deceaſed brother was ſeaſed of: and ſo he became Lord of all the Weſt, and of *Africa*, whereof already he was in poſſeſſion. After this, preſently enſued another dangerous war againſt a kinde of people cald Franques, a people of *Germany*, inhabiting neer the riuer of *Rhine* (as AGATHIAS writes): which Franques rebelled, and ſeiſed on a great part of *Gallia*; from which the Frenchmen vaunt themſelues to be deſcended; and of Galli were called Franci; and *Gallia*, *Francia*. And, to make their originall ſeem to be of greater antiquity, they alleage that thoſe Franques deſcended from thoſe which eſcap't from *Troy*, and that they came to inhabit *Germany* with one of HECTOR's ſons, whoſe name was FRANCVS: but heerof we will ſpeak more heerafter. Theſe Franques came to blowes with CONSTANS; and, after cruell wars and much ſlaughter between them, they were vanquiſhed, and made ſubject to the Empire. And although CONSTANS were much troubled with theſe wars, yet afterwards he liued ſome yeers in peace and proſperity,; but very weak and impotent of body, both in his feet and hands, by reaſon of the gout wherewith he was oftentimes much afflicted. His gouernment in the beginning was good and pleaſing to all his ſubjects: but afterwards he became vitious and negligent in the execution of iuſtice, and by means of his infirmity grew vnwieldy and ill diſpoſed; and therfore ill-beloued by the Prouinciales and Subjects of the Empire: ſo as certain wicked men, making benefit of this occaſion, practiſed his death. The chief authors of this treaſon were CRESPIVS & MARCELLINVS, his own captains, who agreed to make MAGNENTIVS Emperour, a man of baſe condition and mean parentage, although through his courage and valour in the wars he won great reputation: and they found the ſouldiers very willing and ready thereto; for, they hated CONSTANS: and, giuing the imperiall robe to MAGNENTIVS, they ſent to kill CONSTANS, who miſtruſted no ſuch matter. In the manner of his death Authors varie: but in concluſion hee was ſlain in a certain place called *Helena*, neer to the Pirenean mountains which diuide *France* from *Spain*, in the 13th yeer of his Raign, and the thirtith of his age, in the yeer of our Lord 353, according to S. IEROM's computation.

From whence the French affirm to haue their originall.

Conſtans *made the Franks ſubiect to the Empire.*

Magnentius *choſen Emperour.*

The death of the Emperour Conſtans.

Whil'ſt

Whilſt matters paſſed in the Weſt after this manner, in the Eaſt with the third brother and Emperour CONSTANTIVS, who ruled all that part of the Empire, things proſpered not ſo well, eſpecially in the warres: for he had great and dangerous warres with the King of Perſia: and hauing fought with him nine ſeuerall times, he was at euery time ouerthrowne, with the loſſe of many of his people. In the end, they fought one moſt cruell battaile: and the victorie being apparant of the Emperors ſide, his ſouldiers vſed the matter ſo ill, as thoſe which were held for conquered, became conquerors: and ſo CONSTANTIVS loſt this battaile alſo, as he had done many others, in ſuch ſort that the King of *Perſia* recouered certain great Cities in *Meſopotamia*. Moreouer in the ſame parts of the Eaſt, there happened many earth-quakes wherwith certain Cities were deſtroyd, and ſwallowed into the earth: which by true Chriſtian authors was attributed to the iuſt iudgement of God, for that this Emperor did maintaine the hereſie of ARRIVS, and perſecuted the true Chriſtians. But returning to our new Emperour MAGNENTIVS, it happened in this manner: that hauing murthered CONSTANS, as we haue declared, the Armie which was in *France* obeyed and receiued him gladly, and all *Spaine* preſently did the like, together with *Italy* and *Africa* in like manner: whither he determining to come, made his ſonne whoſe name was DECENCIVS, CÆSAR; to leaue him in the gouernment of *France* and *Spaine* with their confines. But in *Hungarie*, *Auſtria*, *Slauonia*, *Dalmatia*, and part of *Græcia*, the ordinary legions which were in thoſe places, choſe an old and valiant Captain for Emperor, whoſe name was BRITANNIO or VETRANIO; who was a man highly beloued of the ſouldiers, for his great wiſedome and valour in the warres; and for the victories which he had obtained in the defence of thoſe Prouinces againſt the barbarous Nations. Of BRITANNIO you ſhall heare more hereafter.

Conſtantius ouerthrowne in 9 ſeuerall battels by the Perſians.

Conſtantius ouerthrowne in the tenth battell by the Perſians, for that he knew not how to vſe the victory.

Great earth-quakes in the Eaſt in the time of Conſtantius

Decencius *made* Cæſar *by* Magnencius.

About the ſame time, when it was knowne in *Rome* that CONSTANS was dead, NEPOTIANVS preſuming on his neerneſſe of bloud to the deceaſed Emperor (for, he was the Emperour CONSTANTINE's ſiſters ſon) aſſembling together a company of Fenſers, Sword-plaiers, and ſuch others, proclaimed himſelf Emperor. But as his beginning had no ſound foundation; ſo had he an vnluckie end: for, within twenty nine daies after that hee had with great difficulty enjoyed the title of Emperor, he was ſlain by MAGNENTIVS his Captains. And ſo MAGNENTIVS remained Emperour (although a Tyrant) of *Italie*, *Africa*, *France*, and *Spain*, in concurrence and diſgrace of CONSTANTIVS in the Eaſt, who in truth by juſt title was ſole Emperor.

Nepotianus, *taking the title of Emperor, was ſlain by* Magnentius *his captains.*

CONSTANTIVS, beeing aduertiſed of the death of his Brother CONSTANS, and of the ſucceſſe of MAGNENTIVS, was greatly perplexed, ſeeing himſelf oppreſſed with warre againſt the Perſians; and, on the other ſide, bound to reuenge the death of his Brother, and to root out ſo mighty an enemy as MAGNENTIVS, who grew great in a very ſhort time; and BRITANNIO alſo, who was not ſlightly to be regarded. But, after many conſultations, it was concluded to ſettle all matters of the Eaſt in the beſt order hee might, and to paſſe into *Europe* againſt MAGNENTIVS. Whereupon he determined to make his coſen germane GALLVS, CÆSAR; who was brother to IVLIANVS, of whom we ſhall ſpeak heerafter: Both which were ſons to a brother of CONSTANTINE the Great, named CONSTANTIVS; whom his father CONSTANTIVS had by a ſecond wife; and, the better to bee aſſured of this new CÆSAR, he married him to one of his owne ſiſters, whoſe name was CONSTANTIA. And leauing this GALLVS in the Eaſt, hauing firſt concluded a kinde of truce or peace with the King of *Perſia*, he came into *Europe* againſt MAGNENTIVS, with the greateſt power he was able to leuie; and by the way purpoſed to haue fought with the ould Captain BRITANNIO, whom we ſaid to bee called Emperor in *Auſtria*, *Hungary*, and *Slauonia*. But BRITANNIO would not make any reſiſtance: for, laying aſide his imperiall robes, hee came into *Thracia* to meet him; and, humbling himſelf before CONSTANTIVS, ſaid vnto him, that he renouncing the Empire, yeelded himſelf into his hands; to the end he ſhould diſpoſe of him at his pleaſure. CONSTANTIVS very joyfully accepted his humility; and, lifting him vp from ground, imbraced and honoured him much in ſpeeches; and, calling him Father, ſet him at his owne table: and they two ſupt that night together. And, beeing informed of all matters by BRITANNIO concerning MAGNENTIVS, he kept on his journey; and ſent BRITANNIO to a City in *Bithynia* in *Aſia*, and gaue him rents & reuenues ſufficient for the maintenance of his eſtate: whither he retired himſelf with many his friends and Familiars, and liued there ſix yeers after in great reſt and tranquillity.

Gallus *made* Cæſar *by* Conſtantius.

Britannio *yeelded himſelf to* Conſtantius.

Conſtantius *accepted* Britannio *for his friend and called him father.*

CONSTANTIVS, paſſing forwards, drew neer to *Italie*, where MAGNENTIVS lay in wait

waite for him: and the warre began betweene them, not onely with great power and numbers of men; but also with great hatred and malice: for besides that they both fought for the Empire, they had sent letters and messages the one to the other, which had much incensed them both. And so the warres began to be very cruell, and there ensued some battailes wherein fortune shewed herself variable; MAGNENTIVS hauing somtimes the victorie, and sometimes CONSTANTIVS, as CASSIODORVS reporteth in his Tripartite History. But, after many conflicts, each of them setting vp his rest, they fought a great battell neer the City of *Mursia* in *Spain*, which was one of the most cruell and bloudy that hath been seen; and the Roman Empire lost therein the best men of all the ordinary Legions: for, it continued the greatest part of all the day, and part of the night. There were slain of both sides foure and fifty thousand men, all valiant old souldiers; wherein CONSTANTIVS obtained the victory, and MAGNENTIVS escaped by flight.

A cruell battell betwixt Magnentius and Constantius.

It is very strange what some Authors write concerning this battell; that MAGNENTIVS Armie did consist but of thirty and odde thousand men, and CONSTANTIVS had in his Army threescore and ten thousand: and of those which were ouercom, there died four and twenty thousand; and of them which ouercame, thirty thousand. Whereby it appeareth, with what resolution, force or obstinacy, MAGNENTIVS and his men did fight, who slue as many of their enemies as they themselues were in number: and there remained but six thousand of them liuing.

MAGNENTIVS being ouerthrowne fled into *Italie* (as EVTROPIVS and AVRELIVS VICTOR doo write): where reinforcing himself the best he could, he resolued to haue returned again to try his fortune, and once again to fight with CONSTANTIVS; hauing first in vain sought to come to some composition of peace, seeming to bee contented if CONSTANTIVS would suffer him to possesse but *Thracia* onely. Finally, coming to another encounter, he was again ouerthrowne; and, fleeing from the battell, shut himself vp in the City of *Lions* in *France*: where, being aduertised that his souldiers practised to deliuer him aliue into the hands of CONSTANTIVS, he slue himself with his owne poiniard, leaning against a wall (as saith AVRELIVS VICTOR) and so ended his Empire which he had *tyrannically* vsurped, together with his life; being of the age of fifty yeers.

Magnentius, being ouerthrowne the second time slue himself.

When his sonne DECENCIVS (whom he had made CÆSAR, and Gouerner of *France*) vnderstood of his death, being out of hope to make head against CONSTANTIVS, and to defend his gouernment, hee hung himself. CONSTANTIVS hauing happily ended so dangerous a warre, all the Prouinces which had held for MAGNENTIVS (without any resistance) submitted themselues to his will: and hee being very joyfull came triumphing to the City of *Milan*; where for a certain space he made his abode.

Decencius, hearing of the death of his father, hung himself.

Whil'st these matters befell CONSTANTIVS in the West, his cosen GALLVS (whom he left for CÆSAR, and Gouerner generall of the Prouinces in the East) administred no point of justice, neither defended that estate with such valour as hee ought to haue done. For, it is written, that SAPOR King of *Persia* ouerthrew him in battell, and in the rest hee vsed extreme cruelty: And Writers particularly affirm, that in the City of *Antioch* hee did put to death the greatest part of all the Nobility there. And of the Iewes of *Iudea*, and of *Palestina*, for that they had attempted to rebell, he most cruelly made many thousands of either sex, and of all ages, to be slain. He commanded the Cities of *Tiberias*, *Diospolis*, *Cæsarea*, and others, to bee set on fire; which, Saint IEROM doth report in his additions to EVSEBIVS. When CONSTANTIVS vnderstood of these and other matters (which, AMMIANVS MARCELLINVS recites at large, being an ey-witnes: which Author wrote the life of CONSTANTIVS, IVLIANVS and IOVIANVS, Emperors of those times, very truely and distinctly; but with the most ragged stile that euer I read in any Latin Author: yet it was great pity that so many of his Works were lost) hee, being desirous to preuent the disorders whereof I haue made mention, and standing already in some fear of GALLVS, sent some secretly to kill him; which was easily effected, hauing first sought some other remedies. And so for that time CONSTANTIVS remained sole Emperor without any CÆSAR or companion in all the Roman Empire: and from *Milan* he prouided and sent Captains and Gouerners to all parts. And, because he was of light beleef, and took pleasure in factions (an ill thing in any man, but in Princes most dangerous) and to commit cruelties, and to inflict punishments, there were daily offered new occasions: by reason whereof, he vsed great cruelty, and put many to death; which, MARCELLINVS describes at large.

Constantius made his cosen Gallus to bee slain.

A-

Among other accidents, a valiant ould Captain, whose name was SILVANVS, who at that time was Generall against the Germans, was accused to haue practised some matters against his Imperiall Majesty. Which accusation (all Writers affirm) was through the enuy which they bare him for his victories and good successe: and this credulous Emperor, as it seems, did also enuy him, and intended to cause him to be slain. Whereof SILVANVS beeing aduertised (as he was very much honoured for his age and bounty, and for the great honour which he had wonne in sundry warres and battels; but principally in the warres of CONSTANTINE the Great, against LICINIVS) and finding no means to assure his life; forced more through fear than his own voluntary choice, he resolued to rebell, and to take vpon him the title of Emperor. Which he did, shewing first to his souldiers his disgrace, and how he was odious to CONSTANTIVS; and how that for the seruice which he and they had done, he had commanded him to be slaine. Which being vnderstood, they all with one voice hailed him Emperor, swearing and promising to protect and defend him. These newes did greatly trouble CONSTANTIVS, who was yet in *Milane*: and at the very instant that he was aduertised hereof; without discouering it to any man, making shew as though he knew nothing, he compounded with a certain subtile and valiant Captaine, named VRSICINVS: who besides his familiars and necessarie seruants tooke with him tenne Companions extraordinary men and very valiant; with which hee vndertooke to kill SILVANVS, vnder this pretext and policie:

Siluanus chosē Emperor by his souldiers.

CONSTANTIVS wrote certaine Letters vnto SILVANVS, wherein making no shewe to haue vnderstood ought of his rebellion, hee fained hee would depart from *Milane* and haue him with him, with many honourable words willing him to repaire to him and to deliuer vp the charge which he held, to the Captain whom he had sent. VRSICINVS made great haste on his way; to the end, that through the shortnesse of the time, it might be the better belecued, that all his proceedings had been vnknowne to CONSTANTIVS. As he with his companions came neer to the Army, among which one was MARCELLINVS the writer of this History; SILVANVS thinking no other but that this man was sent to be his successor, and then being no time to debate the matter, made no account thereof. VRSICINVS seeming careless and simple, so cunningly handled the matter, conferring with certain captains his friends, and others which were discontented with SILVANVS, that by means of some gifts which he gaue, and great promises which he made, they resolued to kill poor SILVANVS. Whereupon, assembling together a good number of souldiers, they went one morning to his Palace; where killing his guard, they entred perforce; and SILVANVS, fleeing into a Church of the Christians, was therein found and slain. And in this manner ended his Empire with his life, hauing vsurped the same onely 30 daies.

A stratagem vsed by Vrsicinus, thereby to kill Siluanus.

Siluanus slain in a Church of the Christians.

This plot being ended to the good liking of CONSTANTIVS, there followed other troubles and combustions: For the barbarous Nations of high *Germanie* came down to make warre in the Empire: and as all things were yet very much out of order, by reason of the death of SILVANVS, they did much harme by taking certain Cities, and by robbing and spoiling the Countrie. Which when CONSTANTIVS vnderstood, considering with himself that if he went thither in person, the whole Empire was without any defence; and imagining also that a Generall was not to be trusted with that warre, he resolued to choose his cosin germane IVLIANVS, and to make him CÆSAR, who was brother to GALLVS, of whom wee haue spoken heretofore, and had been CÆSAR in the East, and slain by his commandement; both which were the sons of CONSTANTIVS, brother to CONSTANTINE the Great, before spoken of.

This IVLIANVS was a yong man of whom there was great hope: for hee was of a good constitution of body, of an excellent wit, inclined and giuen to studie, and therewith very well learned. IVLIANVS was made CÆSAR and adopted by CONSTANTIVS, with great solemnity in the Citie of *Milane*, where CONSTANTIVS then made his abode: yet some say, that it was at *Athens*, in *Gracia*: and the better to confirme the friendship and alliance, he married him to his sister HELENA. Other matters also passing, which for breuity I omit, IVLIANVS went towards the Army which was in *Germanie*; where all things succeeded so well with him, that he not onely recouered the losses receiued, but also made great spoil and slaughter of his enemies.

Iulianus made Cæsar by Constantius.

CONSTANTIVS, leauing the West in charge with IVLIANVS, resolued to passe into the East, where there was no lesse danger and need of his presence: for, the Persians, being antient

tient and daily enemies to the Romans, as the of-spring and successors of the Parthians, neuer ceased from inuading and making warre vpon the frontiers of the Romans; robbing and spoyling the Territories of the Empire. And in his way he purposed to go to *Rome*, where hee was receiued with great ioy and magnificence. But he could not stay there aboue thirty daies: for, besides other newes from the East, he vnderstood that the Sarmates, a fierce and barbarous nation (which were the Russians, Muscouites, Polonians, and some others) had entred and runne through *Misia* (now called *Bulgaria* and *Seruia*) and with other nations were comm into *Hungary*. Wherefore hee presently departed, and committed the charge of the Sarmatian warres to

Marcellus Peberius sent by Constantius against the Sarmates.

MARCELLVS PEBERVS, an excellent Captain of great experience, and himselfe passed through *Slauonia* towards the East. And notwithstanding that he had a great Armie, yet he was not free from fear: for, as this Emperor euer preuailed in all his ciuill warres, and against Tyrants; so against the Persians he was euer vnfortunate: wherefore he practised to come to some composition of peace with SAPOR (the second of that name) King of *Persia*; who then raigned, and refused not to giue eare to an Ambassador which motioned the same. Whereof SAPOR, growing beyond all measure proud, wrote a most hautie Letter to CONSTANTIVS; which, with the answer thereto, MARCELLINVS setts down. Wherein he required, if the Emperor would haue any peace with him, that he should first resign into his hands the Prouinces of *Mesopotamia* and *Armenia*, which had been subiect to his Ancestors (so great was the power and presumption of the Kings of *Persia*, that they would not grant peace and truce to a Roman Emperor, except he would giue them two of the best Prouinces of the world).

Lib. 7 the tenor of a Letter written by Sapor King of Persia to the Emperor Constantius: and an answer thereto.

To this Letter, CONSTANTIVS sent him another for answer; which was a notable Letter and very discreet, which for breuity I do not insert. Wherein he held the grauity and maiesty of a Roman Emperor; and, reprehending SAPOR for his pride and ambition, he not only denied what the other required, but did also put him clean out of all hope to haue any peace with him: and so afterwards there began a very cruell war.

The effect of Constantius letter to Sapor.

At such time as these matters passed in the East, IVLIANVS, who remained in *France*, CÆSAR, and Generall against the Germans, after some other victories subdued his enemies in a very great and bloudy battell: and, hauing obtained this notable victory, by a generall consent of the whole Armie he was called Emperor and AVGVSTVS; and they made him equall with CONSTANTIVS.

Iulianus was by the Armie made Emperor and Augustus.

These newes within fewe daies were brought to CONSTANTIVS in the East; wherewith he was so much disquieted, that he was once resolued to haue abandoned the warres there, and to haue marched with all his Legions against IVLIANVS. But, afterwards altering his determination, he resolued to send Ambassadors vnto him; and, thinking with good words to win him, he sent to perswade him to content himself with the title and dignity of CÆSAR, and to renounce the name of Emperor and AVGVSTVS. With this ambassage he sent a chief man, whose name was LEONAS; who, for that he came from CONSTANTIVS, was honourably receiued in the Army, and audience was giuen him. He hauing deliuered his Ambassage, and the Emperors Letters being read, the Armie not onely refused to yeeld thereto, but they all with one voice confirmed what they had done, calling IVLIANVS Emperour and AVGVSTVS: onely they obeyed CONSTANTIVS in putting FLORENTINVS out of the office of Pretorian Prefect, which was giuen to NEBRIDIVS. Touching the rest, IVLIANVS answered CONSTANTIVS in humble manner, with the best words hee could, promising to be to him a loyall and an obedient companion; desiring him that hee would not depose him from his dignity, seeing that he had accepted thereof against his will, being thereto compelled by the Armie. And heerwith he returned to make war against the Germans with greater force and circumspection than before. And foreseeing it was very requisite to tame and subdue those nations, imagining that he should haue war (which he could not auoid) with CONSTANTIVS, he aduised his Captains and Troops to make haste, and to assail their enemies before they were by them assailed: whereupon there ensued between him and the Germanes some notable battails and encounters; which I cannot relate without altering my ordinarie course of breuitie.

Constantius sent an Ambassador to Iulianus.

Iullianus answer to Constantius.

After that CONSTANTIVS vnderstood that his Ambassadors could not obtain what hee required, he resolued to make war against IVLIANVS, presuming on his great power, and the good fortune which he had euer had against other Tyrants. Wherefore hee sought meanes to confirm the peace and friendship, which then was in question between him and ARSACES King of *Armenia*, and other Kings of the East; to the end they should not ioin in league and confederacy with the King of *Persia*, his chiefest enemy: against whom hee left such forces as he thought sufficient to defend the countrey, and to continue the war. After this he came into *Europe*; and, trauelling from *Antioch* in *Syria* to the City of *Tharsus*, by the way hee felt himself somewhat ill of a light Feuer: but yet notwithstanding he held on his journey, thinking that his exercise would haue holpen him by diuerting the humour; and therefore he caused himself to be carried in a Litter, making small journies. But, coming to the foot of Mount *Taurus*, he felt himself much oppressed with his disease; the Feuer increasing vpon him in such sort, that hee seemed to be all on fire. And so, knowing his infirmity to be mortall, and that his death approched, he made his Will; wherein he nominated IVLIANVS (his enemie, and a tyrant) for his heir and successor: so the man, whom in his life time he would not admit for a companion, at his death hee chose for his heir; hauing in this action (as a good Emperor) great regard to the common good and quiet of the Empire.

Constantius last Will and testament.

This Emperor raigned foure and twenty yeers; seuen with his brethren, and seuenteen alone, although in contention with the tyrants aforenamed; and in his fathers time he was CÆSAR thirteen yeers: wherefore some say, that he raigned in all eight and thirty yeers. He was when hee died (as saith EVTROPIVS) fiue and forty yeers old: yet all Authors agree not heerupon. This Emperor was reckoned among the indifferent Emperors: for, notwithstanding that he was endowed with some singular gifts, yet was he not altogether free from vices. For, as he was courteous, milde, and of a pleasing conuersation, liberall and affable to his seruants, and very temperate in eating and drinking, and would take great pains, and delighted and desired much to speak well (yet naturally he was neither very sharp-witted, nor eloquent) and was an excellent Archer, and delighted greatly therein: so was hee otherwise very credulous, and delighted to hear men speak euill of others. Which moued him to commit many cruelties: for, he was by nature mistrustfull, and euer feared treason, and therefore trusted fewe men: so was he likewise much giuen to women.

The death of Constantius.

With these vices and vertues he well preserued and defended the Roman Empire; and died, according to S. IEROM's computation, in the yeer of our Lord 364.

THE LIFE OF IVLIANVS, ONLY OF THIS NAME, CALLED APOSTATA, AND SIX AND FORTITH EMPEROVR OF ROME.

(***)

AFter the death of CONSTANTIVS, which hapned as is before declared, his coson germane IVLIANVS remained sole Emperor of the whole Roman Empire, who in the others life time enjoyed the title of AVGVSTVS. This IVLIANVS was by birth such as we haue specified in the life of CONSTANTIVS, and in valour and sufficiency was one of the best Emperors that euer was; as presently we will make manifest. All which good graces he corrupted and defaced, by renouncing the Christian faith whereof he had before made profession, and by turning to the idolatry of the Gentils: wherefore he was commonly called IVLIANVS APOSTATA: whereof, some Authors say, one LIBANIVS an Idolater & a fa-

famous Rhetorician was the occasion. Which, besides the reasons which may bee heerto annexed, is a notable example for all Princes, and men of all estates and conditions whatsoeuer, that they not onely with all diligence seeke out masters for their sonnes, which may be expert in those sciences wherein they purpose to instruct them; but that principally they be vertuous, honest, and sound men in religion: for learning without vertue is little worth. And it is most certaine, that what children learne in their youth, *is so imprinted in their vnderstandings*, as they neuer forget the same. And those exercises & qualities wherein they are bred vp in their tender age, become proper and naturall, and are neuer left by them in their whole life time; whereof the masters which haue charge of the children are the principal cause. And although we might produce many good and fair examples, yet this present shall now suffice, returning to IVLIANVS, in whom his masters infidelitie took so deep impression, that it well appeareth, what prejudice hee thereby receiued: for, *in the rest* hee was so compleat and so rare, that in goodnes, bounty and courtesie, they compare him with TITVS; in clemency, with ANTONINVS; in his fortunate stratagems at wars against the Germanes, they make him equall to TRAIAN; in temperance and modestie, to MARCVS AVRELIVS: and in knowledge and learning, to the ancient Philosophers. He was endued with a singular memory, and was very studious, and therefore learned in many Arts and Sciences; and was eloquent and well spoken, no lesse by the gift of nature then by Art. He was most temperate in his dyet and sleep: and most chaste and free from all fleshly passion and dishonestie. Hee was so valiant and hardie in Armes (although but of a small constitution of body, and delicately limmed) that hee was therefore noted and reproued to be more hardy and aduenturous, than for a Generall or Emperor was fit or conuenient. Of glory and renowne hee was greedily couetous; which is a vice wherein great spirits do oftentimes offend. With his friends he was very pleasant and bountifull, and loued to do justice indifferently to all men; which he strictly obserued in the time that he was CÆSAR, and in the small time that he enjoied the Empire. He was likewise adorned with many other vertues; which, EVTROPIVS as an eye-witnes, AVRELIVS VICTOR, and AMMIANVS MARCELLINVS, doo record. But, with all this, hee was an Infidell, which was great pity; and his vnderstanding was blinded by the perswasion of his master LIBANIVS, who was a Gentile and an Idolater.

To whom Iulianus was compared.

Iulianus an Idolater by the perswasion of his schoolmaster.

Those things which passed in the time that he was CÆSAR and Emperor, are very largely and particularly described by AMMIANVS MARCELLINVS, as by him which saw and vnderstood the same: for, they hapned in his time; and he also followed and serued him in the wars of *Persia*. But I will relate onely that which happened when hee was Emperor, and that briefly; for, he raigned onely two yeers: wherefore, *I hold it not fit in a Raign of so small continuance* to spend much time.

Being aduertised of the death of CONSTANTIVS (which newes were brought to him in *France*, whence he was about to go to meet him; and the other, as we haue said, was comming towards him with the same resolution) in great haste hee marched to the City of *Constantinople*, which euer since the death of the Emperor CONSTANTINE was the Head of the Empire; where, by all means possible he sought to win the loue & good will of the people of all nations; which the better to bring to passe, hee vsed this policie: First, hee caused the Temples of the Gentiles to be set open, and suffred them therein to commit their superstitious idolatry, and to adore their idols. And although he abhorred, and was an enemy to the Christians, yet at that time he persecuted them not with deaths and tortures; and in contentions between the Christians and the Arrians he was neuter, shewing himself inclined to neither partie: wherefore he was not very hatefull to any; and the barbarous nations standing in fear of his great fame (for, by reason of the German wars he was growne very famous) abstained from making warre, or from troubling the Empire; and so sent their Ambassadors to him to treat of peace and friendship, which he granted.

Iulianus made the temples of the Idolaters to be opened.

In this manner hee began to gouern the Empire with as great prosperity and contentment of all men, as euer any man had done. But, as his heart hee was an Idolater; so hee resolued to finde some means to supplant the true Christian religion, induced thereto by the diuell and his owne wickednes: And, the better to effect the same, he practised a means neuer before vsed by any other; which was, To shew himself pitifull and not cruell, perceiuing that by means of torments inflicted vpon the Martyrs, the holy Christian faith was greatly increased: and therefore he determined to take a contrarie course (as RVFFINVS, S. IEROM, and CASSIODORVS, report) which was, to induce them by gifts, fauours, flatteries, and by bestowing on them offices

A means vsed by Iulianus to persecute the Church without bloudshed.

offices and dignities, to the end they should renounce the Christian faith, and do sacrifice to his false gods. And as the same authors affirme, there were some, and they not a few, which being couetous and ambitious, through desire to grow rich and to be honoured, denied the christian faith.

A new deuice found out by Iulianus to persecute the Church.

And this was one of the greatest persecutions that euer the Church endured, aswell in respect of those which abandoned the same, as for that IVLIANVS perceiued that by this meane *he could not* throughlie accomplish his desire; although as is said, he put none to death, neither vsed any violence to any. He therefore made lawes and generall decrees, that no Christian should be master of any arts or sciences, neither should ther studie in any Schooles but such as would adore his Idols, to the end that through the desire of learning, they should become Idolaters, or else at the least should remaine idiots, and without learning, and so be insufficient and vnable to preach the christian faith. He likewise ordeined that no Christian should haue any charge, or hold any office of iustice, neither should be a Captaine in the warres, neither enioy any other dignitie. Finally, he vsed all the inuentions and meanes he could deuise to make warre against IESVS CHRIST, without shedding any christian bloud: which I hold to be the inuention and subtiltie of the Diuell, to take the crowne from the holie Martyrs, which they obteined through the persecution of the sword.

Decrees made by Iulianus against the Christians.

Vsing this pitifull crueltie against the Christians (as a man of courage and valiant in Armes) he resolued to make warre against the Persians, who onely had not shewed any humilitie, or acknowledged his superioritie. Wherefore he went into *Asia* with a great Army: with which and the ordinarie legions hauing passed through *Asia* the lesse and other prouinces, he entred *Mesopotamia*, which (as is said) was the Lady, for whom the Romanes and Persians did ordinarily contend: and after some light encounters and skirmishes, he seized vpon the citie of *Cercasio* which fauoured the Romanes and was enobled by the Emperour DIOCLESIAN with wals and bulwarkes; and from thence he passed to *Zaita*, where he was aduertised that the King of *Persia* was neere at hand with his whole power: whereupon he marshalled *his* troupes, with a great desire to come with him to a battaile. But his enemie at that time durst not fight with him, but sent him many Ambassages, intreating pardon, and promising him a great part of his countries. To whom this valiant Emperour would giue no audience: but seeing that he refused the battaile, the more to prouoke him, he entred his countrey by sundrie waies, taking many cities in *Soria*, some by force, and others yeelded themselues without any resistance; committing great spoiles in all that countrey, vntill at last the Persians for very shame were forced to fight, which battaile was very cruell. Before which, this blind IVLIANVS (as OROSIVS and S. IEROME recite) of very malice and hatred which he bare to the Christians, whom he called Galileans (as saith THEODORETVS in his history) made a vow to his gods, that if he obtained the victory, he would do sacrifice to them in the bloud of those Christians which would not worship idols. And it pleased God in his secret iudgement to giue him victorie at that time, thereby to reward him in this life for the morall vertues wherewith he was endued, to the end that perpetuallie he should be punished in the other world, for his damnable infidelitie.

Iulian his enterprise against the Persians.

Iulianus his vow to the gods.

He seeing himselfe victorious, and finding no resistance, marched to the famous citie of *Thesiphonte*; and finding no forces that durst stop his passage, he determined to returne to winter in *Mesopotamia*: but vpon the way his people indured great penurie and want with thirst and hunger, aswell for that his Armie was exceeding great, as also for that his enemies did often assault and molest them. And notwithstanding that the Persians would neuer come to any equal fight, but gaue camizadoes, with light skirmishes, sodainely charging, and then running away, after the manner of the Arabians in these daies; yet therewith his Armie was exceedinglie much toiled and tired. And in this manner it pleased God (who with his death would stop the execution of so many innocents which he purposed to haue sacrificed) that a Persian fugitiue, who was the guide to his Army, trecherouslie led him and his Armie into a place where many of his enemies lay in ambush; where being charged, he was constrained to fight, and in the fight pell mell being vnknowne was striken with a launce through the arme into the bodie: with which wound losing his senses, he fell vpon his horses necke, and so his people took him, and caried him into a tent, wherein with some medicines which they applyed vnto him, he came againe to himself; and recouering strength, he called for his horse and Armes: for he would againe returne to the battaile. But afterwards feeling his force to faile him, they write, that with extreme pride he vsed these words against our Sauiour CHRIST, It sufficeth that thou CHRIST of *Galilea* hast ouercome, for so he was accustomed to call

Iulianus dead by wounded.

The proud speeches vttered by Iulianus a little before his death.

call him. After this, ſeeing that all thoſe which were about him began to weep, hee reprehended them, ſaying; You do ill to weep for that Prince which dies in the fauour of the gods: and ſo he diſcourſed of the immortality of the ſoule as long as hee was able to ſpeak, vntill that his bloud being wholly ſpent, he died; which in truth was great pity, that there ſhould be ſuch accurſed blindnes in a man in whom there was ſo great valour, and ſo many good and vertuous parts. Hee died in the ſeuenth yeer after he was made CÆSAR, and in the third yeer of his Empire, being 31 yeers old, in the yeer of our Lord (according to Saint IEROM) 366.

Iulianus *died talking.*



THE LIFE OF IOVIANVS, ONELY OF THIS NAME, AND SEVEN AND FORTITH EMPEROR OF ROME.

(**)

367

MVch was the death of IVLIANVS lamented by the whole Armie: for, hee was much beloued by all his men of war. But the Church and all Chriſtians rendred thanks to our Lord God, who in his mercy had deliuered them from the yoke of ſo great a ſeruitude. There was ſo great a confuſion in the Camp by reaſon of the death of this Emperour, that they were in danger to haue bin ouerthrowne by the Perſians: beſides that, they were much diſtreſſed through want of victuals. And the enemy, vnderſtanding of the death of the Emperor, neuer left to moleſt them on euerie ſide with ſuch continuall ſudden aſſaults and alarmes, that they were not able to endure them. Wherefore, the chiefe Commanders of the Army aſſembled themſelues together to chuſe an Emperor which might gouern them. After much contention and diuerſity of opinions, they agreed to chuſe one (as ſaith EVTROPIVS) whoſe name was MARCELLINVS. But finally they concluded to name a very famous man called IOVIANVS, who was the ſonne of a Noble-man called VARRONIANVS, an Hungarian, or an Inhabitant of *Hungarie*: who, leauing the warres which hee had long followed, and to auoid the tumults and troubles which he ſaw in the Empire, retired, and gaue himſelf to his reſt and quiet in certain poſſeſſions which he held in *Hungary*. But his ſonne IOVIANVS came to the Emperor CONSTANTIVS Court, and followed the warres: who, for that he was valiant, and a goodly Perſonage, was greatly eſteemed by IVLIANVS; and, whil'ſt he was CÆSAR and afterwards Emperour, this man was the chief Commander of the ordinarie Troops which went with the Emperor.

Praiſe of Iouianus.

This IOVIANVS was of an excellent witte and ſound judgement, giuen to ſtudie, and therewith well learned. He was tall of ſtature, and well proportioned, and a faithfull Chriſtian; in ſo much that when IVLIANVS commanded, that no Chriſtian ſhould bee a Captain, neither ſhould haue any charge or office in the warres; IOVIANVS pleaſantly ſaid, that hee made greater account of the faith whereof he made profeſſion, than of any dignity or honour that he enjoyed; and ſo gaue vp his charge. Being afterwards choſen Emperor, RVFFINVS and

Iouianus *his profeſſion.*

and THEODORETVS write, that ſeeing IVLIANVS had drawne the men of warre of his Armie to commit idolatrie, and to doo ſacrifice to his gods; he in a publike Oration which he made to them, ſaid, that he (although he might) would not (being a Chriſtian) be an Emperor of Infidels. And ſo hee reſiſted, and abſolutely refuſed the Empire. But all men were ſo well pleaſed with his election, that, after they had approued the ſame, they cried out aloud, ſaying; We are all Chriſtians. And for his ſake thoſe which were not ſo, reſolued to become Chriſtians, vpon condition that he would accept the Empire.

Iouianus *choſe Emperor.*

In this manner, with incredible joy and gladnes, they ſware obedience vnto him, and gaue him the Imperiall Enſignes. Whereupon hee preſently ordered and re-inforced the Armie; which could not be done without great difficulty: for, SAPOR vnderſtanding of the death of IVLIANVS (who, for his noble acts and great courage, was generally feared of all men) made ſmall account of this new Emperor; but, gathering together the greateſt forces hee was able, gaue ſo fierce a charge in the Emperors Armie, that the Romans were likely to haue bin wholly defeated: and the Perſians apparantly had the better. IOVIANVS marching with great trouble and danger, for that the waies were craggie and mountainous; The firſt day he followed his journey: and, making an Alt in a vallie, his Armie was preſently compaſſed about on euery ſide by the Perſians; who aſſailed and skirmiſhed with them after their manner.

The next day he came to the City of *Carras*, where IOVIANVS and his ſouldiers remembring that in antient time MARCVS CRASSVS was in that coaſt ouerthrowne and ſlain by the Parthians; holding it for an ominous preſage, they accounted themſelues loſt, if the enemie euer gaue them battell. The principall cauſe of which feare was by reaſon of their weaknes through the hunger which they had endured, and at that inſtant did endure, through want of victuals: for, as two ſo great Armies marched ſo neer together, no prouiſion could bee made that could ſuffice to ſuſtain them. But in all theſe extremities IOVIANVS neuer fainted or was diſcouraged, neither omitted to vſe all diligence in guiding, defending and animating his ſouldiers, till they came to the riuer *Tigris*, their dangers ſtill increaſing: where King SAPOR ſent him Ambaſſadors, giuing him to vnderſtand, that, conſidering the weaknes of his Army and his owne force, he was moſt aſſured of victory; yet, if hee would render him the Prouinces hee required (which were many) he would be content to hould perpetuall peace with the Empire. IOVIANVS, ſeeing the preſent neceſſity wherein hee was, took counſell heerupon with the chiefeſt men in his Army: and, after 3 or 4 daies conſultation, a peace was concluded for thirty yeers; IOVIANVS leauing to King SAPOR all the Prouinces beyond the riuer *Tigris*, and ſome Cities in *Meſopotamia*; with further condition, that the Emperour ſhould not aid or aſſiſt ARSACES King of *Armenia*: which peace or truce (as EVTROPIVS writes, whoſe hiſtorie ends with the life of this Emperor; and many other Writers) was held for very ſhamefull and diſhonorable to the greatnes of the Roman Empire, for voluntarily giuing to the enemy part of the Prouinces thereto belonging, and for decreaſing the bounds and limits thereof. But, for that Princes actions are euer diuerſly judged of, PAVLVS OROSIVS and other Writers excuſe him; alleaging, he made ſuch a peace as was requiſite, conſidering the time; and albeit it were not honorable, yet at leaſt it was profitable and needfull: for, he was in manifeſt danger to haue loſt his whole Armie, and the greateſt part of the Prouinces that he rendred. Heerof euery man may judge after his phantaſie; but thus it was: IOVIANVS, hauing concluded this peace, went into *Soria*; where he commanded by publike proclamation, that all thoſe Biſhops which were exiled for reſiſting and contradicting the hereſie of ARRIVS, or any other vnlawfull occaſion, ſhould be recald and reſtored; and principally the great ATHANASIVS. He likewiſe reuoked and made void all the prohibitions and decrees made by IVLIANVS againſt the Chriſtians; and ordained that they ſhould be admitted to any dignity, office, charge, magiſtracy or ſtudy, as they were wont to be in the time of the Emperor CONSTANTINE the Great. He likewiſe cauſed to be paid to the Churches thoſe rents of corn and other things that CONSTANTINE had giuen them, and which by the commandement of IVLIANVS were ſequeſtred; which is written by THEODORETVS and RVFFINVS. IOVIANVS, hauing laid ſo godly a foundation to his Empire concerning the Chriſtian faith, giuing in all things good ſignes of a good and juſt Prince, and prouiding for all matters in the Eaſt as to him ſeemed moſt needfull, began his journey towards *Conſtantinople*, ſhewing himſelf euery where as he paſſed in all his actions a juſt and a gracious Prince; ſo as all men conceiu'd great good hope of him. But this, and all his noble reſolutions, and other Chriſtianlike purpoſes, were interrupted by death; for, the iniquity of the people deſerued not ſo good a Prince; which hapned thus: He coming

A peace made betwixt the Perſians and the Romans for 30 yeers.

to a place which was called *Dudaſiana*, in the confines of *Bithynia*, and *Galatia*, in *Aſia* the leſs, the weather being very cold (for it was in the winter) they did ſet in the chamber where the Emperour ſhould lie that night, a great panne with kindled coales, which coales were wet: and as the officers of his chamber were gon to take their reſt, the chamber dore being lockt, and he aſleepe; the vapour of the fire waxing groſſe and thicke, and filling euery thing with ſmoake, and finding no place to euaporate, ſtopped the Emperours breath, in ſuch ſort as he was ſmothered ſleeping, and in the morning was found dead; all men imagining this to be the cauſe of his death. Yet ſome were of opinion that he died by eating of Muſhrumpes, which are held venemous. And others coniectured that he ate ſo much meate at ſupper, as his naturall heate could not digeſt the ſame, and ſo through the cruditie thereof he was ſuffocated. But howſoeuer it was, all men were very ſorrowfull for his death, he having held the ſcepter of the Empire only eight moneths; being, according to ſome writers, of the age of fortie yeeres: and after ſome other, thirtie and odde.

The Emperour Iouianus ſmoothered in his bed with ſmoake.

Whoſo deſireth to know more of this Emperour, as well in warre as in peace, let him reade the authors aboue named, and particularly AMMIANVS MARCELLINVS, who was with him in all his aduentures; and the Tripartite Hiſtorie of CASSIODORVS in his ſeuenth booke, and RVFFINVS in the tenth book of his eccleſiaſticall Hiſtorie: and EVTROPIVS, although he be briefe was an eie-witneſſe. And here endeth his Hiſtorie. Many things may be gathred of the life of this Emperor, by reading the firſt booke of the epiſtles of Saint AMBROSE, and the fourth book of THEODORVS.

THE LIFE OF VALENTINIANVS, THE FIRST OF THAT NAME, AND OF HIS BROTHER *VALENS*, THE Eight and Fortith Romane Emperor.

THE ARGVMENT.

VAlentinianus *being the ſonne of a rope maker, for his vertues deſerued to be made an Emperour; euen as his father mounted from making of ropes to the higheſt martiall dignitie. He hauing taken vpon him the imperiall dignitie, choſe his brother* Valens *for his companion, and ſhortly after made his ſonne* Gratianus, Cæſar. *In their time the world was troubled, with ſo many prodigious earth-quakes, remouing of the ſea, ſtrange rainet, and ſo much warre as ther hath ſeldome been read of the like. Nevertheleſſe, theſe wiſe Emperours prouided excellently for all theſe troubles and dangers; and not onely ouercame barbarous Kings and ſtrangers which were their enemies, but alſo ſubdued domeſticall tyrants, among which was one whoſe name was* Procopius, *a kinſman to* Iulianus *the Apoſtata; who taking the enſignes of Emperours, was ſo reſolute as to come to fight with* Valens. Valentinianus *was a great friend to the Chriſtians, yet* Valens *was to the contrarie, and being earneſt to giue anſwere to certaine Ambaſſadors, he was taken with an Appleexie which bereaued him of the vſe of his tongue euen by leaning al his other ſenſes ſound, whereof within ſhort ſpace he died. Whereupon* Valens *remaining in the Empire, with his Nephew* Gratian, *as the manner of Vncles is, he began to make ſmall account of his Nephew: and fauouring the ſect of the Arrians, gaue himſelfe to inchauntments, nigromancies, to perſecute the Chriſtians, and to martyrize many of them. For which his wickednes God puniſhed him; for he comming againſt the Gothes (to whom he had done good) in a piece of ſeruice, was by them ouerthrowne: and flying wounded into a farmers houſe in the countrie, the houſe was fired by them; and he burning therein, made ſuch an end as his euil life deſerued, receiuing ſuch puniſhment at Gods hands, as ſuch obſtinate heretikes are worthy of.*



The deſcent of Valentinianus.

IT pleaſed God of his goodnes, to giue to the Chriſtian and vertuous Emperour IOVIANVS, a ſucceſſor (although he left neither ſonne nor kinſman) which was like vnto him in faith, goodnes, and vertuous conditions: and this was VALENTINIANVS: who although that hee were but of a meane Parentage, and came of a poore father; yet he was a faithfull Chriſtian, and endued with excellent vertues. His fathers name was GRATIANVS: borne and bred in *Hungarie*, in a Citie of the Cimbales, a man of meane Parentage, as ſayth

ſaith AVRELIVS VICTOR; and as he and PAVLVS DIACONVS affirme, was very poore, and by his trade a rope-maker: But he was of ſo great ſtrength, as vpon a day fiue ſouldiers ſtriuing with all their might to take one of thoſe ropes which he ſold, out of his hands, they were not able to doe it. Wherfore ſeeming to be ſtrong and a very able man for the warres, he was counſelled to follow the ſame; which he did: and hauing no leſſe courage of minde then force of body, he profited ſo much in Armes, through the notable exploits which he performed therein, as offices were beſtowed vpon him; and ſo aſcending by dgrees, he became Pretorian Prefect.

By theſe means his ſon VALENTINIANVS, of whom we purpoſe to treate, came to be bred vp in the wars, and therein wan great honour. Being Captaine of the companies called *Scutarij*, which were targettiers, ſo called, for that no others did beare targets, but they; IVLIANVS the Apoſtata commanded him to doe ſacrifice to his gods, or otherwiſe to giue vp the office which he held (as he did by others, and as we ſaid by IOVIANVS): but hee as a good Catholike and not as a fained Chriſtian, voluntarily ſurrendred his office and Captainſhippe, to continue in the Faith of CHRIST. And the good and Chriſtian IOVIANVS coming to the Empire, drew vnto him all ſuch, as he was; by meanes whereof VALENTINIANVS was in his ſeruice when he died, in the ſame place and office which he forſooke in the time of IVLIANVS. As ſoone as IOVIANVS was dead, the firſt and chiefeſt care that VALENTINIANVS took, was, to prepare his body to be ſent to *Conſtantinople* to be buried; and the ſecond and next was, to conſult who ſhould be the next Emperor. The chiefe commaunders marched with the Armie to the Citie of *Nicea*, which is the head and Metropolitane of the Prouince of *Bithynia*: where determining to nominate an Emperor, there were ſome which made account to haue been ſo; and among many, one was named, which was a Tribune called EQVITIVS; who (as MARCELLINVS reporteth) was afterwards for his curriſh and harſh conditions depoſed. But finally after long conſultations, VALENTINIANVS was choſen, by reaſon of his goodneſſe and valour, being at that time abſent, hauing remained certain daies iourney behinde the whole Armie; and being ſent for, and come, they all ſware obedience vnto him, with great ioy and contentment. For truly he was (as all men write) a goodly perſonage, very valiant, and magnanimous; very wiſe and temperate, a louer of iuſtice, eloquent, and of a good grace, honorable and vertuous, and a man who knew how to make himſelfe beloued and reſpected of all men. Hauing accepted the Empire, and beginning to prouide for ſuch things as might be needefull for the good gouernment thereof; it ſeemed good to the captaines and ſouldiers of the Armie to giue him a companion and an equall in the Empire, to be an aſſiſtant to him in the gouernment; which the Emperors of their own accord did often vſe to doe. VALENTINIANVS being aduertiſed hereof, commanded the Armie to be called together; and with a bold and ſtiddaine reſolution, among other matters ſpake vnto them in this manner:

Valentinianus gaue vp his office of Captain rather then he would doe ſacrifice to Idols.

Valentinianus choſen Emperor.

Gentlemen and Souldiers, it was in your hands and at your pleaſure, when I was not Emperour, to giue me the gouernment and command of the Empire; but now that I haue the gouernment and am in poſſeſſion thereof, it is no part of your charge, neither ought you to entermeddle therein: for that is my charge only, and the care thereof appertaineth to me to command and gouerne the common-wealth. And as for a companion, when neede ſhall require, I will take care for one. Theſe ſpeeches are written by THEODORETVS and other Authors make mention thereof: which made ſuch an impreſſion in the ſouldiers hearts, as from thenceforth they all tooke care to obey his commandements, not daring to ſpeake a word concerning any ſuch matter. But when he came to the Citie of *Conſtantinople*, which euer ſince the time of the Emperor CONSTANTINE, was the head of the Empire, imagining it to be a matter very requiſite, he made his brother VALENS his companion and equall with himſelfe in the Empire: which truely he ought not to haue done, for that he was infected with the Arrian hereſie, as hereafter we will declare. And hauing made this election, they diuided the Empire betweene them, ſo as VALENTINIANVS tooke charge of the Prouinces in the Weſt, and VALENS of thoſe in the Eaſt. And matters ſtanding vpon theſe tearmes, they both fell ſick of a burning feuer, ſo grieuouſly, as all men thought they would haue died; but afterwards recouering, there happened vnto theſe brethren ſo many warres and ſuch troubles, as they both had enough to doe. For the Saxons and Scots which are northerlie Nations, came in great troupes to make a conqueſt of the Iſle of *Britannie*, and the Germanes came againe downe into *France*: and the countries of *Hungarie* and *Auſtria* were inuaded by the Sarmates and the Cat-

A ſpeech vſed by Valentinianus to the Armie.

Valentinianus made his brother Valens his companion in the Empire.

The Empire infeſted by forrain Nations.

ti: Into *Thracia* came certaine companies of Gothes to robbe and steale. The King of *Persia* brake the truce, inuaded *Armenia*, and afterwards *Mesopotamia*. Whereupon by reason of these combustions and others which were feared, and some already begun, VALENS took his way towards the East, and VALENTINIANVS towards *Milan*: And into *Hungarie* they sent SEVERIANVS, a valiant Captain; and so they prouided and placed in diuers parts excellent Captains and Gouernors. To recite all that past in particular, would be a long worke: but in summe it was thus; that in the first three yeers of the raign of VALENTINIANVS, he had very cruel warres with the Saxons and Germanes: which in the end, after many battailes, he ouercame and subdued. In the third yeere of his raigne, he made his sonne GRATIANVS his companion, Emperour, and AVGVSTVS. And in *Rome* by reason of the death or depriuation of TVRCIVS APRONIANVS (for the Historie declareth it not, or I am forgetfull) he placed a Noble man, named ORPHITVS. As a good Christian, he honoured and fauoured the Christians, their Temples and Churches: which his brother VALENS did not in the East; but lying for the most part in the citie of *Amioch*, suffred the idolatries and superstitions of the Gentiles, and likewise the rites and ceremonies of the Iewes. But the Arrians and Hereticks he extremely fauoured, only he molested and was enemie to the true Christians: and aboue all, gaue himselfe to diuinations, sorceries, and prohibited Astrologie; which CASSIODORVS, IOANNES MONACVS, otherwise called ZONARAS, and RVFFINVS treate of at large.

Valentinianus *made his sonne Emperour and Augustus.*

Valens *permitting Idolatrie, and the ceremonies of the Iewes, was an enemie to the Christians.*

These two brethren gouerning the Empire, although after diuers manners, making head against the incursions of strange and barbarous nations, which infested the same; a Noble man called PROCOPIVS, borne in *Sicilia*, and neere kinsman to IVLIANVS Apostata (who beginning by meane degrees, came to be Captaine generall of the Imperiall Armies in the East) rebelled in *Constantinople*: and with the fauour and assistance of certaine Captaines, and some other men of warre (taking the Imperiall ensignes) he proclaimed himselfe Emperour; which greatly troubled the two Emperours: for they knew that he daily grew greater, and that his forces continually increased, and that he had sent for succours to the Gothes, and other strange nations.

Procopius *was called Emperour.*

The Empire being thus troubled, there also followed in those daies so generall and terrible an earth-quake, that an infinite number of houses, and sundrie cities fell downe. For in *Sicilia* and in many other Ilands, whole countries perished, and the sea ouerwhelmed and drowned many townes and cities, ouerflowing the naturall bounds and limits; and aboue all, it was most terrible in the prouince of *Bithynia*, in *Asia*; so as the citie of *Nicea* was therewith wholie ruined. And in many other prouinces bordering vpon the sea, the sea altering his course, in some places discouered and left dry land, where before was nothing but sea; and in some other places made sea, where before were greene fields and pastures; as PAVLVS OROSIVS and other authors write, principallie MARCELLINVS, who was an eie witnes, and S. IEROME also. Whereof the Cosmographers of our times should take notice, and not so much blame and maruell at the auntient, if they find not described and set downe in their bookes the sea-coasts, the capes, points, hauens, and entries into the sea, to be such as they described them then to be: for these and many other naturall changes haue been the cause thereof; besides the error which may be in the letter and painting of the bookes, or in the phrase, through their fault which wrote and translated them. A little while after this earth-quake (S. IEROME writeth) that there rained from heauen, like as at other times it vseth to snow, an infinite quantitie of wooll, as perfect and as fine wooll as the sheepe beareth. But returning to our historie; This attempt of PROCOPIVS so much troubled VALENTINIANVS and VALENS, that VALENTINIANVS was in doubt whether he should go against him in person, or leaue it to VALENS; whom it seemed more to concerne, aswell for the neernes to him, as for that those parts were vnder his iurisdiction. And being resolued to go in person, he was constrained to alter his resolution, for that certaine strange nations made new inuasions in the Empire, aswell in *Germany* as in *Britannie*, and the cities and prouinces in these parts by their Ambassadors required succour. Wherupon he determined rather to relieue those which were friends to the whole Empire, and to the common estate, then his owne in particular: and publishing his intent, he returned to make warre against the strangers, sending an excellent Captaine with a very good Armie against PROCOPIVS, to make head against him, and not to suffer his power to increase: and he himselfe went to the warres of *Germany*, wherein he did many worthie deeds of Armes against the Saxons, the Burgonians, and other nations: whose force was so great, that although

An vniuersall earth-quake.

The citie of Nicea destroyed by an earth-quake.

Woll fell from heauen like snowe.

although they were ouercome by him, and reduced to his obedience; yet vntill this day the remembrance of them continueth, and they inhabit those parts. On the other side, VALENS, as a man which had the lesser charge, marched towards PROCOPIVS, and he came to meete him in *Asia* the lesse, or in *Phrygia*, neere to a Citie called *Natolia*, where they fought, and PROCOPIVS was ouerthrown and fled. But before this battaile, VALENS had sent a Captaine whose name was IVLIVS, with a very good Armie, against those Gothes which came to the aide of PROCOPIVS, he hauing spread a rumor that VALENTINIANVS was dead in *France*, and those Gothes were ouerthrowne by IVLIVS. PROCOPIVS, as is aforesaid, escaping from the battaile, vsed all possible meanes to reinforce his Armie, that hee might returne againe to fight: but he not only failed of his purpose, but was by his owne Captaines which fled with him, thereby to obtaine pardon and grace with VALENS, apprehended and deliuered into his hands.

Procopius *ouerthrowne.*

Some write, that VALENS as soone as he had [illegible] made his head to be striken off: and others say, that bowing downe two trees by force, one leg was bound to the one Tree, and another to the other, and the Trees being let loose, he was torne in peeces: and so ended he his life, parted and diuided in two parts, who had caused so great parts-taki[illegible] diuision in the Empire. PROCOPIVS when he died, was of the age of 41 yeeres, he was of a great courage and goodly constitution, but that he went somewhat stooping. It is reported of him that he was euer very sad, and was neuer seene to laugh, and that he alwaies did meditate on melancholy matters; and so had an vnfortunate end, as one which was disloyall, and a Traytor to his soueraigne Lord.

The death of Procopius.

After that VALENS had obtained this victorie, he seuerely punished those that had fauored and assisted PROCOPIVS: and because that *Chalcedonia*, which is a Citie in *Asia* the lesse, ouer against *Constantinople*, had taken part with him, he caused all the towne walles to be thrown downe, and made euen with the ground, which before were very faire. When PROCOPIVS was dead, a Captaine and neere kinseman of his, named MARCELLVS, being in the Citie of *Nicea* with certaine companies with him, and with 3000 Gothes which he had caused to come thither, tooke vpon him the name of Emperor: but he was soone set vpon, taken and slaine by another Captaine, whose name was EQVITIVS, Gouernor of *Slauonia*. This so important an enterprise being by VALENS brought to a happy end, he then endeuored himselfe to persecute the remainder of those souldiers, and to prouide for other accidents in the East: which, for that they were many and of lesse importance, I will omit. But in matters concerning our religion, as an Heretick and a wicked man, he committed so many outrages, exiled so many, and did so great harme, as it would require a long time to describe. His brother VALENTINIANVS following the wars aforesaid, obtained sundrie victories, some in his owne person, and some vnder the leading of his Captaines. In great *Britanny*, by a Captaine of his whose name was VALENTINE, he ouercame and subdued the Picts and the Scots, from whom the Scots at this day are descended, and the Kingdome of *Scotland* in that Iland tooke name.

Valens *raged the walls of* Chalcedonia.

The Picts and Scots.

THEODOSIVS, of whom wee will speake hereafter, obteined some other notable victories in *Germany*, whom VALENTINIANVS sent also into *Africa*: for therein rebelled a mightie Captain whose name was TIRMVS, whom THEODOSIVS ouerthrew in battaile, and tooke prisoner, leauing the countrey in quiet. But notwithstanding that hee had so good and happie successe, yet the Roman Empire was so odious and hatefull to all strange Nations, as they neuer desisted as long as they had any oportunitie to inuade and molest the same. Whereupon the Sarmates, a barbarous people, of whom we haue often made mention heretofore, rebelled and entred *Hungary*: against whom VALENTINIANVS (being greatly offended) went himselfe in person; and hauing ouerthrowne them in battaile they sent their Ambassadors vnto him: and the Emperour being in an earnest discourse with them, it is reported that he was so mooued, and cried out so loud, as with the force thereof the blood gushed out at his mouth in such aboundance, that he died within fewe daies after. Others write, that he was taken with an Apoplexy, wherewith he lost his speech only, all his other senses remaining perfect. Finally, of the one, or other, hee died within a short space, nothing auailing any Physick that could bee administred vnto him, hee being of the age of fiftie yeeres, in the twelfth yeere of his Raigne, and according to S. IEROME his computation in the yeeere of our Lord 379.

The victories of Valentinian.

Valentinianus *against the Sarmates.*

This Emperour is accounted among the good and vertuous Emperours, and with great reason

ſon: for beſides his valour and ſufficiencie, he was a very iuſt Prince, and a great enemie and a puniſher of vice, eſpeciallie of briberie and couetouſnes. When he died he left two ſonnes, and three daughters, which he had by two women. His eldeſt ſonnes name was GRATIAN, whom he had by his lawfull wife, named SEVERA; him before his death he made Emperour AVGVSTVS. His other ſonnes name was VALENTINIANVS, who afterwards was Emperour alſo. And his three daughters, IVSTA, GRATA, and GALLA, he had by a Gentlewoman called IVSTINA: of which, one, which was GALLA, was afterwards married to THEODOSIVS, who in proceſſe of time came to be Emperour. It is written, that this IVSTINA, mother to theſe three ſiſters, was the faireſt woman of complexion, of the moſt excellent conſtitution of bodie, the comelieſt perſonage, and was endowed with more commendable parts, then any woman then to be found in the world; ſo as ſhe was brought to the Emperors *Palace to his wife the Empereſſe for a miracle in beautie, where he had by her theſe three* children, as PAVLVS DIACONVS reporteth, by the conſent and permiſſion of his wife the Empereſſe.

Gratianus remained Emperour in the place of his father.

Valens fauoured the Arrians.

Valens made the Monks and Heremits to leaue their cels, and become ſouldiers.

VVe haue related the chiefe of all that paſſed in the time of VALENTINIANVS, Emperor in the Weſt, and of his brother VALENS in the Eaſt. VALENTINIANVS dying in ſuch manner, as we ſayd, he left his ſonne GRATIANVS for Emperour of all that which he poſſeſſed, and made him Emperor in his life time. And VALENS ſeeing himſelfe freed, and at liberty, from the reſpect and dutie which he ought to his brother VALENTINIAN, making ſmall account of his ſonne GRATIAN, began to fauour and ſupport the Arrians, and to perſecute and oppreſſe the true Chriſtians. Amongſt other things, S. IEROME writeth, *that he commanded all the Monks and Hermites in Egypt, and other parts, that (leauing their* Monaſticall life) they ſhould become Souldiers, and follow the warres: but before that hee could bring them to it, hee put many thouſands of them to death, and did many other cruell deeds, for which God gaue him ſuch an end as he deſerued. To the contrary, his Nephew GRATIAN was a good Chriſtian, and was likewiſe a good Poet, and an Oratour, a very vertuous, temperate, honeſt and courteous Prince, and indued with many noble qualities; but he was condemned to be very remiſſe in matters of gouernment. But concerning the Chriſtian Religion, hee fauoured and ſupported the Chriſtian Churches in *Phœnicia*, and other Prouinces in the Eaſt, as his father had done before him. By meanes of whoſe death the high Dutch took heart and courage to come downe, and make warre within the bounds of the Empire, *with great multitudes of men: and he with a farre leſſer number went to fight with* them, neere to a Citie called *Argentine* or *Colleine*; where recommending himſelfe to IESVS CHRIST, he fought a moſt cruell battell, and obtained the victory: and as PAVLVS OROSIVS reporteth ſlew of them aboue 40000. men. S. IEROME ſayth 30000. When the young Emperour GRATIAN had obtained this victorie, he reſolued to make his brother VALENTINIAN his companion in the Empire, who was his brother by the father, and ſonne to the faire IVSTINA; which he performed with great ſolemnity.

A great victorie obtained by Gratian againſt the Germanes.

The Empire being in this eſtate, VALENS liuing in *Antioch* in *Soria*, and GRATIAN and this his young brother VALENTINIAN in *France*, VALENS as he was giuen to diuinations, inchantments, nigromancies and ſuch other like vanities, made certaine figures to bee caſt; and the diuell willing to ſhew him that after him there ſhould raigne one, whoſe name began with this Gregke letter, θ, which in Latine is *th*, he therefore cauſed to be ſlaine that moſt excellent Captaine THEODOSIVS, and others whoſe names began in that manner.

Valens gaue great credit to inchauntments and ſorceries.

Theſe things being paſt, as God in his ſecret iudgement had ordeined that the Romane Empire ſhould generally decline (as not long after it did) it pleaſed him in his diuine wiſedome to permit that there ſhould firſt happen ſome great and particular calamities, which ſhould be as ſignes and forewarnings preſaging the great and general miſeries which afterwardes enſued, and continue euen vntill this day. For a beginning, and foretelling of the commune and generall calamitie, which in proceſſe of time afterwardes followed, it pleaſed God to permit (for VALENS his infidelitie) that in thoſe daies in the Northerly parts of *Scythia*, betweene a people called Hunnes, bordering vpon the *Riſean* mountaines, and the Gothes which with them diuided their frontiers, and were their neere neighbours (both moſt valiant and fierce nations, as in this hiſtorie hereafter ſhall appeare) great warres aroſe: and after many battailes and ſlaughters betweene them (which make nothing to our purpoſe) all beginning about the parting of fields and diuiding their bounds and limits, and other ancient quarrels, as vſually happen betweene nations which are ſo neere neighbours; in theſe controuerſies, the

the Gothes were finally ouerthrowne in a great battaile by the Hunnes, and driuen out of their owne countrie by force: and being a huge multitude of people (*compelled through* neceſſitie, as ouercome, and deſiring to liue in peace) they ſent to intreate the Emperour VALENS by their Ambaſſadors, that it might pleaſe him to receiue them for his ſeruants and vaſſalls, and to giue them ſome lands, which they might till and inhabit. The Emperor ſimply granted their requeſt, aſſigning vnto them a great countrie beyond the riuer *Danubius*, and certaine fields in the Prouince of *Miſia*, which at this time is called *Bulgaria* and *Seruia* (as PAVLVS OROSIVS, and PAVLVS DIACONVS and others doe report) and there for a certaine time they remained in peace and reſt: and it was thought they would ſo haue continued, had not two of the Emperors Captaines (which diuided the fields amongſt them, and remained there as their guard and ouerſeers) begun to vſe them cruelly, like tyrants, doing them daily great wrongs and injuries, as though they had been rather ſlaues then ſubjects. Whereupon they conuerted their obedience and humility into rebellion and deſperation; reſoluing to beare Armes, and to take perforce that which thoſe men denied them. And ſo raunging themſelues in good order (leauing that which was appointed for them) they marched forwards, deſtroying, robbing and ſpoiling all whereſoeuer they came.

Countries aſſigned by Valens for the Gothes to inhabite.

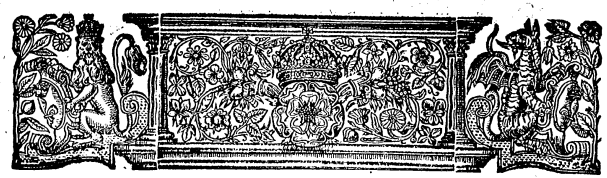
Entring into *Thracia*, they tooke ſome ſtrong holds and Cities, vntill they came neere to *Conſtantinople*, where VALENS then was: for as ſoone as theſe troubles began, he was aduertiſed thereof: and departing from the Citie of *Antioch*, he came by great iourneyes to *Conſtantinople*, out of which he afterwards ſallied with a great and very well ordered Armie, to make head againſt the Gothes, which from ancient time had been euer much feared, and were ſtill famous. And although they vnderſtood of the Emperors *comming, yet they were therewith* nothing diſmaid, nor doubted to meete him, but rather ſought to fight with him. Which VALENS refuſed not; ſo as there was a cruell battaile betweene the two Armies; wherein, at the firſt encounter, the Romane horſemen behaued themſelues ſo ill, that disbanding, they left the ſquadrons of footemen naked without any defence; which the Gothes horſemen perceiuing, charged the Romane Infantry; and compaſſing them about on euery ſide with an infinite multitude of Archers, brake through them, and conſtrained them to flie: and ſo the Gothes had an entire victorie, and did great execution in the Imperiall Armie. VALENS, flying thence wounded with an Arrow, would haue hidden himſelfe in a Farmers houſe neere to that place: but being found, the Gothes ſet the houſe on fire, wherein he was burnt. Some write that he died fighting, and that *ſeeing the horſemen flie, he alighted*; and putting off his Imperiall robes, placed himſelfe in a ſquadron of footemen, and there being vnknowne, was ſlaine. But I hold the firſt opinion for moſt certaine, for ſo doe the moſt and beſt Authors affirme. One of which is Saint IEROME, in whoſe time theſe things happened: ſo as he died a death conformable to the courſe of his life.

A battaile betweene Valens and the Gothes.

The death of the emperor Valens.

The Gothes hauing obtained this victorie, marched forwards, and beſieged the Imperiall Citie of *Conſtantinople*, where enſued that which we will hereafter declare. The Emperor VALENS died in the fiftith yeer of his age, and the fifteenth of his raigne; of which, hee had raigned aboue eleuen in the companie of his brother, and the reſt with his nephew GRATIANVS, which was in the yeere of our Lord IESVS CHRIST, three hundred, foureſcore and two, after S. IEROMES computation, who in that yeer ended his Hiſtorie, which PROSPERVS afterwards proſecuted. I haue not read that this Emperour left any children behinde him.

THE



THE LIFE OF GRATIANVS, ONLY OF THAT NAME, AND OF HIS BROTHER VALENTINIAN THE SECOND, AND NINE AND FORTITH ROMANE *Emperour.*

THE ARGVMENT.

THE whole burthen of the Empire resting vpon Gratianus, *he was aduertised that the Gothes daily increased their power, and were growne so audacious as to assault the Citie of Constantinople: wherefore he made prouision to goe against them, and made one* Theodosius *a Spaniard Generall of his Army, who ouerthrew and subdued them, and reduced the Empire to the antient dignitie. Wherefore* Gratianus *made him his companion in the Empire, assigning vnto him the East part: and he remaining in France, purchased the euill will of his men of war, by shewing himselfe too much affected to the Alanes, and to other strange Nations, whose fashions in attire he often vsed to weare. In which time one* Maximus, *rebelling in Britanny, made himselfe a tyrant; and* Gratianus, *seeing himselfe forsaken by his Legions, returned into Italy: in which iourney* Maximus *by a stratagem, caused him to be slain. He had beene a very vertuous and good Emperor, if he had applied himselfe to the gouernment of the Empire: for otherwise he was endued with many good parts, and liued little more then 28. yeeres.*

AFter the death of VALENS which was so ill and vnfortunate, as we haue declared, the gouernment of the whole Empire, East and West, remained in his nephewe GRATIANVS, his brother VALENTINIANS sonne, who before ruled the Western Empire, and in his brother, yong VALENTINIAN, whom he had made Emperour; although by reason of his yong yeeres no great account was made of him. The Gothes following the victorie which they had obtained against the Emperour VALENS; without any stay, became masters of all the countrie round about, and (as I said) besieged the imperiall Citie of *Constantinople*, wherein was the Empresse DOMINICA, wife of the vnfortunate VALENS; and they assaulted it with great furie and very resolutely, burning all the suburbs which were very great. And so they inuested the Citie, vntill that the widow Empresse (as writeth CASSIODORVS) vsed such diligence in encouraging and animating the souldiers which were within it, with good words, gifts, and readie money, which shee distributed amongst them, as they fought so valiantly, that the Gothes receiued great losse & could not enter the Citie; and so it was defended by the diligence of this woman, and the valour of the besieged. The Gothes, diuiding themselues into seuerall troupes, became Lords of the Prouinces of *Thracia*, *Dacia*, and their confines. Here historiographers make large descriptions of the originall and countrie of these Gothes; and by what meanes, and when they came forth of their

Constantinople beseiged by the Gothes.

their countrie; wherein they are so tedious and so contrarie in opinions, the one to the other, that I purpose to eschew that labour, for that it little importeth; neither can the truth be fully set downe. But it is true, they were a people which came out of *Scythia* in *Europe*, according to most writers; but whether they were borne there or came from some other countrie (as some say they did) it importeth not much: neither the difference in their names in calling them Ostrogothes or Visogothes; for herein is no greater difference, but that the Ostrogothes were more easterly, and the Visogothes more westerly: but generally both the one, and other were called Gothes, and so I purpose to call them, as often as I shall haue occasion to mention them, which will be very often: for in truth the greatest wound, and chiefest losse the Roman Empire receiued, and the beginning of the fall thereof, was through their occasion. Wherefore these people may iustly be held and esteemed for the most valiant in Armes of all other Nations in the world; seeing that they (although with much toyle and by fighting many battailes) were able to tame and subdue that people and Empire, which was the tamer and subduer of all other Nations.

The Gothes, and whence they came.

The occasion of the fall of the Empire was through the Gothes.

GRATIAN vnderstanding of the death of his Vncle VALENS, and of all the accidents which ensued; and being also aduertised of the power of the Gothes, and how they daily became Lords of more lands of the Empire; and how that following their example, other northerly Nations called Hunnes and Alanes, no lesse valiant in Armes then the Gothes (as it was reported) made preparation to enter the Roman Empire, and to doe the like: he resolued with the greatest Army he was able to raise, to goe into *Hungary* to stop their passage. And forasmuch as in so great an extremitie, in his owne person he was not able to prouide for all occasions; he determined to make choise of the most sufficient man that he might finde to be Generall of his Armie, to whom he might commit the charge and care of the war against the Gothes; which was both of great importance and very dangerous. There liued at that time in his countrie in *Spaine*, one THEODOSIVS, the son of a noble Captaine whose name was also THEODOSIVS; whom, as we haue told you, VALENS caused to be slaine. This THEODOSIVS after the death of his father, holding himselfe to be in danger, retired himselfe into his country; being as well for the nobleness of his ancestors, and his fathers name and worthines, as for his owne valour, and his exploits in Armes, the most renowned and of greatest account of any man in his time. Whereupon the Emperor GRATIAN, in great haste sent for him, and wrote his letters vnto him, wherein he made him Captain generall of all the Empire; and within a little while after, Emperour AVGVSTVS, and his equall in the Empire, he being of the age of three and thirtie yeers.

Theodosius made generall of the Imperiall Army.

PAVLVS OROSIVS, and PAVLVS DIACONVS say, that this Emperour did wisely in choosing a Spanish Captaine, to free the Empire from seruitude; as in former times they had beene preserued from the like danger, hauing followed the same counsell: as the Emperour NERVA elected the good TRAIANE who after him was Emperour, seeing himselfe old, and the Maiesty of the Empire in contempt. And the said Authors write, that he did it with great reason; for that the said TRAIAN did extend the bounds of the Empire more then any other. This THEODOSIVS did wholly vanquish the Gothes, and recouered from them, all the Countrie which had beene lost. And during his life time hee made them serue as vassalls, and the Romane Empire stood free and recouered her reputation by him, though with much toyle and danger; so as the Romane Empire was neuer more honoured, nor better defended then when Spaniards were Emperors. And if men will giue no credit to bookes, let them looke into the present estate of the Empire, and they shall see that for these 200 yeers it was not in that authoritie and greatnesse as it is now that CHARLES 5. King of *Spaine* is Emperour. But you must vnderstand that MEXIA was a Spaniard borne.

When THEODOSIVS had receiued the Emperors letters, and accepted of the charge offered vnto him; with the greatest speede he could, hee went into those countries where the Gothes were; who knowing of his comming gathered themselues together to fight with him. And THEODOSIVS being very desirous thereof, hauing first leuied a sufficient Army, and taken such order, and made such prouision as was most requisite; with great care and circumspection drew neere vnto them: And after that he had tried his souldiers in some skirmishes and encounters, he came to giue them battaile; which was one of the most cruell and bloudy that euer was. But THEODOSIVS carried himselfe so discreetely and valiantly, as wel in fighting, as in encouraging and directing his men, that he obtained the victory, and made an

incredible slaughter of the enemy; and afterwards of the remainder which escaped, vntill that he had driuen them all out of that Prouince; so as there remained not any enemy there. Leauing his Armie in good order, he went to doe his dutie to the Emperor GRATIAN in *Hungary*, where he then lay, in the Cittie of *Sirmio*. Who for so noble a victorie (after that hee had well considered of his vertues and worthinesse) made him Emperor and AVGVSTVS, and his equall and companion. Yet some say, that he did this in the beginning, before the battaile. But howsoeuer, he shared the Empire with him; giuing to THEODOSIVS, *Constantinople* and *Thracia*, with all the Prouinces of the East, in like manner as VALENS held the same; reseruing to himselfe *Italie*, and all westwards, wherein also raigned his young brother VALENTINIANVS.

This being ended, GRATIAN presently returned into *Italie*, and from thence into *France*; and THEODOSIVS went to make an end of his wars against the most feared and redoubted nations of all the world, which were the aforesaid Gothes, the Alanes, and the Hunnes; all people of *Scythia*. We reade that ALEXANDER the Great, would not goe to make any conquest of these people: for they were feared of all the world.

The Alanes tooke their name of a riuer in *Scythia* called Alane. AMMIANVS MARCELLINVS saith, that these were called in auncient time Massagetes. The Hunnes are also Scythians of *Scythia* in *Europe*, inhabiting beyond the bogges of *Meotis*, all which were most fierce Nations: and although that all the northerly nations were such, yet were these more then any of the rest; as in this Historie hereafter will appeare: And these (they say) are those which at this day are called Tartarians. This people being againe entred into *Hungarie*, THEODOSIVS went to fight with them, sometimes with one Nation and sometimes with another. All authors write, that he fought many cruell battailes with them, and in them all had the vpper hand: so as he slew an infinite number of them: and those which escaped the sword, hee made to flie out of the confines of the Empire. And to the end hee would not ouer-tire his men of warre, being humbly required of peace by ATHANARICVS King of the Gothes, offering himselfe and his people to doe him seruice; he graunted it. And comming victorious to the Cittie of *Constantinople*, which was his imperiall seate, hee brought ATHANARICVS with him; and was receiued with great solemnity, ioy and triumph. Where (they write) that ATHANARICVS did so much wonder to see the power of the Emperour, the solemnity and greatnes of his court, the sumptuousnes and magnificence of the buildings of the Cittie, and the riches of the furniture of his house and seruice, as he said, that truely the Roman Emperor was god of the earth, and represented the God of heauen; against whom no man ought to be so hardy, as to lift vp his hand, or heart, except he would presently be condemned to death.

Athanaricus King of the Gothes sued to Theodosius for peace.

Athanaricus his comming to Constantinople, and his speech concerning the Romen Empire.

Within few daies after that this valiant King ATHANARICVS came to *Constantinople*, hee was taken with a grieuous sicknes, wherof he died, after that he had been tormented therwith, the space of 3 moneths, whom THEODOSIVS sumptuously buried and bestowed great cost vpon his obsequies. Some Authors, as IORNANDES and others, say, that this peace with the Gothes, was made by GRATIANVS; for THEODOSIVS fell so grieuously sick, that al men thought he would haue died, and that in this season the peace was granted to ATHANARICVS more for feare then for any good will: and that THEODOSIVS, recouering health, would not breake what GRATIANVS had concluded. AVRELIVS VICTOR, PAVLVS OROSIVS, and others report it after the first manner, but this difference is of small importance. The Gothes which serued ATHANARICVS in his house and army, hauing had triall of the goodnes and bounty of THEODOSIVS, desired to continue in his seruice; and afterwards serued him faithfully and valiantly, in such warres as hapned. In this time, through the grace and mercy of God, GRATIANVS and THEODOSIVS being true Christians, the Catholike Church was fauored and protected by them. Yet some write, that THEODOSIVS was baptized after that he was Emperor: But before that time he did reuerence and beleeue the Christian faith. SOZOMENVS, after CASSIODORVS, affirmeth it so, which to me seemeth hardly to be beleeued. But howsoeuer it was, THEODORETVS writeth, that as soone as he came to *Constantinople*, hauing ouercome and subdued all the barbarous nations; he applied himselfe to the reformation of the Church, and to the subuersion and rooting out of the Arrian heresie, which was dispersed ouer all the East parts. And vpon this occasion he vsed meanes to assemble a great number of Bishops at *Constantinople*; and although that that the euill was not throughly cured thereby, yet that which he did, was very profitable. CASSIODORVS fers

The death of Athanaricus.

downe

downe THEODOSIVS decree, wherein he professed and protested that hee beleeued the same faith, which was preached by the holy Apostles; and which was published in the Nicene Councel. He setteth down also, how that THEODOSIVS banished certaine Bishops from *Constantinople*, for that they were of the diuellish and abhominable sect of the Arrians. In the West, there was no neede of any such care or diligence; for this Arrian pestilence had not so much infected those parts: as we haue already declared in the liues of the three sonnes of CONSTANTINE the Great. CONSTANS which raigned in that part, tooke great care to preserue and defend the auncient Catholike faith; and after him IOVIANVS and VALENTINIANVS. So as, aswell in matters concerning Religion, as also the warres and ciuill gouernment, THEODOSIVS shewed himselfe a worthie Prince, and was so much feared and honoured by all Nations, as the King of *Persia* (notwithstanding that he had slaine the Emperour IVLIANVS, and obtained so many victories) in great humilitie, sent his Ambassadors to *Constantinople*, entreating a perpetuall league and peace with THEODOSIVS: And he seeing with how great submission that King sued for peace, graunted it.

The King of Persia sued to Theodosius for peace.

THEODOSIVS, liuing in this prosperitie, the better to assure the succession of the Empire to his posterity, made one of his sonnes whose name was ARCADIVS, his equall and companion: notwithstanding that he was but a childe, and very yong. In this meane while liued GRATIAN in *France*, from thence making prouision and sending direction to all parts; as into *Africa*, *Spaine*, *Britanny* and *Germany*: and as he was a man very remisse and soft spirited (as the most part doe write of him) he waxed much more, after that he had taken THEODOSIVS for his companion; depending much vpon his diligence and valour: so as he became ill beloued of his souldiers. And this dislike increased; for that he (seeing that THEODOSIVS had entertained the Gothes which serued ATHANARICVS into his pay and wages) drew to his seruice certaine companies of Alanes, and respected and honored them so much, as he sometimes apparelled himself after their fashion, and made them his guard; wherwith the Roman and Italian souldiers were much discontented.

Gratianus ill beloued by his men of warre.

In *Rome* and all *Italie* the Empire was of no absolute authoritie: for therein was the young VALENTINIAN, brother to GRATIANVS; who for that he was very young and of little discretion, a Noble man called PROBVS had the charge of the gouernement, who had been Consul, and was then Prefect of the Cittie. These matters gaue occasion to the Legions which were in *Britanny* to presume to rebell, and to chuse an excellent Captaine, whose name was MAXIMVS for Emperour; and as PAVLVS DIACONVS writeth, against the will of MAXIMVS. But afterwards hauing accepted the name, he resolued to proceede: and so with all expedition possible, he went into *France*; and for as much as GRATIAN was ill beloued of his Armie, the greatest part of his men of warre forsooke him, and calling MAXIMVS Emperor, went to his campe. Whereupon GRATIANVS finding himselfe vnable to fight with him, purposed to retire into *Italie*, where his brother was. MAXIMVS being aduertised thereof, vsed such meanes as GRATIANVS fell into his hands. Which was after this manner: He caused a rumor to be spred abroade, that GRATIANVS wife was comming to see her husband with a good troupe of souldiers, and to goe with him into *Italy*, and he sent some messengers before with counterfeit letters, which aduertised him thereof. After this, he sent a valiant and subtle Captaine called ANDRAGATHIVS, to the end he should put himselfe in a horselitter, with some chosen souldiers, and goe to meete GRATIAN, faining to be the Empresse, and so take him and kill him.

Maximus chosen Emperor by the legions in Britanny.

This cunning Champion performed what his Lord had committed to his charge, and at *Lions* in *France*, in passing the riuer *Rhodanus*, he came to ioyne with him; some going before and telling him that the Empresse was neere at hand. The goodnesse and sincerity of GRATIANVS were the occasion that he suspected nothing, neither discouered the deceipt, vntill he came so neere, that he saw it with his eyes, where being compassed about with ANDROGATHIVS his souldiers, he was there by his commandement slaine. In this manner ended the life and raigne of the Emperor GRATIANVS, being of the age of nine and twenty yeers; fifteene yeeres after that his father made him Emperour and his companion; whereof eight yeeres were in his fathers time, more in name then effect; and of the other seuen yeeres, three were with his Vncle VALENS who was slaine by the Gothes, and the rest with THEODOSIVS whom he chose for his companion, and with his brother VALENTINIAN; who for that he was a childe was not regarded. He died (after PROSPERVS his computation) in the yeere of our Lord three hundred, fourescore and seuen. This Prince was endued with many excellent

Gratianus slain by Andragathius, through the procurement of Maximus.

excellent vertues: for he was valiant, noble and discreet; and aboue all, a Catholike and a very deuout Christian: but he had a fault, which was, that he was too soft spirited, remisse, and negligent, taking little care for the gouernment: which (as is said) was the principall cause of his ruine. And truely this is a great and dangerous fault in Kings and Princes: for as their principall charge and office is to gouerne and rule, and they therefore are called *Reges*, failing to performe their office and dutie, they make themselues hatefull, odious, and vnworthy the power and dignity which they enioy.

THE LIFE OF THEODOSIVS, THE FIRST OF THIS NAME, AND FIFTITH EMPEROVR OF ROME.

(**)

THE ARGVMENT.

After that Gratianus *was dead, the whole burthen and care both of peace and warre, appertaining to the Empire, rested vpon* Theodosius. *The first enterprise he vndertooke, was in Italy, against the tyrant* Maximus, *who caused the Emperor* Gratianus *to be slaine. And besieging him in Aquileia, he made him die like a Traytor, together with a sonne of his. And hauing triumphed in Rome, he restored the Empire to* Valentinian. *Returning to Constantinople within short space after, he vnderstood that* Valentinian *was slaine; and that only two (to wit)* Arbogastes *and* Eugenius, *vsurped the Empire. Whereupon returning againe into Italy, he fought with these two tyrants, and ouercame them both, more by miracle and by the especiall grace of God, then through his power or any humane wisedome. After this victory, the whole charge of the Empire, both East and West, rested vpon him alone; but he calling his sonne* Honorius, *inuested him in the Empire of the West, and to* Arcadius *he left the Empire of the East: But because they were both children, and very little, he gaue them two tutors, men no lesse valiant in Armes then politique in peace. After this, happening to be excommunicate and absolued by S.* Ambrose *Bishop of Milan, for certain cruelties committed in Thessalonica, falling grieuously sick, he dyed at the age of fiftie yeeres.*

SIX yeeres raigned THEODOSIVS in companie with GRATIANVS, when he was slaine by the commandement of MAXIMVS, who as a tyrant and vsurper proclaymed himselfe Emperour: And by reason of GRATIANS death, all the care and trouble both for warre and peace rested vpon THEODOSIVS; who was very sufficient, and well able to support the same. For although that young VALENTINIAN was in *Italy*, yet hee had neither power nor courage to reuenge the death of his brother, GRATIANVS; but knowing that MAXIMVS came with a great Armie, and was already entred *Italy*, he abandoned it, and went to *Constantinople* to intreate ayde of THEODOSIVS: Who taking compassion of the two brethren, the one slaine by treason, and the other wrongfully dispossessed of his Empire; of his naturall and accustomed valour, resolued to goe into *Italy* to reuenge the death of the one, and to restore the other to his estate, by pursuing and destroying this new & mighty tyrant. Wherupon leauing his son ARCADIVS in *Constantinople*, taking VALENTINIAN with him, he prepared for his departure, raising the greatest and best forces he was able, and began to

to march through *Gallia Cisalpina*, which is now called *Lombardie*, where MAXIMVS alreadie was in the citie of *Aquileia*, hauing made ANDROGATHIVS Generall of his Armie to make head against THEODOSIVS.

This ANDROGATHIVS was a politick and a valiant man in the warres, and he which slue the Emperor GRATIANVS; who with great care and diligence had taken all the streights, riuers, bridges and passages, whereby THEODOSIVS might passe: and afterwards changing his minde, thinking that THEODOSIVS peraduenture would haue passed his Armie by sea, he drew his forces from the mountains, and from those places which hee had left them in guard, and embarked them aboord a great number of ships and barks, purposing to ouerthrow him, and to take him prisoner vpon the water. The valiant THEODOSIVS, being aduertised heerof, marched by great iournies; and, finding him in the passages open, entred with his troops into the Plains of *Lombardie*, and besieged the City of *Aquileia*, where the vsurping Emperor was, before ANDROGATHIVS could ouertake him: and compassing the City round about, those which were within it, of meer fear hauing guilty consciences, deliuered him into the hands of THEODOSIVS, without staying for any assault or fight; and he iustly caused him (as a Traitor and Rebell to his Prince) to bee put to death. The like was afterwards done by a sonne of his whose name was VICTOR, whom his father had created Emperor, to auoid the perils and troubles that might ensue. When ANDROGATHIVS who was his Generall, beeing vpon the sea with a very mighty nauie, vnderstood of the taking and death of MAXIMVS, hee was so ouercomn with sorrow and despair, that hee cast himself ouer-boord out of his Galley, and there was drowned; and his people, wanting a Leader, yeelded themselues to THEODOSIVS. And so, without either death or bloud-shed, God gaue him a very great victory; and from *France*, *Britannie*, *Germanie*, and *Spain*, came Ambassadors vnto him, yeelding him their obedience, with great humility and deuotion.

Maximus and his son Victor put to death by Theodosius.

Androgathius drowned himself in the sea.

Hauing performed this enterprise, he went with yong VALENTINIAN to *Rome*, the principall Head of the Empire; where they were receiued with a solemn triumph (as RVFFINVS and CASSIODORVS report) whither he sent for his yong son ARCADIVS from *Constantinople*, where he left him to the end he might be knowne and honoured in *Rome*: where he continued certain daies, reforming the abuses and disorders there; and hee inflicted great punishments, and did great iustice vpon certain euill and wicked persons. And, as he was a deuout and good Christian, so he took great care to reform the abuses of the Church. And, finally, setting all things in good order, he returned to *Constantinople* to gouern the Empire of the East; and to VALENTINIAN he left all the West, leauing him an Armie and power sufficient to defend the same: which is no small argument of his goodnes and loyalty, that being of power able (if he had desired to haue made himself onely Monarch and Lord of the whole) yet he held it for greater honour To reconquer the Empire, and to restore it to him to whom in right it appertained, than to hold the same himself. THEODOSIVS being returned to *Constantinople*, VALENTINIAN went for *France*, that he might be neer at hand if any occasion should be offred: where liuing in prosperity and void of care, a Captain of his, called ARBOGASTES, practised his death; who was a man of a hautie courage, politick, venturous, and of great power by reason of the place and authority which he held neer about the Emperor; whom PAVLVS OROSIVS and PAVLVS DIACONVS call *Comes* or Earle: for in those times wee finde that name and dignity, and before that also; and these were those which were Gouerners and Captains of Prouinces, and sometimes were the Emperors companions, to whom were committed matters of greatest importance: In like manner as the antient Consuls, when they went to make a conquest of any Country, had with them Legats, which is as much as Lieutenants. This ARBOGASTES resolued with himself to kill VALENTINIAN, thereby to aduance an Emperor of his making, although it prospered ill; not daring to vsurp it himself, for that hee was of base parentage, a stranger born, and an Infidell, and for other causes which in the Historie are not mentioned. Finally, he practised with one EVGENIVS, who of a Grammarian and a Rhetorician (being for that cause wel beloued and esteemed) came to bear Armes, and to follow the Court, and was now highly regarded and of great account; promising him to kill VALENTINIAN, and to make him Emperor; giuing him to vnderstand, that it was a matter possible, and easie to be done. EVGENIVS accepted what this wicked man offred; and ARBOGASTES vsed such means, that he corrupted the Eunuchs that waited in VALENTINIAN'S chamber, and agreed with them to strangle him in the night, and giue it out in speech that they found him dead in the morning; and they did so. VALENTINIAN, being in the city of *Vienna* in *France*, flee-

Theodosius *triumphed in Rome.*

Arbogastes *practised to kill the Emperor* Valentinian.

Valentinian *strangled by his Eunuchs.*

sleeping in his bed, was by these Eunuchs strangled; and they published abroad, that hee had hanged himself, eighteen yeers after that his brother had nominated him Emperor. The manner of his death was kept so secret, that it was bruited abroad that he had hanged himself; so as PROSPERVS, in the addition which he made to EVSEBIVS book of Times, writing his death, saith, that he died in that manner.

Eugenius *made Emperor by Arbogastes.*

Presently, when as his death was knowne, before the treason was discouered, ARBOGASTES nominated and made EVGENIVS Emperor. What these two men did, being of greatest authority, was generally approued by all men; and by means of their reputation, and thorough their cunning, large promises, and great gifts, they leuied a great number of men of war, as well Barbarians as Romans, and so became Lords of all the Prouinces: And although EVGENIVS bare the name of Emperor, yet all was ordred and disposed accordingly as it pleased ARBOGASTES.

Within short space THEODOSIVS was aduertised of this fact; for which hee was very sorrie, and therewith much troubled, seeing how dangerous a warre lay before him: but, accounting it a great dishonour and a shame to suffer such an action to passe vnpunished, with the greatest expedition and diligence that could bee hee mustred vp his men of warre, and with all possible speed departed from *Constantinople*, leauing his sonne ARCADIVS there; and HONORIVS also, whom he then made Emperor, appointing him to bee equall and companion with his brother. But, as a good and deuout Christian, the first prouision hee made, was, To fast and pray, that it might please God to giue him victorie against those Infidels and Tyrants; recommending himself to the praiers of a Monk which was accounted a very holy man, whose name was IOHN, dwelling in the City of *Thebes* in *Egypt*: who sent him word that hee should haue the victory, but should dy in *Italie*, and neuer return to *Constantinople*.

THEODOSIVS being comm to the confines of *Italie*; the Tyrants had so great forces, and had taken so good order for all matters concerning the warres, that all passages were stopt in the Alps, and at the foot thereof EVGENIVS and ARBOGASTES attended with their whole Armie; so as THEODOSIVS was much troubled and distressed, aswell after hee had passed those passages and mountains, as when he was entred into *Lumbardie*, where hee found himself inclosed about with enemies, which on euery side stopt the coming of any victuals to his camp; they hauing, besides this, a greater number of men than hee had, and no lesse experienced and valiant in the warres than his were. But the valiant Emperor, vsing the best means hee could in all things, as a faithfull Christian expected and hoped for his best relief from God, to whom with teares he made his continuall supplications. Truely, the danger and extremity wherein he was, and the multitude of his enemies was so great, that all Writers affirm he had been vtterly lost, if God in a battell that ensued had not shewed a manifest and apparant miracle. The night before the battell he spent altogether in praier, without either eating or sleeping: and the next day, seeing himself charged on euery side, he set his men in very good order to fight; and with great courage and resolution attended the coming of his enemies; where presently in the beginning a Captain of theirs called ARBICIVS came ouer to his side with his whole charge, which was a good signe of his good successe: and the battell beginning, where Romans fought against Romans, they fought at euen hand, most cruelly killing and wounding one another. The other battalions and squadrons, which were auxiliaries of sundry nations, being of THEODOSIVS his side, had the worse; so as at the first charge tenne thousand Goths which were in his pay were slain: which when he saw, he lifted vp his eies to heauen; and, with a true faith and stedfast hope shedding many teares, prayed to the Lord that he might not be ouerthrowne in so just a cause.

At that Instant a Captain of his, called BARBARIVS, with a great troop of souldiers came to the rescue of certain squadrons which in shew were ouerthrowne; and hee came with such courage, that they which were in a manner vanquished recouered strength and heart; in such manner, that without retiring they fought most valiantly for the victory: but the enemies were so many, that it seemed impossible for them to defend themselues. At that Instant it pleased God to send them succor from heauen; which was, that suddenly there arose so violent a wind and tempest, as the like thereof had neuer been seen by any man then liuing; which, without annoyance to the Emperors people, did beat in their enemies faces with such force, that it bereaued them of their sight; so as they were not able to march forwards: and the winde was so strong and forcible, that all the arrowes, stones, darts and lances, which they shot and hurled, were thereby born back again; and they which threw them were therewith wounded, in such manner, that it most plainely appeared to be miraculous, and the especiall gift of God. Which the most Christian Emperour perceiuing, rendring thanks to God for the same, incouraged and animated his people, so as within short space he obtained a compleate victorie. For his enemies souldiers took no other care, but how they might saue themselues by flight: but EVGENIVS persisting obstinate in his treason, was taken fighting, and brought to THEODOSIVS, who commanded him to be slaine: yet some write that he killed him, himselfe.

A miraculous tempest.

A great victorie obtained by Theodosius.

Eugenius *slaine in the presence of Theodosius.*

All writers affirme, that ARBOGASTES, seeing himselfe ouerthrowne, fled from the battaile, and finding no certaine place of refuge, with his owne sword cut his owne throate. So as THEODOSIVS obtained a most glorious victorie, followed the execution, and had the spoile of his enemies Campe. Of this battell and the strange accident that happened therein, we haue for testimonie, not onely Christian and godly authors, more then a few, as well such as liued at that time and neere vnto it, but also one CLAVDIANVS a Heathen Poet of that age, who receiteth the same in heroicall verse most excellently, in the third and fourth Consulship of HONORIVS the sonne of THEODOSIVS.

Arbogastes *did cut his owne throte with his owne sword.*

After THEODOSIVS had obtained this victorie, ther was no man either in the East or West that durst oppose himselfe against his power; so as all the Princes of the Empire sent him their Ambassadors to congratulate his victorie: and many barbarous nations did the like, and so hee became absolute and onely Lord of the whole Empire. And seeing himselfe free from warres, he came to *Milan*, whereof S. AMBROSE was Archbishop: where he remained all the rest of his life time, applying himselfe to ciuill gouernment; whereof in the warres he neuer left to haue all possible care. Being thus in *Milan*, acknowledging himselfe to be but mortall, and knowing how vnsound and diseased he was in bodie, he purposed to prouide for matters to come: wherefore he sent to *Constantinople* for his sonne HONORIVS; to whom (by the assent and good will of all men) he assigned after his daies the Empire of *Italy* and of all the West; and to his other sonne ARCADIVS, the Empire of the East; and into *Africa* and the prouinces thereof, he sent a man of great wisedome and experience called GILDVS to gouerne the same, and he himself took care and had the ouersight of the whole. With such prosperitie was the world gouerned (as PROSPERVS writeth) the space of three yeeres: for so long time liued THEODOSIVS in *Milan*, in companie with the great Doctor S. AMBROSE, with whom there happened a notable matter; which because it is an example of humilitie, I meane to declare in a more large manner then ordinarie, which is also written by THEODORETVS, PAVLVS DIACONVS, RVFFINVS, and CASSIODORVS.

Theodosius *made his sons Arcadius and Honorius Emperours.*

THEODOSIVS being in *Thessalonica*, a very rich, populous and a Noble Citie in the prouince of *Macedonia*, there hapned a great tumult among the people, against the Magistrates and gouernours thereof; and their furie and presumption grew to be so great, as they slew the Iudges and all those which took part with the Emperour in the gouernment. Which when THEODOSIVS vnderstood, notwithstanding that he was very vertuous, yet did he much desire to execute his wrath against him, and not without iust cause: but he did therein so farre exceede the bounds of reason, as he made his souldiers put to death seuen thousand persons of the common sort, making no difference between the guiltie and innocent. Which punishment was held for rigorous and very cruell; although the offence were very great, chiefly against a Prince so iust and so much admired in all his actions. Amongst those which reprooued him for this fact, the holy Doctor S. AMBROSE then Bishop of *Milan* was one; and the Emperour afterwards comming to that citie, and being receiued as to his estate appertained, the next day he meant to haue gone to the Church to haue done his deuotion, and to pray, as of custom he vsed, nothing thinking of what he had done at *Thessalonica*, whereof it was thought he had long before repented. But S. AMBROSE, to the end that his punishment should be as publike as his offence, with great authoritie and boldnes set himselfe in the Church doore, and told the Emperour that hee should not enter there; making a learned oration vnto him, wherein with the authoritie of a Bishop, he opened vnto him his fault and offence; excommunicating him, and forbidding him to come into the Church. All which speeches the Emperour heard with great patience, and returned to his palace, obeying the excommunication and prohibition, and so remained eight moneths without comming any more to the Church: at the end whereof, a priuate seruant and Captaine of his (whose name was RVFFINVS) finding the Emperour melancholike, and discontented for that he was so long excommunicated, offered to goe to S. AMBROSE to get him absolution, perswading him to come to the Church, and he would go before to obtaine his leaue. The Emperour, although he much doubted thereof, did so. But

RVFFINVS was not onely denied of his requeſt, but was highly reprehended by the Biſhop, as a miniſter and counſellor of the Emperours crueltie: which when he perceiued, he ſent to aduertiſe the Emperour thereof, and to aduiſe him not to come, for at that time he ſhould by no meanes bee receiued. The Emperour met with the meſſenger vpon the way, and hearing what meſſage hee brought, anſwered; Yet truly I will goe to ſee what penance my Paſtor will lay vpon me for my offence. And ſo went forwards vntill he came to the Church doore, and went not in, but came where S. AMBROSE was: whom he requeſted to abſolue him, and to permitt him to come into the Church there to heare diuine ſeruice. When S. AMBROSE ſaw the Emperor, and heard what he ſaid, imagining that he came of purpoſe to go into the Church, which he was reſolued to withſtand vntill he were abſolued, or had done ſome open penance for the great crueltie which he had commanded to be done, he asked him wherefore he came ſo as a tyrant, contemning and violating the lawes? Whereto the Emperor mildely anſwered: I come not to breake the lawes, neither thy commandement, neither will I paſſe ouer the threſhold of this doore: but I come to requeſt thee to looſe the bands wherewith thou haſt bound me, and that thou wilt pray to God to forgiue me my ſinnes, and not ſhut the doores of his Church againſt me, which God openeth to all ſinners which heartily repent. What repentance haſt thou ſhewed (quoth the Biſhop) for ſo hainous an offence? and with what ſalue haſt thou healed ſo mortall a wound? Thou (quoth the Emperour) art to inſtruct me, and to ſhew me what I ought to doe, and thou ſhalt ſee that I will accompliſh what thou ſhalt preſcribe. The Biſhop ſeeing the Emperours mildnes, thinking it a ſufficient penance for him to be excommunicated from the Church the ſpace of eight moneths, with faire and charitable ſpeeches ſaid; Thy penance THEODOSIVS ſhall be this, that (ſeeing that to follow thy owne will, and to execute thy wrath, thou diddeſt commit ſo cruell a murder) thou ſhalt preſently proclaime and eſtabliſh a Lawe, that no man, whom thou ſhalt adiudge or condemne to dye, or any thy ſucceſſors, ſhall be executed within thirtie dayes after that thou haſt pronounced the ſentence of death againſt him. At the end of which thirty dayes, thou ſhalt be againe demanded, whether thou doſt hold thy commandement for iuſt: for by that time being free from paſſion, thou wilt iudge of thy ſelfe whether thou haſt iuſtly iudged or no. When THEODOSIVS heard this, he preſently commanded that law to be written, and made it to be proclaimed: and he himſelfe obſerued it during his life, wherof much good enſued.

A penance laid vpon the Emperor Theodoſius *by Saint* Ambroſe.

This law being made, the Emperour came into the Church; where making his prayers, and doing his deuotion, he receiued the Sacrament, and from thenceforth loued the Biſhop very deerely, and vſed his counſell in many matters: For as he was haſtie and cholerick, this law was a bridle to reſtraine him from being too extreame in puniſhing offenders. THEODORETVS reciteth one example therof: which was, that the Citizens of *Antioch* hauing committed a great offence, and made a great vprore in the Citie, THEODOSIVS commanded great puniſhment to be inflicted vpon the malefactors; which was not preſently executed, by reaſon of this law: and and afterwards he altered his opinion; which he attributed to the counſell of S. AMBROSE: whom hee loued ſo much, that to enioy his companie and counſell, hee ſtaied in *Milan*, and there made his abode the remainder of his life. From thence he ſent to *Conſtantinople* for his ſonne HONORIVS; who came to *Milan*. Soone after THEODOSIVS fell ſo extreamely ſicke, that after care taken for his ſoules health, he diſpoſed of the Empire, ordaining his ſonne HONORIVS to haue the gouernment of *Rome*, and of all the prouinces of the Weſt: and ARCADIVS to rule in *Conſtantinople* and the Eaſt. And for that theſe his two ſonnes were very young, and not of fit yeeres to gouerne, he left with them as their tutors and gouernours, two very ſufficient men both for warre and peace, the one called RVFFINVS, and the other STILICO; RVFFINVS to be with ARCADIVS in the Eaſt, and STILICO with HONORIVS in the Weſt: and into *Africa* and the prouinces thereof he ſent GILDVS, to gouerne the ſame as Lieutenant to the two Emperours, to whom he gaue that charge. After that he had ſet all things in order, his diſeaſe ſo much encreaſed, as he could not endure it any longer: wherefore recommending his ſoule to God, he departed out of this preſent life, as SEXTVS AVRELIVS VICTOR ſaith; who here maketh an end of his hiſtorie, and the moſt part of other authors, in the fiftith yeere of his age, and the eleuenth of his raigne; accounting from the death of GRATIANVS, raigning alone, and with GRATIANVS other ſixe yeeres: ſo as in all he raigned ſeuenteene yeeres; and in the yeere of our Lord, three hundred, ninetie and ſeuen.

Theodoſius *made* Stilico *and* Ruffinus *tutors and ouerſeers to his two ſonnes* Honorius *and* Arcadius, *and* Gildus *to be their Lieutenant in Africa.*

This Emperour, according to all authors that write of him, was of conſtitution of bodie, counte-

counteuance, and geſture, very like to the Emperor TRAIAN, as by TRAIAN's ſtatues and pictures, which in that time were remaining, might eaſily be conceiued, and might be imagined by that which was written both of the one and the other: And they write, that he was not onely like vnto him, and did reſemble him in bodie and geſture; but that he did imitate and excell him in vertue and good conditions, and had the ſame qualities; and was naturally ſo inclined; ſauing that if TRAIAN were ſpotted with any vice, THEODOSIVS was free from it. It is written that TRAIAN was a little too much giuen to the drinking of wine: but we reade that THODOSIVS was moſt temperate, in eating and drinking. TRAIAN was very deſirous of triumphs, glorie and honour; THEODOSIVS deſpiſed them and held them for things of no moment: but he euer ſought to obtaine the victorie, and in all battailes and skirmiſhes was both valiant and politicke, euer giuing thankes and honour vnto God as a good Chriſtian. In concluſion, THEODOSIVS was of admirable valour, force and courage, very politicke and expert in the warres, of an excellent witte and iudgement in ciuill gouernment, a louer of iuſtice and equitie, mercifull, pitiful, and of a moſt noble inclination, although ſomewhat haſtie and cholericke againſt malefactors; but he was preſently pacified and eaſily entreated. And to moderate this paſſion, beſides S. AMBROSE his law concerning matters of death, he vſed of cuſtome (knowing his owne haſtie diſpoſition) not to determine of any thing, vntil that he had repeated ouer the foure and twentie letters of the Greeke Alphabet: for in that ſpace his wrath would be tempered. He was much honoured and beloued by all men, eſpecially by ſuch as were honeſt. He was exceeding liberall, continent, and ſhamefac't, very circumſpect and carefull, indifferently well learned and ſeene in hiſtorie. He much deſired to know the acts of the antient, and greatly honoured learned and wiſe men. He was well ſpoken, and of a pleaſant and merrie conuerſation, framing himſelfe with great diſcretion to the qualitie of thoſe perſons with whom he diſcourſed, maintaining the maieſtie of his eſtate and the authoritie of his perſon; and had alſo other excellent vertues too long to recite. THEODOSIVS when he died left two ſonnes (of which we haue alreadie ſpoken) and one daughter. His ſonnes ARCADIVS and HONORIVS were Emperours; both which he had by his firſt wife whoſe name was FLACILLA, an excellent and a moſt religious woman; his daughters name was PLACIDIA GALLA, which hee had by his ſecond wife, who was the daughter of the Emperour VALENTINIANVS the firſt.

Theodoſius likened to Traiane.

Theodoſius his conditions and qualities.

Theodoſius his children.

THE LIFE OF ARCADIVS AND *HONORIVS*, ONLY OF THAT NAME, AND THE ONE & FIFTITH Romane EMPEROVRS.

(***)

THE ARGVMENT.

THE Empire being vnder the gouernment of Theodoſius *his two ſonnes, and ſo vnder the Tutors ordained by him, that is,* Ruffinus *and* Stilico, *which ought to haue taken care for the young men, and to haue gouerned them as fathers: they not only neglected the care of the youthes committed to their charge (nothing caring they ſhould be acknowledged for Emperors) ſeeking to make themſelues abſolute Princes: but they both came to an euil end. For* Ruffinus, *who was* Arcadius *his Tutor in the Eaſt, his treaſon being diſcouered, had his head ſtricken off, and ſet ouer one of the gates of Conſtantinople. And* Stilico, *who was* Honorius *his Tutor in the Weſt, notwithſtanding that hee went againſt the Gothes, yet he temporized, that hee might bring his treaſon to ſome effect; which being in the end diſcouered, he was ſlaine by* Honorius *his commande-*

ment;

ment: which was the beginning of the vtter ruine of the Romane Empire, which was in a manner wholly destroyed by the Gothes. In which time, Arcadius, *who had very peaceably enioyed his Empire the space of certaine yeeres, died in Constantinople. But sundry barbarous Nations ouer-ranne all* Honorius *his Empire, he lying in Rauenna, making small shew to be an Emperor; being very negligent, when there was neede of great care and diligence. Neuertheleſſe, giuing charge of the warres to sundry of his Captaines, he freed his eſtate (except Spaine which was conquered by the Gothes, Vandals and other strange Nations). In which time he fell sick and dyed in Rome, without leauing any heirs of his body (for he had no children by any wife) when he had held the Empire in a manner eight and twentie yeeres.*



TRuly I feare that such as shall reade this Hiſtory, will reproue me for spending more time about the life of THEODOSIVS, then I vſe to do in writing the liues of other Emperors; but he that shall duly conſider his vertues and excellencies, will iudge that I haue been rather too brief, then otherwiſe. Wherefore holding the time and labour herein spent for wel employed, let vs come to speake of his sonnes: in whoſe Hiſtorie I can vſe no greater breuitie, then in that of their father, conſidering the great and sundrie accidents which hapned in thirtie yeeres; for ARCADIVS raigned little leſſe: and so likewiſe from henceforth we shall be conſtrained to write more at large, according to the alterations of eſtates and other matters, whereof we shall haue occaſion to speake.

THEODOSIVS left the Empire in such subiection, so peaceable, and in such quiet to his sonnes ARCADIVS and HONORIVS, that if the wickednes of their tutors had not altred and troubled it, they might easily haue gouerned and supported the same. But they which were put in truſt to see all well ordered, were the cauſe that the Empire was moleſted, in such manner, as it plainely appeareth they were the occaſion of the totall ruine of the Empire, or at the leaſt, the beginning thereof. For as soone as THEODOSIVS was dead, GILDVS who was Gouernour of *Africa*, and of the Prouinces there, and RVFFINVS and STILICO in their gouernments, each of them practiſed to get the Empire for himſelfe, and to diſpoſſeſſe the sonnes of their soueraigne Lord; and each of them shewed his reſolution, as soone as he had oportunity. ARCADIVS with his Gouernour RVFFINVS went to *Conſtantinople*, whither he commanded his fathers dead body to be brought to be buried with great solemnity. HONORIVS remained in *Italie*, with STILICO: and so they began to raigne without any contradiction or oppoſition, in the same order as their father had left them. As soone as GILDVS, gouernour of *Africa*, vnderſtood that THEODOSIVS was dead, he tooke no longer care to conceale his intent, but preſently shewed it openly in his actions; and beginning to make himſelfe Lord of all that country, not with the title of Comes or Earle, as vntill then he held it (which as PAVLVS DIACONVS writeth, was then giuen to Gouernours of Prouinces) but as abſolute Lord thereof, without acknowledging any subiection or dutie to HONORIVS, or to ARCADIVS.

This GILDVS had a brother whoſe name was MASTELZERIVS, a very good and loyall Chriſtian, who to the vttermoſt of his power reſiſted his brothers proceedings. But GILDVS was already so mightie and of such power, that MASTELZERIVS, whom some call MASTELZER was driuen to flie into *Italy*, and so he remained ſole and abſolute Lord of all *Africa*. And GILDVS vnderſtanding that his brother was gone to the Emperour (like a cruell tyrant) made two of his sonnes which were his Nephewes and left in *Africa*, to be ſlaine, nothing regarding how neere they were to him in bloud. MASTELZERIVS came into *Italie*, and making relation to HONORIVS, or to say better, to STILICO, of what had hapned (whoſe wiſedome and courage was very great, although grounded vpon diſloyaltie) had an Army giuen him, and all things thereto needfull; and so was sent againſt his brother, as againſt a common enemie. And MASTELZERIVS aſwell to performe his duty, as to be reuenged of the death of his sonnes, with the greateſt expedition he could make, departed towards *Africa*, although with ſmall forces, truſting in the equitie of his cauſe, in the friendſhip he had in that Countrey, and aboue all, in the helpe and power of God, which he daily implored with teares, and moſt deuout prayers. And as PAVLVS OROSIVS reporteth, comming to an Iland

Each of those men which Theodoſius left for tutors ouer his sonnes, sought particularly to make himſelfe an Emperour.

The title of Earle to whom it was giuen.

Gildus put two of his brothers sonnes to death.

Maſtelzerius went with an Army againſt his brother Gildus.

Iland called *Capraria*, neer to *Naples*, he carried with him from thence certain deuout religious men which liued there; in whoſe prayers hee repoſed greater truſt than in the ſtrength of his whole Armie: with which hee made so many faſtings and praiers, that it seemed God heard him; for, he preuailed without any battell or bloudſhed, which hapned in this manner:

Coming vpon the Coaſt of *Africa* with the ſmall Forces which he brought, with great courage hee went to Land, and entrenched his Armie, and fortified the same, and sent abroad to giue notice of his arriuall, and of his power in all places; from whence hee thought his friends and ſouldiers would haue comn to join with him: but his brother cam againſt him with threeſcore and tenne thouſand men, very well appointed. MASTELZERIVS, seeing himſelf in this diſtreſſe, was no way diſcouraged, neither made any doubt of the victory; aſſuring himſelf that to obtain the ſame it lay in the hand of God, and not in the multitude of men and horſes. *Hauing a reſolution to paſſe by a certain Port, thereby to auoid his enemie and brother,* but conſidering with himſelf how hardly it was to be performed (as PAVLVS OROSIVS writeth) hee made his praiers; and, praying, fell aſleep and dreamed, that within three daies hee ſhould obtain the victory. Heerupon, MASTELZERIVS remained there vntill the third day; and then with inuincible courage ſallied out of his trenches againſt his enemies, who *thought of no ſuch matter, but rather daily expected to haue had him in their hands; and, they coming forth againſt him, he went towards them before his troops, aduiſing and perſwading them to yeeld obedience, and not to bear Arms againſt him: for,* he was sent thither by the Emperor, their ſoueraign Lord. And as an Enſign-bearer would haue charged him, and thoſe that were with him, hee ſtept to him; and, wounding him, ſmote his colours to the ground: with *which onely blowe it pleaſed God that he ſubdued and pacified all the reſt: for,* there was not any one that made any reſiſtance; but all the Enſign-bearers and ordinary ſouldiers came ouer to him, and yeelded their obedience; and the ſouldiers of that Countrey fled, and ſo did his brother: whereby he had the victory, as we may say, miraculouſly; for, ſo all men accounted the ſame.

Maſtelzerius victory againſt his brother Gildus.

This GILDVS, seeing himſelf abandoned by his ſouldiers, fled to the ſea ſide; and, imbarking himſelf aboord a ſhip, ſet ſail, thinking to haue eſcaped: and, hauing ſailed ſome ſpace, it pleaſed God that the winde came contrary, and he for ought he could doo was driuen to take Land; where he was taken, and by his brothers commandement had his head ſtricken off, in requitall of the cruelty which he had ſhewed to his sonnes, and for his treaſon againſt his Lords; MASTELZERIVS remaining without controulment victorious, and Maſter of his brothers Camp. But afterwards seeing himſelf mighty (as, of cuſtome, in proſperity men growe inſolent) hauing no ſuch fear of God before his eies as he ought to haue had, hee purpoſed and attempted to haue the Empire of *Africa* to himſelf, without any regard of the Emperour HONORIVS, who had sent him thither; which his diſloyalty his Captains could not endure, and therefore they ſlue him. Theſe two brethren being dead, *Africa* remained for a ſpace in quiet ſubiection to the Emperors. Theſe warres aforeſaid are excellently well written in verſe by CLAVDIANVS.

Gildus taken and beheaded by his brothers commandement.

Maſtelzerius ſlain by his ſouldiers, and the cauſe.

While theſe matters paſſed in *Africa*, ARCADIVS was not idle in *Conſtantinople*: for, his Gouerner RVFFINVS, vnwilling any longer to conceal his wicked purpoſes, ſought by all means to bring ARCADIVS into ſome diſtreſſe, that he might vſurp the Empire; and to that end ſolicited the Goths and other Nations to war againſt the Empire. Which being diſcouerd, ARCADIVS procuring it, though but a boy, he was ſlain by ſom companies of Italian ſouldiers; who, ſtriking off his head, ſet it ouer one of the gates of *Conſtantinople*. This RVFFINVS, as ſome say, was born in *Britannie*. Others say, that he was a Frenchman, a man of great judgement, and an excellent Captain; but diſloyall and ill-diſpoſed. His goods ARCADIVS gaue to an Eunuch of his called EVTROPIVS, who was very priuate with him. Againſt this RVFFINVS (declaring his doings) the aforeſaid CLAVDIANVS wrote two books in heroicall verſe; and by his death ARCADIVS remained at liberty, and Lord of his Empire in the Eaſt with greater quietnes than his brother HONORIVS: for, STILICO, who gouerned in the Weſt, was farre more cunning and ſubtile than RVFFINVS, and was very valiant, and a moſt expert man of warre; and as he had as wicked or a worſe intent, ſo hee knew better how to couer the ſame, as well by his wit, as the great power which he enioyed. For, beſides that he was HONORIVS his Gouerner or Tutor, he was twice his father-in-law: for, HONORIVS had his daughter to wife, hauing firſt been contracted to another daughter of his which died vnmarried.

Ruffinus, Arcadius Tutor, ſolicited the Goths to inuade the Empire.

The death of Ruffinus.

Stilico, father-in-law to Honorius.

This

Stilico's practises and treason against Honorius.

This STILICO was by birth a Vandall; and, hauing purposed to make a sonne of his called EVCHERIVS Emperor, by his great (although malitious) wit hee concealed the same, vntill time of better opportunity: whereto he thought, that the best and most assured way was, To bring the Emperors into necessity, distresse and danger, to the end that he onely might bee the mean to repair and recouer all losses. For, he had so proud a heart, and so great power, that he was perswaded, that as often as it pleased him he was able to redresse all matters; and that the need which the Emperor should haue of him, would open the way to his purposes. And to that end, by deuices and secret practices, hee solicited many nations to make warres vpon the Empire; as, the Alanes, whose Originall I think we haue described: which, according to PTOLOMY, was of *Gotland*; and, after MARCELLINVS and PLINY, was of *Sarmatia* in *Europe*, who at that time inhabited part of *Germany*: and the Swevians, a most fierce people of the same *Germany*, and the Vandals borne also therein; called Vandals, after the name of a Riuer so called in *Scythia*, from whence they first descended, as is aboue mentioned; which by PLINY and PTOLOMY are called Vandalines: and those Burgundians, which wee now call Burgonians; of which, CORNELIVS TACITVS saith, that they were of the same Vandals, and all one nation. They were called Burgundians; for that, in times past being driuen out of *Germany* by DRVSVS and TIBERIVS NERO in the time of AVGVSTVS CÆSAR, they were constrained to dwell in the fields, and suburbs of cities called Burgi or Burghs, and therefore took their name of Burgunds or Burgundians; but they were very famous by many authors. He, hauing moued these nations, and procured them to make warre, sometimes by letters from certain persons which promised to aid and assist them, and sometimes by causing wrongs and violences to bee offred them, the more to incense them, vsed yet another policie; which was, that the Gothes, called Visogothes, which (as we haue said) for the space of 21 yeers had serued in the Emperors pay, and had serued faithfully euer since that the Emperour THEODOSIVS had receiued them into his seruice, after the death of ATHANARICVS their King; he found a meaus to cassiere them, and that they should be ill-intreated, and had in contempt. Which they took for such a disgrace, and in such scorn, that they presently determined to mutine; and, doing so, chose a Noble man of their owne nation for their King, whose name was ALARICVS, and began to inuade the countries of *Hungarie* and *Austria*.

The Alanes, and their Originall.

The Originall of the Vandals.

Alaricus King of the Gothes.

Matters standing in these tearms, STILICO his drift was, that the Gothes, as men which knew and had good experience in *Italie*, should go make a conquest thereof; and, as the other nations (as, Vandals, Alanes and Suevians) should inuade *France*, he should haue the charge to defend *Italie*: and HONORIVS, being thus distressed, should defend *France* in person; where he should be either slain or ouerthrowne, or at the least be so oppressed, that he ouercoming the Gothes, which hee held to bee easily done, would make himself Lord of *Rome* which was the head of the Empire, and afterwards would do the like by all the rest; which hapned not as hee expected: but of his treason arose the destruction and totall decay of the whole Empire, and of himself also. Eight yeers were expired since the death of THEODOSIVS, and that HONORIVS and ARCADIVS raigned, when STILICO and another Noble-man called AVRELIANVS, were chosen Consuls; and the Visogothes, which were put out of pay, began to make open wars in *Hungary* and *Austria*; and, this war in the beginning seeming to bee of small importance, their force and power in short space increased in such manner, that all the world stood in fear of them. For (as PAVLVS OROSIVS an Author of that time, PAVLVS DIACONVS, and others write) as soon as the Gothes were in a mutinie, a certain King, called RADAGASIVS joyned with them, with two hundred thousand other Gothes; all, fierce men of war. But it is true, that they write not how or from whence came so great a number of men; neither what this King RADAGASIVS was. It seemeth that then it was a thing so publikely knowne, that no man was ignorant or stood in doubt thereof, and therefore needless to be repeated; by reason whereof we are now ignorant thereof: but they most constantly affirm, the number of the men of war to be such as is already specified.

The wars of the Gothes.

Radagasius, King of the Gothes.

The cruell wars which the Goths made in the bids of the Empire.

ALARICVS and RADAGASIVS coming together, without finding any resistance or force able to offend them, ouerran and spoiled all *Thracia*, *Hungarie*, *Austria*, *Slauonia*, *Dalmatia*, and the Frontiers thereof; in such sort, as it seemed that diuels, and not men, had passed that way: for, they left nothing standing but the earth and the air; which, S. IERROME, who liued in that time, writing to PAVLVS and EVSTACHIVS, plainly expresseth in these words: The brute beasts haue also endured the wrath of the Lord in this warre: for, the cities being laid waste, and the people thereof put to the sword, the like is done by the very fields; so as they lie bare, desolate, and desert; whereof the Prouinces of *Thracia* and *Slauonia*; and the countrie wherein I was borne beare true record: whereby it seemeth that nothing remaineth but the earth, the aire, the bushes and the woods; for all the rest is spoiled and destroied. After these inhumane spoils, ALARICVS & RADAGASIVS resolued to come into *Italie*; diuiding their Armies into sundry troupes: for it was impossible that so huge an Armie should be able to march together. When these newes were knowne in *Rome*, there fell so great a terror among the Citizens; and generally ouer all *Italie*, as they all held themseues for lost and dead men.

RADAGASIVS being arriued in *Italie*, and hauing passed the *Apennine* mountaines, came to the mountaines *Biesole* in *Tuscane*. There came in the behalfe of the Empire, against RADAGASIVS, two Captaines which serued the Emperor HONORIVS: the one of which was called VLDINVS, and the other SARRA, with a great number of Gothes and Hunnes in the Emperors pay, which made head against RADAGASIVS, and stopped the passages in the mountaines against him, and cut off his victuals, whereof he stood in great want, considering the greatnes of his Army. These Hunnes and Gothes which came to the aid of the Romans, PAVLVS OROIVS, who, as we may say, was an eye witnesse, and also PAVLVS DIACONVS and others write of their comming: but they write not how, or from whence they came, although it be already declared from whence they were: but neuertheless they were a great defence of *Italie*; so that the Lord abated the pride of RADAGASIVS, through hunger, thirst, and the want of necessaries. But herein Authors disagree: for PROSPERVS saith, that RADAGASIVS was ouerthrowne and taken prisoner, STILICO leading a great Armie against him. But PAVLVS OROSIVS, and PAVLVS DIACONVS, after they haue spoken of the two Captains VLDINVS & SARRA, say that RADAGASIVS and his Army were ouerthrown through pure hunger and thirst, without any battaile, and that they were taken prisoners like sheep. But howsoeuer it hapned, for it might be that there was a battaile also; the truth is, that he and his Army were ouerthrowne in this Iourney, and all taken prisoners by HONORIVS his Souldiers: in such sort, that S. AVGVSTINE who liued in that time, whose reports are to be beleeued, in his booke *de Ciuitate Dei*, affirmeth, that in one only day RADAGASIVS lost aboue one hundred thousand men; and all Authors affirm, that a great number of them dyed of hunger: and that there was not a Souldier among the Romans but had a droue of Captiues, as if they had been sheepe; and that they were so cheap, that for a peece of gold, which is now worth but a ducat, a man might haue bought a whole company of them. There fell so great a mortality and sicknes amongst them, that within short space they in a manner all died. And their King & Captain RADAGASIVS was likewise taken prisoner and put to death by HONORIVS: whose vertue and valour is much commended in this action, by PAVLVS OROSIVS; but (as by the Histories it appeareth) he seemed to be of very little worth, a very negligent and careless Prince, chiefly in matters concerning the wars, and at that time lay in *Rauenna* where he held his Court, which in those daies was a great and principall Citie. His brother ARCADIVS lay in *Constantinople*, from whence he sent ayd and succours to his brother. This feare being past, within a little while after ALARICVS entred *Italie*, who was a man of greater iudgement and courage then RADAGASIVS, and his souldiers better trained, and of greater experience; against whom STILICO courageously oppoled himselfe, and the warre began between them in the marches of *Rauenna*; where ALARICVS was ouerthrown in battel by STILICO: for in those daies; STILICO for valour and policy in the wars, had not his equal in the world. But his purposes being such as we haue said, he would neuer wholy vanquish ALARICVS; but sometimes would make shew to be careless, and leaue open the waies for him to passe: so as ALARICVS perceiued that STILICO had no meaning to ouerthrow him; and this war continued between them (as some Authors write) the space of three yeeres.

Radagasius came into Italy.

Vldinus and Sarra Captaines for Honorius, against Radagasius.

The Hunnes ayded the Romanes.

Radagasius & all his Host destroyed.

A strange and wonderfull accident.

The death of Radagasius.

Rauenna.

Alaricus came into Italy.

Stilico the most excellent Captaine of his time.

About the same time, the Alanes, Hunnes, Vandales and Burgonians entred the territories of the Empire, making war vpon the bankes sides of the Riuer of *Rhine*, wherof a new feare seised the hearts of the people. When ALARICVS vnderstood these newes, he sent to HONORIVS to haue peace, and some country in *France*, wherin he and his people might inhabit, promising to defend that prouince against those Nations, and therewith aduertising him that STILICO did cunningly prolong the wars against him. The Emperor beginning to be iealous of STILICO, and notwithstanding that he was also certified by others of his treason: yet for the present he dissembled the matter, and agreed with ALARICVS, granting him his request; and taking security of him, sent him into *France*. Wherof it was imagined, that two great benefits would haue insued; the one was, the peace and quiet of *Italy* through his absence; the other,

The comming of the Alanes, Hunnes, Vandales and Burgonians.

A league betweene Alaricus and Honorius the Emperour.

the defence of *France*, wherein the Vandales, Hunnes, Alanes and Burgonians were already entred; which all men affirmed to be aboue two hundred thousand men. But STILICO his treason spoiled all: for notwithstanding that he did that which HONORIVS commanded, in suffering ALARICVS and the Gothes to begin their iourney in peace, and gaue them such things as were needefull, accordingly as the Emperor had appointed; yet as a man which altogether repined against peace, and chiefly that to ALARICVS should be committed the defence of *France*, he resolued to breake and scatter all those troupes; and had such meanes to effect it, as I will tell you, whereof ensued his owne totall destruction, and the ruine of the whole Empire: which hapned in this manner.

Alaricus going for France.

The Treason of Stilico.

ALARICVS, free from any suspicion (according to the agreement) went for *France*: but STILICO secretly practised with a Captaine in his Armie which was a Iew, whose name was SAVL, that he with his companie, fayning some displeasure, or particular quarrell, vpon an Easter day (when the Gothes mistrusting nothing being Christians celebrated diuine seruice) should then set vpon them, and kill as many of them as he could: for by these meanes hee was assured that the wars would begin againe, and therewith would his power and authoritie also begin, which with the peace was at an end. The Iew put this secret practice in execution, and the Gothes being suddainly set vpon, receiued great losse: but he presently paid for it; for the Gothes, in great haste putting themselues in Armes, fought with him; and there was SAVL slaine with the greatest part of his souldiers. ALARICVS being herewith highly offended, returned against STILICO his Army: and STILICO fayning to stand in great feare, made shew not to dare to fight, but sent to the Emperor for new succors; who being aduertised of what STILICO thought to bee most secret, and what had hapned concerning the Iew SAVL, and standing in great feare of STILICO, sent certaine persons to the Armie, who finding opportunitie should kill both him and his sonne: which was performed accordingly, and his treason was discouerd, and the cause wherefore they were put to death. But herein, although the Emperor HONORIVS vsed a good policy, yet he was careless in prouiding for the rest: for he sent not any such Generall to command his Armie as the case required. So as King ALARICVS either beleeued that the injurie which SAVL had done him, was by the Emperours consent, or else he knew and saw his time and oportunitie: and thereupon finding no resistance, marched directly with his whole Armie towards *Rome*, the head and Empresse of the world,

The death of Stilico.

Alaricus returned against Rome, besieged & tooke it.

And making most cruell warre by fire and sword, he drew neere vnto it, in the yeer one thousand, one hundred and threescore, after the foundation thereof: but the Romanes standing vpon their guard, he could not take it at the first assault; wherefore he besieged it, which siege continued two yeers. Of the besieging of *Rome*, and how ALARICVS took it in the end, many authors write: but in what manner it was taken, and what exploits were done during the time of the siege, they write so briefly as in a manner they say nothing thereof. But that it was taken; PAVLVS OROSIVS in his seuenth booke, PAVLVS DIACONVS in the life of HONORIVS, IORNANDES in his Historie of the Gothes, S. AVGVSTINE in his book *De Ciuitate Dei*, S. HIEROME in his epistle *ad Principium*, as a matter which hapned in his time, auerre the same: and so doth S. ISIODORE in his History of the Gothes. PROCOPIVS, a Greeke Authour, and others of later time, as I could gather out of their writings, say, that ALARICVS marching with his Army towards *Rome*, with a resolution to doe that which afterwards he did; as to a Christian, although fierce and cruell, there came a Monk which very boldly (ALARICVS giuing him audience) admonished and counselled him to desist from his enterprise, and to consider that he was a Christian, and that for the loue of God he should moderate his furie, and not seeme to rejoyce in the slaughter of men, and the shedding of humane blood; and sith that *Rome* had not done him any offence, he should not goe thither. To whom they say, that ALARICVS made this answer: I let thee vnderstand, man of God, that I goe not of my own will and desire against the great Citie of *Rome:* but I assure thee, that there daily appeareth vnto me a man, who doth vrge and importune me thereto; saying, Get thee to *Rome* and destroy it euen to the ground. Whereat the religious man being greatly amazed, durst say no more. This I finde written in the Annales of *Constantinople* annexed to the history of EVTROPIVS: whereby it plainely appeareth, that the affliction of *Rome* was the especial punishment of God. PAVLVS OROSIVS affirmeth the same, saying, That as God drew iust *Lot* out of *Sodome*, when he inflicted so great punishment on that Citty; so drew he Pope INNOCENT out of *Rome* when ALARICVS came to besiege it; who went to *Rauenna* to see the Emperor HONORIVS. Yet PLATINA writes, this misfortune hapned in the time of Pope ZOZIMVS: but

A vision appeared to Alaricus.

but it may be that it began in the time of the one, and ended in the time of the other; S. HIEROME liued also in those daies out of *Rome*, being then gone to doe penance in *Bethlehem*.

But returning againe to the matter, ALARICVS held the citie of *Rome*, strictly besieged; where betweene the besieged, were many skirmishes, and many men were slaine in those two yeeres space; and the famine was so great in *Rome*, as they endured it with so great patience and constancie, that Saint HIEROM saith, that when the citie was taken; there were few men therein that could be slaine or taken prisoners, for that extreame hunger had consumed them; and had constrained them (in horrible manner) to eate the flesh the one of the other; so as the mother did not spare the child which she held at her brest, but through hunger, lodged the same againe in her wombe, from whence not long before it issued. These are the words of Saint HIEROM. But in what manner *Rome* was taken, authors agree not: for PROCOPIVS saith, that ALARICVS seeing he could not take it by force, resolued to vse some stratagem; and fayning that he would raise the siege, made a kinde of truce, and secretly sent into *Rome* three hundred prisoners in which he reposed much trust, hauing first instructed them what they had to do; setting them at libertie and promising them great rewards. The which one day at a certain hower; making shew as though they went to see the citie, metall together at a port according to their appointment, which port they took and held in despite of those which had the guard; and the Gothes running thither vpon a sodaine, entred there and surprised the citie. Others affirme, that by the commandement and policie of a woman, which was a great Ladie of that citie, a port was giuen to the Gothes, at which they entred. And that she did this of pitie, to see the great famine which raged within the citie, imagining that the enemies could not doe so great hurt in *Rome*, as the Romans did to themselues, as we haue said. Some authors there are, which say, that the citie of *Rome* was taken by force, for that those which were within it, were not able to man the walles, or to make any longer resistance. But howsoeuer it was, all authors affirm that ALARICVS before he entred the same, commanded on pain of death, that no man should be so hardie, as to touch any of those which had withdrawne themselues into the Churches and temples, chiefly of Saint PETER and Saint PAVL Apostles; which was afterwards duly obserued. But all the rest of the citie was robbed and spoiled, and many thousands of people slaine, and many taken prisoners; among which was a sister of the Emperours, whose name was PLACIDIA, whom ATHAVLPHVS one of the principall men among the Gothes, and neere kinsman to King ALARICVS took, and had in his keeping; and after wards married her. The next day after they had taken the citie; in disgrace and disdaine of the Empire, and to make themselues merrie, they chose one ATALVS for Emperour of *Rome*, and the same day they carried him vp and downe the streetes in the habit of an Emperour; and the next day they made him serue like a slaue. Three or fower daies the Gothes remained in *Rome*: which being past, setting fire in sundrie parts of the citie, their King ALARICVS and they departed.

Famine in Rome in the time of the siege.

The taking of Rome.

Placidia sister to the Emperor Honorius taken prisoner.

Rome set on fire by the Gothes.

All this while the Emperour HONORIVS was in *Rauenna*, so careless, that when the newes was sodainely brought to him that *Rome* was lost (nothing remembring the citie where of he was Emperour) he thought that they had told him of a French-man, whom they called ROMA, which was one of those which were maintained by the Emperors to fight man to man, after the manner of Gladiators in *Rome*: whereat the Emperour greatly marueiled that hee should be so soone dead or taken; for it was but a little while since that he saw him fight with others: whereby it plainely appeareth how careless hee was. This was the first time that *Rome*, after that it grew to bee mightie, was taken by Barbarous Nations: for vvhen the Gaules tooke it, it was of no such account; beeing in the beginning but of small strength and power.

After this time that ALARICVS tooke it, the Romane Empire daily declined, and the Citie of *Rome* was oftentimes taken and destroied: whereof we will declare the most notable accidents, to the end that the Reader may know and iudge how weake, and of what small power the Empires and mighty Kingdomes of the World are; and how that *Rome* which was the Queene and Empresse of the vniuersall World, in time became a slaue to all the Nations thereof. ALARICVS departing from *Rome* would haue sailed into *Sicilia*; but a tempest returned him into *Italie*, and hee dyed in the City of *Cosenza*; and the Gothes after that he was dead, chose ATHAVLPHVS for their King, who (as we sayd) married with PLACIDIA, the Emperor THEODOSIVS his daughter. Which ATHAVLPHVS as soon as he was

When the Romane Empire began to decline.

The death of Alaricus King of the Gothes.

Athaulphus made King of the Gothes in place of Alaricus.

Athaulphus would haue destroyed Rome, but forbare through the entreatie of his wife Placidia.

King returned towards *Rome*, with a determination to haue wholly destroyed the same, to haue rooted out the name thereof, and to haue left it desolate; which his cruell resolution he altred at his wiues intercession, who with teares entreated the same. When ATHAVLPHVS departed with his Armie from *Rome*, it is not written whether he placed therein any gouernour, or left it at libertie to the Emperour. For his wife PLACIDIA was a meane to bring HONORIVS and ATHAVLPHVS to some agreement, and concluded a truce betweene them. And ATHAVLPHVS consummating his nuptial rites with her, which vntil then were not solemnized, he went out of *Italie*: and marching with his Armie through *France*, to the citie of *Barcelona* in *Spaine*, and taking the same and the territorie thereof, he staied there a certaine space. What end he made, you shall heare hereafter.

During the time of these troubles in *Italie*, ARCADIVS liued in peace in *Constantinople*, and in the easterne parts free from troubles: for authors write not of any wars of importance which troubled him, or of any aduersitie that befell him; for it pleased God to lay his scourge vpon the prouinces of the West onely: and so hauing raigned thirteene yeeres, in the one and thirtith of his age, he died in *Constantinople*. Others say, that he held the Empire a great while longer; alledging that he died after the taking of *Rome*: but PROSPERVS and others affirme, that he died before. Some say, that it was in in the yeere of our Lord foure hundred and tenne: others say, foure hundred and thirteene. He seeing death neere at hand, and that he could not liue, and that his sonne THEODOSIVS whom he left behinde him for his heire, was but eight yeeres old, he tooke a dangerous course; but it prooued very profitable, which was: That leauing his son CÆSAR, and his successor, he ordained by his last will HISDIGERDVS King of *Persia* and of *Parthia* for his tutor; who at that time was a friend and in league with the Empire; notwithstanding that the house of *Persia* was euer a capitall enemie thereof. When the King of *Persia* vnderstood what ARCADIVS had ordained, he accepted of the gouernement and of the protection of the child, and speedily sent one ANTIOCHVS an excellent man, and a great soldier, to *Constantinople*: who with the good will and consent of HONORIVS, who was not a little glad of the friendship of *Persia*, gouerned the Easterne Empire, with great fidelitie, and discretion; and so maintained the same in peace and iustice, vntill that young THEODOSIVS, sonne to the Emperour ARCADIVS, came to age. ARCADIVS being dead, whether before or after the sacke of *Rome*, the name of Emperour rested in HONORIVS, and in his Nephew young THEODOSIVS.

The Emperour Arcadius died in Constantinople.

Arcadius made the King of Persia tutor of his son.

Antiochus a Persian, gouernour of the yong Emperour Theodosius.

A relation of what happened after the death of the Emperour ARCADIVS.

Grafianus rebelled and took the title of Emperour in England.

ALl things being in such confusion, as the Gothes, Vandals, and other nations inuaded and made a conquest of the territories of the Empire; and the Emperour HONORIVS lying in *Rauenna*, taking no good order for the same: In the Ile of *Britannie* also a great Lord borne in the same Iland, whose name was GRATIANVS rebelled, and took vpon him the title and ensignes of Emperour, with the consent of some of the men of warre in the same Iland. But his presumption had an euill end: for within few daies after, the same men of warre slew him. But they setting all dutie apart, determined to make an other souldier among themselues Emperour, whose name was CONSTANTINE, who was a man of greater courage and of more witte, then GRATIANVS; who drawing all the Armie out of *England*, went into *France*, with a conceit to haue made himselfe Lord thereof; and to that end, made peace with the Vandales, Sueuians and Alanes, which alreadie were in *France* marching towards *Spaine*: for the Burgonians made their abode in that part which is now called *Burgundie*.

The souldiers slew Gratianus and in his place made Constantine Emperour.

The Vandales, Sueuians, and Alanes took their way towards Spaine.

This peace betweene CONSTANTINE and these three nations could not well be concluded: for CONSTANTINE drew to him many souldiers of *France*; and growing mightie made a full account to become Lord of *Spaine* also, before that those Barbarians should be able to come thither. Whereupon he sent certaine gouernours, with a competent number of souldiers thither, and many townes in *Spaine* were resolued to obey his commandement; holding it better to serue him, then those nations which were marching thitherwards. But two Noble-men, rich, and of great authoritie, whose names were (as saith PAVLVS DIACONVS) DIDIMVS and VERODIANVS borne in *Valentia*, withstood them, and

Didimus and Verodianus oppose themselues against Constantine.

and found meanes to driue them out of *Spaine*. And thereupon with the aide of their kindred, friends, and acquaintance they went to the Pyrenæan Mountaines, with a resolution not onely to defend the passages against CONSTANTINES Armie, but also against all the other nations before mentioned, vsing all meanes to retaine *Spaine* in the obedience and seruice of the Emperour HONORIVS; which they continued a long time, although with great trouble, effusion of bloud, and daunger.

CONSTANTINE, holding himselfe herewith greatly affronted, assembled together a certaine number of the most actiue and best tried souldiers that hee had, and made his sonne CONSTANS their Commander, who by some authors is called CONSTANTIVS; whom for this purpose, he took out of a Monasterie wherein he was a Monke, and making him CÆSAR, sent him against the two brethren. His people were of such power and so expert in the warres, as they ouerthrew, and slue the two Spanish brethren, and entred *Spaine*, which was the ruine thereof: for the men of warre which came with CONSTANS, after they had spoiled the countrie, and had vsed all kinde of hostilitie, returned to the Pyrenæan Mountaines; and driuing the Spaniards from thence which garded the passages, took vpon them the defence thereof, and were well able to haue performed the same. But CONSTANS going to *Arles* a citie in *France* to speake with his father, who then lay there, those which had the guarde in the Mountaines came to an agreement with the Vandales and the other strange nations, and sold to them the passages; suffering those Alanes, Sueuians, and Vandales to passe into *Spaine*: who made such hauocke and committed such spoiles, as can hardly be expressed: especially neere vnto the Pyrenæan hilles where they found greatest resistance. From thence they marched into the maine land to the citie of *Valentia* (against which they bare an old grudge) which citie they ruined, and the countrie round about it; and then went to the citie of *Astorga*, which they entred by force; and passing further made great spoile in all *Galicia*. Afterwards crossing through *Castile*, they came to the citie of *Toledo*, which by reason of the situation and naturall strength thereof, and the valour of the inhabitants, they could not take; notwithstanding that they besieged it for a certain space, but were constrained to raise their siege, with shame and dishonor, from that citie which for wars and feates of Armes hath euer been famous in that countrie. By whose example many townes in *Spaine* continued their allegeance to HONORIVS; notwithstanding that hee sent neither souldiers, captaines, nor reliefe. This people did much harme in the territorie of *Toledo*: and passing forwards they marched along the riuer *Tagus*, still spoyling the countrie vntill they came to the citie of *Lisbon*, in *Portugall*, which in those daies also was very famous: and giuing an assault thereto, it was so well defended by the inhabitants, that they could not take it, but came to a composition: where they receiuing a great quantitie of treasure they raised their siege, and returned the same way they came, making warre on euerie side. And by reason of a great famine and scarcitie in the countrie (as OROSIVS writeth) they laid downe their Armes for a space, and fell to tilling of the land, as inhabitants of the countrie; diuiding what they had gotten amongst those nations, and their captaines or Kings, being Vandales, Sueuians, and Alanes.

Constantine made his sonne Constans Cæsar, and sent him into Spaine.

Strange nations sacked Spaine.

Lisbon.

The Empire being in this estate, ATHAVLPHVS and the Gothes possessing *Narbona*, *Barcelona*, and the marches thereof, which in name were confederates with HONORIVS, the tyrant CONSTANTINE and his sonnes enioyed the rest of *France*. The young Emperour THEODOSIVS being a child, was bred vp in *Constantinople*, vnder the protection of the King of *Persia*, and of *Antiochus*, whom he had sent. But of his house and person a very vertuous and honorable Noble man took charge, whose name was ANTHEMIVS, who was his Pretorian Prefect. This child was bred vp in all learning, and became a vertuous prince and a good Christian. His Vncle HONORIVS, who then lay in *Rauenna*, bethought himselfe how he might make the Westerne Empire, as free from the slauerie of these tyrants and barbarous nations, as the East; and to that end he made a worthie man, whose name was CONSTANTIVS, Generall of his Armie against those tyrants and Barbarians. Which CONSTANTIVS vntill then was an Earle, borne in *Rome*, descended of the Noble and auntient Romanes; who like a perfect Romane, with a pickt and selected Armie, entred *France*; and fighting with the Emperour CONSTANTINE the tyrant, ouerthrew him, and besieged him in the citie of *Arles*, and at length getting him into his hands, smote off his head. And it fell out so happily that within few daies after that the death of CONSTANTINE was published, young CONSTANS the sonne of the said CONSTANTINE, whom his father had made CÆSAR, was slaine in the citie of *Vienna* in *France*, by the hands of a captaine of his

Anthemius was gouernour of the yong Emperour Theodosius.

Honorius made Constantius generall of his Armie.

Constantius put the tyrant Constantine to death.

his whose name was GERONCIVS. And the same GERONCIVS, who also sought to haue made himselfe a tyrant, and to haue created one MAXIMVS a friend of his Emperour, was also slaine by those souldiers which in *England* rebelled with CONSTANTINE; with a resolution to returne to the seruice of HONORIVS. GERONCIVS being dead, they dispoiled MAXIMVS of his Imperiall robes, and sent him in exile into *Spaine*. In this manner was *France* freed from these tyrants, by this worthie man CONSTANTIVS; and the Armie reduced to the seruice of the right Emperour HONORIVS. After this, HONORIVS speedily sent Captaines and souldiers into *Britanny*, which held for CONSTANTINE, from the first beginning of his tyranny; who reduced the same to obedience and subiection. In *France*, a man of great parentage and authority in that Countrie (as PAVLVS OROSIVS, and PAVLVS DIACONVS affirme) sought to make himselfe Emperour; but he was presently slaine: and in the like manner another brother of his, called SEBASTIAN; both which rebelled (as it seemed) without any occasion or reason, but only that they desired to die with the name and title of Emperors.

Constantius his victories.

The designes of Athaulphus.

CONSTANTIVS Generall for the Emperour HONORIVS, being thus powerfull in *France*, ATHAVLPHVS King of the Gothes, who lay in *Barcelona*, and was Lord of all the countrie round about, and had there liued in peace and quiet the space of three yeeres, at the intreary of PLACIDIA to whom he was married, which was HONORIVS sister; began to stand in some feare of the power of the Emperour and of his Generall CONSTANTIVS, knowing that they had fortified the Alpes, to the end hee should no more returne into *Italy*: Whereupon he resolued to attempt to make himselfe Lord of all *Spaine*; and perswaded a Romane Captaine, whose name was ATTALVS, to take vpon him the name and title of Emperour, and to goe with a fleete which he would giue him, to seise vpon the Countrie of *Andaluzia*, which was then called *Betica*; and to do the like, if he should be able, in *Africa*; and hee would also make warre in his owne person. *Attalus called Emperor.* ATTALVS, very vnwisely, accepted his offer, and presently sent into *Africa* an Armie with Iudges and Gouernours, as though he had been the peaceable Emperour thereof; and began to make warre in *Spaine*. Against whom, HONORIVS sent a wise and a valiant Captaine called HERACLIANVS: who, driuing all ATTALVS his Iudges and Gouernours out of *Africa*, leauing the Countrie in peace, with a Nauie came to seeke him himselfe; and, finding him, fought with him in a battaile by Sea, and ouercame him. And he, fleeing to the coast of *Spaine*, was taken by the Spaniards, and sent to CONSTANTIVS, who was Generall for HONORIVS, who was then in *France*; who presently sent him prisoner to HONORIVS; and HONORIVS made his hand to be striken off, and sent him in exile into the Isle of *Lippari*, neere vnto *Sicilia*. To HERACLIANVS for the victorie which he obtained against him, was giuen the Consulshippe and the Gouernement of *Africa*. But as in prosperity, pride and ambition increaseth, and men are then farre more insolent, then in time of aduersitie: So this HERACLIANVS, seeing himselfe fauoured and in great authority, thought that he might also be an Emperour. And as he was in possession of *Africa*, PAVLVS OROSIVS writeth, that taking another Captaine for his sonne in law and companion in his rebellion, whose name was SABINVS, a most subtle fellow and very valiant, he assembled (to goe into *Italy* against HONORIVS and to make a conquest thereof) the greatest Nauie of all manner of shippes that I euer read of. For OROSIVS affirmeth, that he gathered together (if there be no error in the figures) foure thousand and seuentie sailes of all sorts little and great; which without comparison was the greatest in number that euer was seen vpon the Sea: For we doe not reade that XERXES or ALEXANDER euer armed so great a Nauie.

Heraclianus ouerthrew and tooke Attalus prisoner.

Heraclianus rebelled in Afr.ca.

An incredible great Nauie by Sea.

With this great fleete, fraught with souldiers, armes and victuals, he came to the coast of *Italie*, and set his men on land, to march directly to *Rome*, being many in number, but not so well experienced and trained as were the Romans; who by HONORIVS his commandement attended their comming, led by a good Generall called MARINVS, with the title and dignity of an Earle: who had raunged his Romanes in very good order, with a resolution to die or to ouercome, and not to suffer themselues to be besieged, as they were by ALARICVS. HERACLIANVS, who thought to haue amazed the world with the name and number of his fleete, and that he should haue found no resistance, was so discouraged when he saw MARINVS his Armie, that he presently fled to the Sea; and embarking himselfe aboord one of his shippes, returned by flight into *Africa* with that only shippe; from whence he came with so many as is before said.

Heraclianus came into Italy.

Heraclianus his shamefull flight.

After

After that HERACLIAN was arriued, and his base cowardise discouered, the ordinary Garrisons vpon a day mutined and slew him. And his sonne in law and companion SABINVS, altering his resolution, fled to *Constantinople* to entreate the yong Emperour THEODOSIVS, nephew to HONORIVS, to take compassion of him: from whence within a little while after he was brought to HONORIVS; and hauing his life graunted, was condemned to perpetuall exile. So through the wisedome and good fortune of HONORIVS, all these tyrants were defeated which rebelled against him, the which we haue already related in as plain manner, as I could possibly; which truely was not without great toyle and difficultie: for matters which past both in the time of ARCADIVS & of HONORIVS were so many & so diuers, and off so many accidents happened together, and Historiographers treate of them so confusedly, that in writing them, I am much troubled, as well in collecting and abbreuiating them, as in relating them, in such sort as the readers may vnderstand and comprehend the same; and to recite them in order as they passed, one before another, which hath been my principall care from the beginning; and, by the grace of God, shall be, vntill I haue ended.

The death of Heraclianus.

All the victories and aboue recited good fortunes of HONORIVS, after so many calamities and warres, which he had in his time, Authors attribute to the care which he had of the Christian faith and religion. For in those times through the diligence and endeuour of a Captaine of his called MARCELLINVS, with the assistance of his great Captaine CONSTANTIVS, he procured concord and vnitie in all the Churches of *Africa*, and of other Prouinces wherein were many Schisms, and erronious opinions concerning the Christian Faith. And truly S. AVGVSTINE was a good meane to bring this to passe, who at that time was Bishoppe of *Hippo* in *Africa*; which the Emperour CHARLES the fift in his iourney and conquest of *Tunis* took from the powerfull and cruell tyrant BARBAROSSA; but his sonne PHILIP the second within few yeers after againe lost the same.

HONORIVS then seeing himselfe free from those tyrants, and the most part of the Prouinces of his Empire in peace, and obedient, resolued to driue the strange and barbarous Nations out of those Countries which they held in *Spaine* and *France* about *Narbona*; thinking it best to begin with the Gothes, which were the most powerfull and warlike people of all the other Nations, and possessed such part of *Spaine*, as is aforesaid: for these being defeated, he held it an easie matter to make an end of the rest. King ATHAVLPHVS, as he deerely loued his wife PLACIDIA, much desired peace with HONORIVS, and so by all meanes sought the same: Which when his souldiers perceiued, who were of a farre contrary opinion, they so hated him that they slew him; but Authors set not downe in what manner. And they presently chose a great man among themselues for their King, whose name was SEGERICVS; and for that they suspected him as they did ATHAVLPHVS, they handled him in the same manner, as they did their last King. Hauing slaine these two Kings, they chose one WALIA for their King, conceiuing that he would be a great enemy to the Romanes, with whom they desired to haue cruell warres; they hauing the Emperours sister PLACIDIA in their power who at that time was a Widow, whome they entreated very honourably and honestly.

The Gothes slew their King Athaulphus

Segericus king of the Gothes slaine by h. soul diers.

Walia King of the Gothes.

This WALIA beginning to gouerne his kingdom he held it for necessary and sound counsell to haue peace and friendshippe with HONORIVS: but taking warning by his predecessors (to satisfie his people) he rigged vp a great fleete, which he sent to make a conquest of *Africa*, which held for HONORIVS: and as it pleased God so to worke for HONORIVS, without his assistance, such a tempest tooke them vpon the Sea, that the whole fleete was in a manner lost and cast away. Which misfortune, together with the newes of the comming of CONSTANTIVS, Generall of the Emperours Armie with great power, did much temper the fiercenesse and furie of the Gothes; And WALIA tooke so good order with them, as of their owne accord and consent, a treaty of peace was made with HONORIVS, which was concluded vpon condition, that PLACIDIA should be rendred to the Emperour, and that WALIA and his forces should faithfully aide CONSTANTIVS, to driue the Vandales, Alanes, and Sueuians out of *Spaine*, who had already made themselues Lords of the greatest part thereof. This being concluded, hostages were giuen in the behalf of WALIA, and PLACIDIA was deliuered, whom HONORIVS afterwards gaue to wife to CONSTANTIVS, in reward of his services and victories obtained by him; and making him CÆSAR, he proclaimed him for his successor. And then began CONSTANTIVS his warres in *Spaine* against the Barbarians, King WALIA assisting & seruing there in with his Visogothes, as we wil presently declare.

Honorius made peace with Walia King of the Gothes.

Constantius made Cæsar and sent Generall into Spaine against the Vandales.

Andaluzia so called after the Vandals.

While these things (whereof we haue spoken) were acting, the Barbarians were in possession of the greatest part of *Spain*; especially the Vandals, who had conquered a great part of *Betica*; from whom that Countrey took the name of *Vandaluzia*: and afterwards, in processe of time, leauing out the letter *V*, it came to be called *Andaluzia*. And the Suevians and Alanes held *Merida*, and a great part of *Lusitania* (which is now *Estremadura*) and part of *Portugall*: and in *Galicia* and *Leon* they had enioyed a great part from the beginning, and had diuided these Countries among them by lot. CONSTANTIVS the Imperiall Generall being com into *Spain*, and with him the Gothes, according to the agreement, the first warre they made was against the Alanes, neer to the City of *Merida*; where was fought between them a very cruell battell: wherein

Constantius his victory against the Alans

the Alanes were ouerthrowne, and CONSTANTIVS had the victory; and the King of the Alanes, called ACHAGE, was slain in battell. This victory obtained by CONSTANTIVS, strook so great a terror into the hearts of the rest of the barbarous Nations, that they presently in great *humility sued for peace*, and sent to intreat HONORIVS to grant them truce, and some place in *Spain* wherein they might liue.

Honorius went to Constantinople.

While these accidents hapned in *Spain*, HONORIVS went to *Constantinople* to visit the Eastern parts, where his Nephew the yong THEODOSIVS commanded, who was now com to riper yeers: and, being at liberty free from his Tutors, there fell out some controuersie between him and the King of *Persia*. And it hapned, that as CONSTANTIVS was busied in the wars of *Spain*, and HONORIVS out of *Italie*; an eminent man, born and inhabiting in *Rome*,

Tartallus rebelled in Rome.

being of the antient Nobility, named TARTALLVS, assisted by a great part of the Romane people, and by many Towns in *Italy*, rebelled, and took the name and title of Emperour, and began to leuie souldiers: but the loyall Subjects which held with HONORIVS, fighting with him, he was by them ouerthrowne and slain. But, disloyalty and treachery was then so much

Attalus rebell, and took vpon him the name of Emperor.

in vse, that another whose name was ATTALVS did the like; who, putting on the Imperiall Robes, and taking the Ensignes, was called Emperour, and beganne to leuie great Forces in *Italie*.

When the Imperiall Generall CONSTANTIVS, being in *Spain*, heard these newes, after the victory aforesaid, putting the Vandals, Suevians, and Alanes in good hope to obtain what they desired, and giuing it out that he went into *Italie* to conferre thereof with the Emperor, the better to keep them in peace in his absence; he left *Spain*, and came into *Italie*: the like did the

Honorius and Constantius returns into Italy

Emperor HONORIVS, who had been aduertised thereof in *Constantinople*. When the coming of HONORIVS and CONSTANTEVS was knowne in *Rome*, the people grew into a great fury; and, apprehending the Tyrant ATTALVS, sent him to *Rauenna* to the Emperour HONORIVS, whither CONSTANTIVS was already comn with his wife PLACIDIA; where ATTALVS, by HONORIVS his commandement had his hand stricken off, and was

Attalus banisht

banisht to *Constantinople*: wherein, HONORIVS in the opinion of the world shewed too great patience and clemency.

HONORIVS being in *Rauenna*, whither his brother-in-law CONSTANTIVS CÆSAR was already comn, and hauing consideration of his worthy seruices, and how profitable he had

Honorius made Constantius his companion in the Empire.

been to the Empire, made him with very great solemnity to be called AVGVSTVS, Emperor, and his equall and companion in the Empire of the West, and made a long set Oration in praise of his vertues: and there the two Emperors by mutuall consent, to the end that WALIA king of the Gothes should continue in their seruice, consigned vnto him the City of *Tholosa* in the Kingdome of *France*, with all the Countrey neer adjacent, called *Aquitania*, which they then named *Basconia*, and is now called *Gasconia*.

After the Feasts, and Coronation of CONSTANTIVS, HONORIVS *went to Rome* to pacifie some tumults which were there: and the new Emperor CONSTANTIVS, resoluing to go into *Spain* to make an end of the warre which hee had begun, commanded souldiers to bee mustered. Surely, the valour and wisdome of this excellent Captain and Emperour was such,

The death of Constantius.

that, if God had permitted him life, hee had freed *Spain* from those barbarous Nations: but death staid his journey, so as hee neuer came thither. Whereof when HONORIVS was aduertised, he was extremely sorry, and in his place sent into *Spain* a famous and valiant Captain

Ecius made Generall in Spain against the Vandals, and the rest

called ECIVS, who took charge of the Armie which CONSTANTIVS had leuied; and, marching thitherwards, by the way he ouerthrew the Burgonians which attempted to haue entred *France*. The like he did by the Franks, who afterwards entred and inhabited there. And being comn into *Spain*, his principall care was to finde out the Alanes: which after their ouerthrowe by CONSTANTIVS, did not chuse them any King, but joyned with the Sweuians, who

who were Lords of all the Countrie about *Lisbon*. But, as soon as they knew that CONSTANTIVS was dead, they returned to *Merida*; and the Vandals and Sueuians were now grown so proud, that they would neither require nor accept of peace; but came to aid the Alanes, and began to make warre against such Cities as held for the Emperor. ECIVS being comne into *Spain*, seeing that all made head against him, and hauing no sufficient Armie to encounter them, protracted the time for certain daies, and leuied more forces; which by HONORIVS (without reason) was imputed to him for cowardize, and he sent the Earl CASTINVS to bee Generall and his Successor, displacing ECIVS from his charge. But CASTINVS, perceiuing how the world went, approued the judgement of ECIVS; and in the same manner prolonged the warres, vntill that BONIFACIVS, who was Gouerner of *Africa* (whom we reade, Saint AVGVSTINE for his vertue to haue much loued) came into *Spain* to his aid, bringing verie good troops with him: and they two together began the warre, and obtained many notable victories against the Barbarians; and so handled the matter, that it was held for certain that they *would haue freed the Countrey. But this command is such a thing as can neuer be well shared:* for, these two excellent Captains fell at such variance, that BONIFACIVS would not stay any longer, but returned to the gouernment of *Africa* (as PROSPERVS, and PAVLVS DIACONVS haue written; yet EVTROPIVS differs from them) and CASTINVS remaining alone, the Emperors partie began to growe vveak in *Spain*.

Castinus succeeded Ecius in his charge.

Boniface came into Spaine in aide of Castinus.

While these matters passed in the West, HONORIVS his nephew, THEODOSIVS, Emperor in the East, being now of sufficient age, was freed from his Tutors; and, as he was a good Christian, his chiefest care was for the seruice of God, and for the defence of his holy Church. Whereupon he fell at variance with BARRABANVS King of *Persia*, who succeeded ISDEGERDVS who had been his tutor (as is before said) for that he was giuen to vnderstand that BARRABANVS persecuted the Christians which liued in his dominions, whereof THEODOSIVS had admonished him, requiring reformation: but seeing he could not obtaine it, he sent ARDABVRVS an excellent Captaine against him, who fought a battaile with NASIVS Generall of the Persians, and therein ouerthrew him, and made great slaughter of his men, and afterwards entred the Countrey, and did great harme and spoyle therein. And by another way THEODOSIVS sent another Captaine called GRATIANVS against ALAMANDER King of the Sarazins, who came in aide of the King of *Persia*: this King was likewise ouerthrowne in battaile by GRATIANVS, and a very great multitude of his people slaine, and he himselfe escaped by flight. And in another place another Captaine called ARSOBVIDA ouerthrew the Persians also: so as this warre was made to the great aduantage of the Romanes, and with losse and preiudice of the Persians, vntill that BARRABANVS ceassing to persecute the Christians, a peace was treated and concluded betweene him and THEODOSIVS. This happened in the time that I told you that the Emperours partie began to waxe feeble and weake in *Spaine*: which weakenesse increased by reason of the death of HONORIVS; who, as PAVLVS DIACONVS writeth, died of an infirmitie in *Rome*, hauing taigned sole Emperor of the West about fifteene yeeres after the death of his brother ARCADIVS, with whom he raigned other 13 yeere; so as in all he raigned 28 yeers, besids 2 with his father. HONORIVS left no heires of his bodie: for by two wiues which he had, which were the daughters of STILICO, he had neuer any childe. And a little before he died, he fell so farre at diffension with his sister PLACIDIA, as she went to *Constantinople* to her Nephew the Emperour THEODOSIVS, with her two sonnes which she had by the Emperour CONSTANTIVS, of whom we haue already treated: her sonnes were named HONORIVS, and VALENTINIANVS: this VALENTINIANVS was afterwards Emperor: He called in the yeere of the Incarnation of our Sauiour Christ 427.

Wars between the Emperour Theodosius and Barrabanus King of Persia. Theodosius his victories.

The death of the Emperor Honorius.

HONORIVS (as before is mentioned) was a vertuous man and a very good Christian, very noblie minded, and very pittifull. He did one notable thing, which was the part of a charitable and good Christian, which was, to abolish the Gladiators or Sword-players, which (as it is written) did vse in *Rome* vpon pleasure most cruelly to kill one another. He much loued his ease: and so we see, that in his owne person he neuer followed the warres; and in his gouernement was very negligent. But in the end by his Captaines he so much preuailed, that excepting *Spaine*, he brought all the rest of his Empire to quiet subjection in his life time, although after great rebellions, wars and troubles. A few yeers before his death died the great Doctor S. HIEROME, being of the age of fourescore and twelue yeers, in *Bethelem* in *Iewry*, where Christ was born: who departing out of this life, went to enioy the life euerlasting.

Honorius put downe the Sword players called Gladiators.

The death of S. Hierome.

THE

THE LIFE OF THEODOSIVS, THE SECOND OF THIS NAME, AND TWO AND FIFTITH ROMAN EMPEROR; and of his Cosen germane, VALENTINIAN the Second.

(**)

THE ARGVMENT.

After the death of Honorius, Theodosius *lawfully succeeded in the Empire; who, perceiuing that many went about to make themselues Tyrants of the Western Empire, resolued to make his cosen,* Valentinian, Cæsar *in those parts: who, within a small time after, making himself Lord of all Italie, was by the consent of* Theodosius, *and of the people, called Emperor. All the while these two Emperors liued, there were such cruell and bloudy wars made by the Barbarians (as, Hunnes, Gothes, Vandals, and such like nations) that the whole world seemed to haue been turned vpside down. But, aboue all other, the wars of the Hunnes was most dangerous, and of longest continuance: for they, hauing conquerd Hungary, would haue gone into France. Against whom,* Valentinianus *continually sent fresh supplies, vnder the leading of his Generall* Ecius. *But* Theodolius *his Empire in the East was in farre better rest and quiet. For, the Western Empire was continually infested with cruell warres: whither* Theodosius *neuer left to send new supplies of Captains and soldiers. By reason whereof,* Attila *King of the Gothes, thinking to finde the Empire of Constantinople vnfurnished of men of warre to defend it, inuaded the same: whereupon* Theodosius *recalled those Captains which hee had sent into Sicilia to the aid of* Valentinianus, *and encountred the Gothes, during the time of that warre; which on the Gothes side was managed very coldly, by reason of some suspicions and iealousies among themselues;* Theodosius *falling sick, died of the plague, when he had raigned 42. yeers; whose death was lamented by the whole Empire: for, hee was a verie good man, and much beloued in his life time.*

GReat in truth were the accidents and warres, as well prosperous as vnfortunate, which haue befaln in the Roman Empire in the space of foure hundred yeers (little more or lesse) whereof wee haue written, as the Reader may easily judge. But notwithstanding that we haue sometimes seen it in distresse, troubled, and in danger to haue been lost in the whole, or in part; yet in the end, although those calamities continued for a space, wee haue seen how it hath bin deliuered from those dangers, repairing them by some meanes: so as we may say, that it hath bin cured of those infirmities wherwith it was oppressed, and recouered the losses which it sustained, vntill the time whereto wee are now come. But, through the secret iudgement of God, from henceforth matters succeeded not so well; but the losses multiplied, and their forces diminished. And although that sometimes, through the valour of some excellent Emperours and their Captains, the Empire did striue to recouer her antient Majesty, and was both honoured and feared, yet it could neuer attain to the former; and this also was very seldom. So as from henceforth, at sundry times, and by diuerse accidents, the Emperors lost whole Prouinces and Legions; and in them began Kingdoms and par-

The declining of the Roman Empire.

particular States; and of those Countries which the Empire lost, arose great and mightie Monarchies: and as Principalities and Kingdoms multiplied, so great and more strange were the accidents which hapned, which I cannot relate, neither am I bound thereto: for, my purpose and intent was, Not to write a generall History, but onely of the Emperors, and that briefly. Wherefore, as briefly as I shall be able, I will lay open the ground-work, and hold on my way; writing such things as shall be of greatest importance in the History of the Emperours, leauing that of other Kings and Kingdoms, which in proces of time shall present themselues to others, which either already haue, or hereafter shall take that charge vpon them. For, this which I haue already taken in hand, will be enough for my small ability; which I pray God I may bee able to bring to any reasonable good end, to the honest satisfaction of those which shall reade the same.

The Originall of the Kingdoms.

By the death of HONORIVS, the whole Roman Empire did belong to his nephew THEODOSIVS, then sole Emperor; who at that Instant was in *Constantinople*, and held the Eastern Empire, as by that which is already said may easily be vnderstood; although that in the time of HONORIVS there bee no notable mention made of his doings, aswell for his fewe yeers, as for that the Empire of the East was in better rest and quiet than the Western, which then was infested and turmoiled.

When it was publikely knowne that HONORIVS was dead, som which meant to continue their allegeance, held for THEODOSIVS, as reason and duty required: but the greatest Potentates beganne to make themselues Lords of the Empire, or of part thereof. In *Africa* was BONIFACIVS (as we said) Gouerner of that Prouince; who in the beginning held himself Neuter. In *Spain* the Vandals, Sweuians and Alanes, thinking that CASTINVS (who was Generall for the Empire) should not be able to withstand them, began vpon a sudden to be discontent with that which they held; and so took Arms, and would haue more. The Gothes, who were Lords of *Barcelona*, *Narbona*, *Tolosa*, and all the Countries round about, by the leaue and permission of HONORIVS, as his allies and friends, took the same resolution as the rest did. And the Burgonians in like manner which dwelt vpon the *Rhines* side, and the Franques which had been driuen out of *France*, resolued to return thither again. The Hunnes also, a most fierce Nation, whose Originall was in *Scythia*, as that of the Gothes, desirous to leaue their barren Countrie, departed thence in great numbers, and came to the confines of *Pannonia inferior*, which now is called *Hungary*: so as into all those Nations, and into sundry others, the death of HONORIVS did put new thoughts and conceits, although they did not presently put them in execution: of all which, as it shall be most fit for my purpose, I will hereafter make particular mention.

The alterations & changes that hapned through the death of Honorius.

The Huns entred Hungary.

The state standing in these tearms; as THEODOSIVS prouided not suddenly for his coming into *Italie*, or to send some Noble Personage with his power and authority, there was an eminent man in *Rome* whose name was IOHN, who by meanes of his dignity and riches, was of great power: He, by the counsell and direction of CASTINVS (although in secret) who (as we haue said) was an Earle and Generall in *Spain*, rebelled, and took the name of Emperor: and ECIVS, whom HONORIVS deposed from the gouernment of *Spain*, was also of his councell, and fauoured and assisted him in his proceedings.

This Tyrant IOHN hauing made himselfe Lord of *Rome*, and of the greatest part of *Italy*, a great part of *France* holding for him alreadie, and all that part of *Spaine* which was vnder the command and gouernement of CASTINVS; the same ECIVS and CASTINVS, as they were both enemies to BONIFACE gouernour of *Africa*, seeing that hee tooke not part with IOHN, perswaded him to declare him for an enemie: yet they discouered not themselues as then, the better to bring the other to confusion. Wherefore CASTINVS fled from *Spaine* into *Africk*, with a great fleet and a great number of souldiers, spreading a rumour that hee fled thither for feare of the Vandales, from whom in no part of *Spaine* hee could liue in safetie. Vnder colour whereof, and writing very louing letters to BONIFACIVS, setting his men on land, he seised on many cities on the coast of *Africa*, and so liued for certaine daies in counterfeit peace and friendship with BONIFACIVS; yet BONIFACE was not free from iealousie. Heereof ther are at this day epistles extant, written to him by S. AVGVSTINE, who then was Bishop of *Hippo*, and the answers thereto; discouering the suspicion. And CASTINVS afterwards manifesting his ill meaning, S. AVGVSTINE sought meanes to reconcile them: but his godly endeuour taking no effect, they fought a battaile, which although it were very cruell and bloudie, CASTINVS was ouerthrowne and fled to his ships, and with such of his

Castinus came against Boniface in Africa.

Castinus ouerthrowne in battel by Boniface.

his ſouldiers as hee could gather together; he returned with ſhame and diſhonour into *Sapine*. Which when Ioh the vſurping Emperour vnderſtood, hee ſent for him with an intent to leaue him for his Lieutenant in *Italy*; and aſſembling together the old Captaines and ſouldiers which remained ſince the time of HONORIVS, with the greateſt power that he was able to leuie, and a very great fleete, he made preparation to paſſe into *Africa*. Some authors write, that hee went thither in perſon, and that after many battailes he was ſlaine by BONIFACIVS. So writeth BLONDVS in his booke of the declining of the Romane Empire, and GVIDO of *Rauenna*, and ANTONIVS SABELLICVS in his *Æneades*, and other modern authors: who in my opinion are deceiued, or at the leaſt, I know not what ancient authors they follow therein. Whereof that which I finde written, is, that THEODOSIVS being aduertiſed of the great combuſtions in the Weſterne Empire, and not daring to leaue the Eaſt, thought it his ſafeſt courſe to nominate his coſin germane VALENTINIAN, CÆSAR, who was the ſonne of PLACIDIA, ſiſter to the two Emperours ARCADIVS and HONORIVS, and wife to that worthie Captaine and Emperour CONSTANTIVS. After ſome accidents which happened, with ſuch troupes as hee thought good, hee ſent him into *Italy* with his mother PLACIDIA, whoſe vertue and wiſedome was ſufficient to gouerne the whole, vntill the young CÆSAR came to age fit for the gouernment. Before this, the vſurper IOHN ſent his Ambaſſadors to THEODOSIVS, requeſting him to allow of his election, and to be pleaſed to accept him for his companion in the Empire. Whereto THEODOSIVS anſwere was; To command his Ambaſſadors to be apprehended as Traitors and rebels. And he ſent commandement to ARDABVRIVS or ANDABVRIVS, an excellent Captaine of his, that with the greateſt power that he could, he ſhould take his paſſage by Sea into *Italy*, before PLACIDIA and her ſonne, and ſhould ſeeke to defeate the tyrant IOHN. ARDABVRIVS preſently put this charge in practice: but there befell him ſuch a ſtorme at the Sea, as his ſhippe was driuen from the reſt of the fleete, and arriued where he was taken and carried priſoner to *Rauenna*. His ſonne ASPAR within few daies after being aduertiſed hereof (who alſo came in the ſame fleete) after that the tempeſt ceaſed, and that the Seas were calme, ſet his men on land; and vſed ſuch meanes, that paſſing through certaine lakes or boggs, which are, or were, neere to *Rauenna* (where the vſurping Emperor IOHN then was), and held his father priſoner: Which was held for a matter impoſſible, and ſo it is written for a wonder) he by force entred the Citie, which nothing ſuſpected any ſuch miſhap; where he did not only ſet his father at libertie, but took the Emperour IOHN the vſurper priſoner, and ſmote off his head.

Theodoſius *made his coſen* Valentinian, Cæſar.

Theodoſius *ſent* Andabarius *againſt* Iohn *the tyrant.*

Andaburius *taken priſoner by* Iohn *the tyrant.*

John *the tyrant put to death by* Aſpar *ſon of* Andaburius. Phreculphus *tome* 2. *book* 5. *chap.* 7. Procop. *book* 4. *of the wars of the Vandals.* Caſſiodorus *book* 12. *cha.* 18

In this manner writeth Biſhop PHRECVLPHVS in his Hiſtory of the death of the Tyrant IOHN, who wrote the ſame aboue ſeuen hundred yeeres ſince; with whom PROCOPIVS agreeth, an Author of aboue a thouſand yeers continuance; CASSIODORVS in his tripartite hiſtorie declareth it at large; and PROSPERVS and IORNANDES of little leſſe antiquity; and alſo PAVLVS DIACONVS. And although they all briefly paſſe it ouer, yet they auerre that he died in *Italy*, and not in *Africa*. And PLATINA, CVSPINIANVS, and other diligent modern Authors, follow them therein: whereby it is to be preſumed, that they were deceiued which wrote that he was ſlain by BONIFACIVS in *Africa*; although it bee not to be doubted, but that he went into *Africa*, and was there ouerthrowne. And, holding this for the moſt certain, let vs proceed to the reſt, wherein in a manner all agree in the taking of *Rauenna*; and that after they were entred, ASPAR and his ſoldiers inflicted cruell puniſhments. Fiue yeers did IOHN enioy the name of Emperor before his death; and was commended for his vertue and good parts by ſome Authors; ſo as they condemn him not for any thing, but only for making himſelf a Tyrant in vſurping the Empire: whereof the greateſt fault is laid vpon CASTINVS and ECIVS, who perſwaded him thereto.

The comming of Placidia *and* Valentinian *into Italie.*

This victory being obtained, within ſhort ſpace after came PEACIDIA with her ſonne VALENTINIANVS the new made CÆSAR, into *Italie*; through whoſe coming, and the death of the aforeſaid IOHN, in a ſhort ſpace there followed a great alteration: for, being com to *Rauenna*, and vnderſtanding that CASTINVS came from *Spain* with ſuch forces as hee was able, to put himſelf into *Rome* with ECIVS who held the ſame againſt VALENTINIAN, PLACIDIA ſent ARDABVRIVS againſt him, or (after ſom others) BVRGVNDIVS, and it may be both; who fighting a battell, CASTINVS was ouerthrowne; and eſcaping from the fury, his owne ſouldiers mutined, and deliuerd him to the Emperors Generall, who ſent him to *Rauenna*. The like hapned to ECIVS in *Rome*: for, the ſouldiers and citizens mutined, and apprehended him; and he was brought priſoner alſo to *Rauenna*. This is that ECIVS whom ſom call

call ACIVS, ſo much commended by the Writers of thoſe Times for one of the beſt Captains in the world: and in truth ſo had he already ſhewed himſelf in all his actions; but hee performed much more afterwards. And of no leſſe eſteem was BONIFACIVS, who gouerned *Africa*. ARDABVRIVS was very famous for his victories; as wee haue ſaid, againſt the Perſians: and ſo was CASTINVS in like manner. Theſe Captains being brought priſoners, and the need of ſuch men in the Empire conſidered, as well in *Spain* againſt the Vandals and the reſt, as in *France* againſt the Gothes and Burgundians, who already inuaded that Kingdome, and againſt the Hunnes which were in *Pannonia*; After many allegations *pro & contra*, PLACIDIA vndertook to procure her ſon VALENTINIAN to pardon them their liues: and ſo CASTINVS, after ſom few daies impriſonment, was baniſht. And ECIVS, hauing put-in ſecurity for his fidelity, was made General of the Army in *France* againſt the Gothes, who took ſuch order, that the Huns came no further forwards: for, he had great friendſhip among thoſe nations, and was born in thoſe parts; and, during his diſgrace with HONORIVS, liued among them.

Ecius *made Generall a gainſt the Hunnes and Gothes.*

VALENTINIANVS, being in full poſſeſſion of all *Italie*, was with the good will of all men, and by the conſent of his coſen THEODOSIVS, called Emperor and AVGVSTVS, and for ſuch obeyed and receiued by the Senate and people of *Rome*: and the Earl and Generall ECIVS, without delaying any time, vndertook his charge of Generall of the wars in *France*. And at that time when he came into *France* (as PROSPERVS and DIACONVS write) THEODORICVS, by the death of WALIA, was King of the Gothes, and had beſieged a principall City then called *Archilla*, after the taking of many other towns. But as ſoon as ECIVS came with his Army, he began the wars in ſuch manner, that to the loſſe of the Gothes the City was relieued; and they, raiſing their ſiege, retired themſelues into their Countries: and hee euery where made ſuch head againſt them, that they could not take any other places either in *France* or *Spain*. In the ſame time in the Ile of *Britannie*, which then was vnfurniſht of ſuch garriſons as it was wont to haue, were great wars and combuſtions: for, the Scots, a fierce nation (of whom we haue already made mention, and after whoſe name part of *Britannie* is called the Kingdome of *Scotland* to this day) with other people called Picts or Pictauians, whoſe Originall was of *Sarmatia* in *Europe*, robbed and ouer-ran all the Land, and made themſelues Lords of a great part thereof. Wherefore ſuch of the Inhabitants of that Iland as continued ſubject to the Empire, ſent to ECIVS for ſuccour; certifying him, that if relief came not within a ſhort ſpace, the whole Iland would fall into the hands of the enemy.

The wars that Ecius *made in France againſt the Gothes.*

The comming of the Scots into Britanny.

When ECIVS vnderſtood thoſe newes, hee preſently ſent one Legion of his Armie vnder the leading of a Captain whoſe name was GALLIO, into *Britanny*: and he, joyning with the Inhabitants which ſent for aid, fought often times with the Scots and Picts; and obtaining the victory, compelled them to leaue that country in peace and quiet: and ſo they continued, till that ECIVS (ſtanding in need of ſuccours to make head againſt the Burgonians who alreadie had paſſed the *Rhine*, and began with great fury to inuade *France*, being feared to haue an intent to paſſe into *Italy*) drew that Legion out of *Britanny*, and left it in the borders of *Paris* in *France*, to guard that Country; and left another Legion neer to *Tarragona* in *Spain*, vnder the command of a Captain called SEBASTIAN, to defend the ſame againſt the Gothes: and hee with the reſt of his Army went to the wars againſt the Burgonians; with which hee oftentimes came to blowes, and ouercame them in ſome battels. But the Britans, being abandoned by that Legion which ECIVS ſent for out of that Iland, were ſo diſtreſſed, that if VALENTINIAN had not ſent commandement to ECIVS to ſend back that legion which he had drawn out of *Britanny*, they had been in great diſtreſſe: but, that legion coming to their aid, they were ſufficiently able for that time to defend and ſupport themſelues in the Emperors ſeruice.

Boniface *rebelled in Africa.*

While theſe things paſſed in *Britanny*, *France* and *Italie*, BONIFACE grew daily more mighty in *Africa*; who although that he yet ſhewed not himſelf to be againſt VALENTINIAN, but rather ſeemed to be of his party euer after that he was troubled by the Vſurper IOHN: yet he ſeemed to be a friend, in ſuch ſort, that hee would not leaue any part of that which hee held. Which, VALENTINIAN and PLACIDIA perceiuing, reſoluing to ſound his intent, they ſent to command him to leaue his gouernment to a Succeſſor whom they would appoint, and to come to them: which, BONIFACE openly refuſed, and leuied ſouldiers to defend himſelf againſt the Emperor. It is true that ſome Authors write, that he was deluded by ECIVS who ſent him word, that if hee came into *Italie* VALENTINIAN would put him to death; whereof he aduertiſed him as a friend: and he likewiſe told PLACIDIA, that BONIFACE would not come, but would rebell; ſo as they affirm, that more for fear than for any ill intent,

he made himself a Tyrant; of which opinion is PROCOPIVS. But howsoeuer the matter went, VALENTINIAN sent presently two Captains against him, the one called MAHORCIVS or MABORCIVS, the other called GALLIO or GALBIO; hee, who (as I said) went to aid the Britannes with a Legion: who being arriued in *Africa* with great power, BONIFACE, who was an excellent man of war, with a very good Army attended their coming; and, knowing where they landed, went to meet them: and seeing his power equall, they came to a battell; wherein BONIFACE through his great valour and policie got the victorie, and the Emperors Captains were ouerthrowne and slain, together with a great number of their soldiers: and so BONIFACE becam mightier, and a greater Lord than before.

Maborcius and Galbio, captaines against Boniface.

A battel where in the tyrant Boniface prevailed.

The losse of this battell, and of men of warre, greatly encreased the strength of the enemies to the Empire: for, first the Gothes followd the warres in *Spain* with greater force than before, as well against the Emperors subjects, as against the Vandals and other Nations inhabiting other parts of that Country. And the Burgonians began to make a more resolute resistance against ECIVS, than before they had done. And, aboue all, the Franks or Francons (a people of *Germany*) coming from *Franconia* (after some Authors) so called after their name, as truely writes AGATHIVS (although of their Originall there be many fabulous opinions) seeing that ECIVS had enough to do against the Burgonians and the Gothes, and that the Emperor VALENTINIAN had lost his Armie in *Africa*, and that his cosen THEODOSIVS was busied about matters of the East, they resoluced to inuade *France*: out of which a little before they had been expelled by the Vandals, Alanes and Sueuians, in the time of the Emperors HONORIVS and ARCADIVS; and also by ECIVS, as wee haue said, when HONORIVS sent him into *Spain*. But now, taking the benefit of the time, they came with a very great power, and entred the Prouince called *Senonensis*, and the countries about *Orleance* and *Paris*, and presently took those countries: MARCOMVNDVS hauing been before this time their Leader; and afterwards his son FARRAMOND was the first King of the Franks: whom CLODIVS succeeded, who at that time was their King. And in processe of time their power increased so much, that *Gallia* from them took the name of *France*; and the King therof is called King of the Franks or Frenchmen.

The coming of the Francons or Frenchmen into France.

The successe of the French.

Gallia called Frantce.

Of these Frenchmen (who in truth were a warlike and valiant Nation) some French Historiographers recite certain fables; saying, that they descended from the Troianes, from one of HECTOR's sons called FRANCVS, and that from him they took their name. Others say, they had this name for certain franchises, priuiledges and immunities they enioied in the time of VALENTINIAN the First. All which is fabulous and vntrue: for, neither had HECTOR any such son, neither descended they from the Troians, neither is there any memorie of those Franks but from the time of the Emperor AVRELIANVS, who ouerthrew them about the yeer of our Lord 260, little more or lesse. Neither obtained they this name in the time of the Emperor VALENTINIAN: for, hee raigned long afterwards, and they (as I said) were so cald 200 yeers before. But they were then a new people; of which, CÆSAR, STRABO, PLINY, CORNELIVS TACITVS, POMPONIVS MELA, nor PTOLOMY, made any mention; neither were they then of any name, or knowne: which if it had bin otherwise, it had bin impossible but some of those Authors, if not all, would haue left some memoriall of them. The Franks might begin to be knowne a little before AVRELIANVS time: the rest is winde.

The antiquity of the French.

And it is to be vnderstood, that the Kings which in our time raigned in *France*, are not descended from this people: for, in the House of *France* there haue been two or three alterations and changes. The first was about the yeer of our Lord 750: at which time King CHILDERICVS or CHILPERICVS was deposed by Pope ZACHARY, that Kingdome hauing continued 330 yeers in the line of the Franks. And PEPIN, father to CHARLES the Great, beeing a Germane born, was chosen King: and so the Franks then lost the royall Scepter. And in King PEPINS posterity it afterwards continued 238 yeers, vntil the yeer of our Lord 990: at what time LEVVES the son of LOTHARIVS then raigning was poisoned; and, for that hee had no sons, they sought to haue made his brother CHARLES Duke of *Lorrain*, their King. But a great and mighty man, whose name was HVGO CAPVTIVS, and born in that Countrey, hindred the same; and was of such power, that he took CHARLES prisoner, and enjoyed the Kingdome: and in his posterity the Kingdome continueth till this day, the next in bloud inheriting for want of heirs males. So as we are not to hould the Kings of *France* to be of the linage of the Franks, seeing they come not, neither are they descended from them. Heerin doo all good and true Authors agree.

The Kings of France descended not from the Francons.

The changes which haue happened in the royall house of France.

But

But to returne to our historie; I say that the Frenchmen entred with such force and furie, as they tooke all that that they inuaded: which ECIVS considering, and the warres which the Gothes made in *Spaine*, notwithstanding that he had oftentimes ouerthrowne the Burgonians, and was in hope shortlie whollie to haue subdued them, yet he resolued to graunt them peace: which they humblie sued for, to be the better able to giue succours to other places where needs required; but especially to come against the French, for they were a mightie and valiant people.

Ecius granteth peace to the Burgonians.

In this time whilest that ECIVS was thus troubled to defend the Romane Empire against so many nations, the new Emperour VALENTINIAN, being still in hope to recouer *Africa*, with a greater resolution then at any time before, commanded souldiers to be leuied in *Italie* and *Sicilie*; and with the aide of men and ships which his cosin the Emperor THEODOSIVS sent him from *Constantinople*, he sent an excellent Captaine called SISVLPHVS, against BONIFACE in *Africa*; who by PAVLVS DIACONVS is called SIGISVLDVS. And he brought such an Armie and vsed such meanes, that taking land in *Africa* neere vnto *Carthage*, hee grew so strong in that countrie, as BONIFACE durst not abide his comming in *Carthage*, but went into *Mauritania Cæsariensis*, and the marches thereof, which now containeth the kingdomes of *Bugia*, *Argier* and *Oran*, and the countries bordering vpon *Spaine*. And yet not holding himselfe there in safetie, he sent to treate with GENSERICVS King of the Vandales, who then was in the prouince of *Betica*, called after their name *Vandaluzia*, to the end he should come from *Spaine* to relieue him, and he would giue him townes and cities to possesse, if he would helpe him to recouer what he had lost.

Valentinian *sent an armie against Boniface the tyrant in Africa.*

This embassie came to GENSERICVS when he stood more in neede of helpe, then able to send any: for the Gothes who had many times inuaded *Spaine*, taking the benefit of the time when as all things were turned vpside downe, THEODORICVS being their King and leader, and not contenting themselues with what they held, and was giuen them in *Spaine*, entred, making a conquest of the countrie, with an intent to make warre particularly against the Vandales; wherewith GENSERICVS was so oppressed, as he was out of all hope to be able to defend himselfe. Whereupon, more of necessitie, then for any good will, he accepted the offer made by BONIFACE: and abandoning the prouince of *Vandalozia*, he passed the streights of *Gibraltar*, as well with his men of warre, as of peace, women, children, goods, and cattell, and seised on the best part he could, of all *Mauritania*; and hauing entred vnder the name and title of succour, he made himselfe absolute Lord, robbing and spoiling the cities and townes with great cruelti. And this people thus abandoning *Andaluzia*, was the occasion that THEODORICVS and his Gothes tooke a great part thereof, and so the Gothes continued Kings of *Spaine*, vntill the time of the Emperour CHARLES. And although that at sundrie times they had wars and battailes with the Alanes, and Sueuians, yet in the end the power of the Gothes prevailed: From this THEODORICVS the first, is descended the roote and stocke of the Kings of *Spaine* vntill this day. The Vandales being barbarous and misbeleeuers (for they were of the sect of the Arrians) held not promise nor league with BONIFACE in *Africa*, who had drawne them thither; but taking the cities vpon the coast which he had giuen them, they entred and tooke the rest in despite of him: wherefore he was constrained through necessity, to become enemie to those which he had drawne thither for his succour and relieife, seeing they tooke all. But as hee was hated by the Emperor VALENTINIAN, and could hope for no succours from anie where else, as wise and as valiant as he was, he was not able to make sufficient resistance against all; but, being too weak, was driuen to flee from place to place. But the Prouince of *Carthage* and all the countries thereabour, were valiantly defended by the Generall SISVLPHVS, whom the Emperor VALENTINIAN sent thither against BONIFACE. GENSERICVS King of the Vandals being so mighty in *Africa*, and finding SISVLPHVS of power able to make head against him, and fearing (as a wise man) the mutability of Fortune, sent to entreat a peace with VALENTINIAN, vpon condition that hee should suffer him to enjoy that which he had taken from BONIFACE, seeing that he was not possessed thereof himself.

The Vandales abandon Spaine, and saile into Africa.

The Vandales made themselues Lords of great part of Africa.

The Emperor VALENTINIAN considering that ECIVS was much troubled in *France* against the French, new inhabitants there, and that there was little assurance of the truce with the Burgonians; with a desire to recouer that which was lost in *Spain* (for, hee was aduertised that his Generall SEBASTIAN, who was there in his seruice against the Alans and Sueuians, had obtained certain victories against them, and that they were ioyned with the Gothes, so as he was vnable alone to defend himself against all) he resolued to grant the Vandals in *Africa* that peace they required: and, taking security and great promises of their King GENSERICVS,

Valentinian graunteth peace to the Vandales in Africa.

the peace was concluded between them: and VALENTINIAN, relying more on that peace than he ought to haue done, sent for SISVLPHVS, commanding him to come into *Italy* with his Army, not leauing any garrison to keep *Carthage* or *Africa*. For, his meaning was, with his whole power to haue re-inforced ECIVS his Armie, and to haue driuen out those Nations which were entred *France*, and to haue recouered, or at least to haue preserued, that which hee possessed in *Spain*. SISVLPHVS being arriued in *Italie*, GENSERICVS King of the Vandals, as an ambitious impudent Infidell, went presently to *Carthage*, and entred the same by force of Arms; fiue hundred, fourescore and fiue yeers (as PROSPERVS reports) after that SCIPIO subdued it to the Roman Empire. The like he afterwards did by all the rest; and in the end came to the City of *Hippo*, wherein S. AVGVSTINE was Bishop, and therein also (as saith POSIDIVS, a Disciple and Familiar of S. AVGVSTINES) was BONIFACE, who had retired himself thither; and, houlding it besieged the space of 14 moneths (God hauing first taken away S. AVGVSTINE, being when he died of the age of 76 yeers) hee took it, and put BONIFACE to death. Heerin PROCOPIVS differs from other Authors; who writes, that he raised his siege without taking the City: and, concerning BONIFACE, PROSPERVS and PAVLVS DIACONVS relate it after another manner; saying, that hee had his pardon, and went into *Italy*, where he died of a naturall death.

Valentinian was ill aduised.

Gensericus, king of the Vandals, violated the peace.

Gensericus sue Boniface. The death of S. Augustine.

After the taking of *Hippo*, the power of GENSERICVS daily increased, in such manner, that he made a full conquest of all *Africa*: and so the Vandals remained for a long time absolute Lords thereof. Wherein this cruell King committed so many cruelties against the Bishops and Priests which held the true faith, and would not become Arrians as he was, as the like had seldome been seen; most cruelly putting many of them to death, and banishing others. The like he vsed towards all kinde of people, committing incredible insolencies and robberies, as many credible Authors affirm; whereof VICTOR wrote a particular Book, which he intituled the Vandalicall Persecution; whereto I referre the curious Reader: which Book is newly imprinted and annexed to EVSEBIVS his Chronicle, and to the tripartite History. After this accident hapned in *Africa*, VALENTINIAN had daily aduertisements, that the Huns, who already were become Lords of *Austria* and *Hungarie* with the marches thereof, made preparation to come down into *France*; and to that end had raised a great number of men of war (TOTILA a most fierce proud man being their King): against which their designes he daily sent new forces to ECIVS, who followed the ordinary wars of *France*: by meanes whereof, ECIVS could not send any succours to those of the Ile of *Britanny*, who newly had sent to him for aid against the Scots and Picts: for which cause the Romans and Britannes which inhabited *Britanny*, despairing of any other help, called to their aid, and solicited with fair promises, the Angles then called Saxons, a people of *Germany*, inhabiting neer to the sea-side: who being allured thereto, partly for pay, and partly through the fertility and fruitfulnes of that Country, came into *Britanny* vnder the leading of their Captain HENGISTVS (as saith BEDA); who, assisting the Inhabitants, in such manner subdued their enemies, that they rebelled no more. But they, afterwards growing strong and ambitious, did the like in *Britanny* as the Vandals did in *Africa*; and making war vpon the Country, and subduing the Britannes, made themselues Lords of all the Land, excepting that which is now the Kingdome of *Scotland*.

The' cruelties vsed by Genserius King of the Vandals against the true Christians.

Totila, King of the Hunnes.

The Britaines called the Saxons to their aid.

The Angles or Saxons took the Ile of Britannie.

In this manner the Empire lost this Iland, and the Angles remained Kings thereof; and afterwards it lost the name of *Britannie*, and by them was called *Anglia*, and now *England*, which is as much to say, as the land of the English; and so from henceforth we will call it. And their power so much increased, that in the time of AVGVSTVLVS, as we will hereafter declare, they banished and draue the Britannes wholy out of that countrie, so as some came ouer into *France*, and inhabited that countrie which is now called *Britannie*, where before that time dwelt the Turones and Veneti, which through their comming thither is called *Britannie*; But a great number of the Britannies fled to the mountaines towards the North-west now called *Walet*, where they maintained themselues against all Inuaders. Thus the dominion of that Iland rested in the Kings of the Angles or English, and hath continued in them with great alterations, warres and troubles, which import not me to recite. Of all which, besides BEDA, and other antient and moderne authors not a few, POLIDORE VIRGIL, an author of our time, hath written a historie, of the beginning and successe of all matters in *Britannie* or *England*.

Britannie called England.

Britannie in France why so called.

But to returne to our story of GENSERICVS King of the Vandales; I say, that being vnsatisfied with *Africa*, he rigged vp a Fleete and sayled into *Sicilie*, and took great part thereof, robbing and spoiling the Country: And truly he had taken all the rest of the Iland, if that VALEN-

VALENTINIAN (notwithstanding that he was very tender and delicate, and in person did nothing, neither would follow the wars) had not (as it cannot be denied) taken great care and vsed all possible diligence to prouide what was needfull, so farre as he was able: who presently sent commandement to SEBASTIAN, his Generall in *Spaine*, to transport himself with the greatest power that he was able, into *Africa* and to make seisure thereof, while as GENSERICVS was busied in *Sicilia*. GENSERICVS was aduertized of this preparation; and vnderstanding that without delay it should be put in execution, resolued to leaue *Sicilia*, and to returne to defend *Africa* which was of greater importance, and concerned him more: and so *Sicilia* escaped out of his hands. And SEBASTIAN forbare to goe into *Africa*. But hee seeing himselfe of greater power then before, and that his Lord was oppressed with wars and crosses (wherein those men are seldome faithfull, which in prosperitie shew themselues most seruiceable) and purposing to make himselfe Lord of all that which the Emperour possessed in *Spaine*, was the cause that the Empire lost the same, and he without obtaining his desire, lost both his life and honour. For moued by this ambition, as I said, he treated with THEODORICVS, and the Gothes, and with the Alanes also, that they should come to a peace with him, and that they should diuide the country amongst them, without yeelding any acknowledgement to VALENTINIAN. Wherewith in outward shew they seemed to be very well pleased, and yeelded to his propositions, which they obserued for certaine daies: but afterwards vpon a safe conduct they slew him; and he being dead who was wont to defend the countrie, they took all *Spaine*, excepting some small part of *Galicia* and *Biscai*; which by reason of the inaccessible steepnes of the mountaines and the valour of the inhabitants, defended themselues for a season.

Genserius went to make warre in Sicilia.

The treason and death of Sebastian, Generall for the Emperor Valentinian in Spaine.

During these euents in *Spaine* and *Africa*, ECIVS neuer desisted from warring against the French, Burgonians and other nations in *France*: and VALENTINIAN, leauing all things in his cosin the Emperor THEODOSIVS; whose Empire as it pleased God was then better in peace and in more quietnesse then the West. At this meeting VALENTINIAN married with EVDOXA, THEODOSIVS his daughter; and then presently returned into *Italy*, to prouide for the defence of that which remained, and to recouer what was lost. Whereat the Emperor THEODOSIVS much greeuing, sent him two Captaines called ARIOBINDVS and ANSILA, with good troups of souldiers, to the end that they should reconquer *Africa*; being much discontented with GENSERICVS King of the Vandales, for the breach of the peace, and for the great cruelties which he had committed in that Countrie.

Valentinian went to Constantinople, and maried with Eudoxa the Emperor Theodosius his daughter.

Ariobindus and Antila captaines sent by Theodosius.

These Captaines and soldiers sailed into *Sicilia*, from thence to passe into *Africa*: but they so detracted the time and prolonged their departure in such manner, as they spoiled the whole Iland of *Sicilia*, and it pleased not God that they should proceed on their iourney. For ATTILA a mighty King of the Hunnes, which of long time had purposed to make himselfe Lord of the Empire, hauing besides *Hungary*, had made a conquest of many Cities in *Germanie*, drawing to him for pay and by faire promises and subtill meanes, an infinite number of people, part of which were called Turlingi, Tungri, Ostrogothes, and Marcomanni, and other barbarous northerly Nations, which like swarms of Bees came to him in that time: which (as PAVLVS DIACONVS recounteth) determined to inuade the Empire of *Constantinople*, knowing that the best and greatest part of the men of warre thereof, were gone with the two Captaines aforesayd into *Sicilia*. At this his entrie he tooke many Cities in *Thracia*, and in *Slauonia*; and made so great spoyle in that Countrey, as the Emperour in great haste sent for ARIOBINDVS and ANSILA, who with a great Armie (as I sayd) were in *Sicilia*, to the end that they should come and defend the Country; together with other great forces which he had commanded to be leuied. And so he began the warre, and to oppose himselfe against the force and fury of ATTILA; wherto this was a great helpe, that at that instant there began to grow some suspicion and iealousie between ATTILA and his brother BEDA, and enuy and emulation between the Kings which came with him; by reason wherof, the war was not so terrible as before, although they still did much harme. THEODOSIVS Emperour of the East being in this care, and at warres with the mightie ATTILA, and his Cosin VALENTINIAN in such trouble, as is before sayd, that the Vandales and their King held *Africa*, the Gothes and Alanes *Spaine*, his Generall ECIVS in *France*, held warre with so many nations, and therein passed so many aduentures, as they would be too long to recite.

Attila inuaded the Greek Empire.

THEODOSIVS, applying himselfe in *Constantinople*, with great care and diligence to send greater reliefe and forces against ATTILA, was stricken with the plague, whereof quickly he

Theodosius the Second died of the plague.

he died. Whose death was generally lamented: for he was a good, pitifull, very vertuous and Christian Prince; as it plainly appeareth by many letters, which at this day are extant, written to him by LEO Bishop of *Rome*, who liued in his time. It is written of him, that he was very deuout and religious, and spent much time in prayer; and that he fasted two daies in the weeke, and much honoured the Church and the Clergie.

The religion and vertue of Theodosius.

Finally, he left nothing vndone which a Christian was bound to doe, neither what was conuenient for an Emperour. He was very studious and addicted to letters, and to Philosophie, and made great Libraries, principally of the holie Scriptures. He was so pitifull, that being one day reprehended for giuing so many malefactors their liues, he answered: I would to God that I could raise againe those which I haue put to death. In conclusion, he was accomplished with all vertues, and free from all vices, so as he was not subiect vnto any: onely he was noted to be somewhat mutable and hastie. He was married to EVDOXIA, a very godly and discreete woman, the daughter of LEONCIVS, whom he married for her vertue onely: she was called, before that she was married to him, ATANAIS, and with her mariage her name was chaunged. For this his goodnes and vertue, it pleased God that his raigne continued two and fortie yeeres: foureteene or fifteene being a childe, vnder the Protection of the King of *Persia*, in the time of his Vncle HONORIVS, as is alreadie written; and seuen and twentie with his cosin VALENTINIAN, and for the most part he enioyed the Empire of the East in peace and quiet; and died being about fiftie yeeres old: for in a manner as soone as he was borne, he inherited the Empire. He departed this world, according to MATHEVV PALMERVS computation in his additions to EVSEBIVS his Chronicle, and after PROSPERVS, in the yeere of our Lord, foure hundred, fiftie and three; and after some others, foure hundred and fiftie; and after the most common opinion, in the seuen and twentith yeere of the raigne of the Emperour VALENTINIAN, who then raigned in *Italy*, and liued in the citie of *Rome*.

An example of clemencie.

THE LIFE OF VALENTINIAN THE SECOND OF THAT NAME, AND THE THREE AND FIFTITH ROMAN Emperour; and of his Brother in Lawe, MARTIANVS.

(***)

THE ARGVMENT.

VAlentinian *remaining alone in the Empire of the West, tired with many warres, and seeing that* Attila *molested the eastern parts; to please his sister* Pulcheria, *and to the end that those parts should not remaine without an Emperour, he gaue the charge thereof to an old man called* Martianus, *who was a man of great iudgement, and very wise. In which time* Attila *resolued to giue ouer his enterprise against Constantinople, the siege being long and very difficult, but came towards the westerne parts, with a determination to passe into France and into Italie: Against whom* Valentinian *made* Ecius *his Generall, who was stil his Generall in France; hauing first concluded a peace with* Genfericus *King of the Vandales, wherein to the new Emperour old* Martianus *entred. This* Ecius *daunted* Attila *much, and made him know (to the great losse of his men) how valiant a man he was; so as he compelled him to flie. For which victorie* Valentinian *began to haue* Ecius *in iealousie, that he had an intent to haue made himselfe Emperour, and to that end had some intelligence with* Attila, *seeing that he did not wholly ruine him when he might: wherfore he caused him to be slain, which was the cause of the ruine of Italie, and of the Westerne Empire. For* Attila *(vnderstanding that* Ecius *was dead) returned into Italie, which* Valentinian *inuaded in peace: and being*

being inuaded, none of the Emperours set his hand to releeue it, being vnable to leuie any sufficient Armie to withstand the enemy. Whereupon hauing taken Aquileia, *and comming towards Rome, at the intreaty of Pope* Leo, *he spared that Citie, and so leauing Italie, he returned into Hungary: where marrying with the sister of the Emperor* Valentinian, *vpon his wedding day he gorged himselfe so full with wine and meate, as in the night (nature being vnable to support so great a charge, casting vp aboundance of blood) he died in his bed. Whose death yeelded some libertie to the Empire, notwithstanding that the West remained in a manner ruined, whereof grew the greatnesse of the Empire of the East, and of Constantinople. And one yeere after the death of* Attila, Valentinian *was also slaine by a souldier, whose name was* Tantillus, *both to take reuenge for the death of his Captaine* Ecius, *as vrged by the hatred of one* Maximus, *whose wife* Valentinian *had forced, when he had raigned Emperor thirtie yeeres.*



RVly I know not whether the reading of that which I haue already related and am presently to write, shall make the reader so much to wonder, as it doth me which write the same. For mine owne part, I dare iustifie, that no warres, alterations or changes of Kingdomes, of all that euer I haue read in auntient or moderne Histories, seeme worthie of so great admiration as those of these times, whereof we are now to treate. Neither doe I remember that I euer admired more at any thing then at these; considering the great and many calamities of so many prouinces and cities, the battailes and effusion of blood, the alterations and falles of estates, the diuersitie of people and nations which flocked together in them. And aboue all, I doe most wonder at the infinite numbers of people which came out of the northren parts, so as it seemed the earth did flowe with armed men. And likewise to consider, what rage, furie, pride or ambition (for I can giue it no other name) might moue so many sundrie nations, to abandon their owne countries, to ruine and conquer the world, not being vrged, or moued thereto by any offence or iniurie receiued. But it was the iust iudgement and permission of our Lord God, whose counsels are vnsearchable, and whose prouidence cannot be perceiued by the light of any humane eye. Let vs giue humble thanks vnto his diuine maiestie, that although, for our sinnes, he suffereth warres and combustions in these our times; yet they are not so generall, neither so miserable and cruell, as those which they endured in that age, as the reader may plainly perceiue by that which is already, and hereafter shall be related, which passed in this manner.

A consideration of the calamities of these times.

The state of *Italie* and of the West, where VALENTINIAN raigned, standing in such manner, as is said, THEODOSIVS dying in *Constantinople*, leauing neuer a sonne to succeede him, and but one sister, whose name was PVLCHERIA, a wise and worthie woman, who as she bare a great sway in the gouernment, and considering the warres she had with the Gothes, and in what state the whole Empire of both East and West stood, she endeuoured to procure that some excellent man, both in peace and warre, might be chosen Emperour, whether he descended of imperiall bloud or no. And it seemed that there was not any man, in whom more noble and excellent parts did concurre, then in an old Captaine called MARTIANVS: who although he were but of meane parentage, yet with his age he was of great experience, and a very valiant and excellent Captaine.

Pulcheria sister to Theodosius.

PVLCHERIA, and those which were of her counsell hauing taken this resolution, concealed the death of THEODOSIVS for certain daies, vntill they had taken such order as was requisite concerning the election of MARTIANVS. And notwithstanding that he was old, PVLCHERIA took him for her husband, to giue the greater assurance and authoritie to his Empire, and so he was ioyfully receiued by all men for their soueraigne Lord and Emperor. And VALENTINIAN likewise, who then resided in *Rome*, was well pleased therewith; as well for his deserts, as also for that it was done by PVLCHERIA, of whose vertue and worthinesse there was a generall good opinion. ZONARAS an antient Author, whom some call IOHANNES MONACVS, writeth (as IOHN CVSPINIAN relateth) that PVLCHERIA married with MARTIANVS to giue the greater authority and reputation to his Empire: but first she took securitie of him, that they should both liue chaste; for she was a maide, and had resolued to keepe her virginitie inuiolable: and that MARTIANVS accepted thereof, and

Martianus chosen Emperor of Constantinople.

A notable example of chastity

they both obserued the same, which is a notable example. As soone as MARTIANVS was made Emperor of the East, the first thing he did, was to make prouision to reinforce the Armie which THEODOSIVS had left, and to send against ATTILA fresh souldiers and a new Generall. And writers affirme, that if ATTILA had continued the warre which he began against *Constantinople*, he had without doubt come to confusion, by reason of the mutinies and contentions which began among his men of warre: which that politike and mighty King comprehending, and also for that (as they say) a great Captaine of his counselled him to leaue that conquest, and to goe from thence to make warres in the rest of *Germany*, and afterwards in *France*, *Spaine*, and *Italie*, where VALENTINIAN ruled: knowing that the Empire was diuided and vsurped by diuers nations, and therefore was very easie to be conquered; He resolued therefore to goe into *Hungarie*, where by treason he slue his brother BEDA, who together with him was equall King, for that he suspected that BEDA was the cause of the dissension and discord; to the end to make himself absolute Lord: so great was his pride, cruelty and ambition. After this, giuing good pay to his old souldiers, and *raising new, he grew to be so mighty*, that the Kings and Captains of the Ostrogothes, the Heruli, and other Nations which in the beginning *came to aid and assist him as a friend*, did now serue and obey him as their Lord. And Authors affirm, that he raised an Armie of fiue hundred thousand men which were souldiers leuied by him, and aduenturers (so great was his fame and reputation at that time): with which Armie comming out of *Hungarie*, *Austria* and the confines thereof, which were in his subiection, together with many other countries which he had taken in the last troubles, wherein the Empire was brought so low, *he presently began to make a conquest of Germany*, and tooke the most part thereof, and the best cities, as *Colein*, *Strausburg*, *Spire*, *Constance*, *Basil*, and many other, making all possible haste to come into *France* and *Italie*, imagining that VALENTINIAN should not be able to protect and defend the same. Wherewith (such was his pride) he pretended not to rest contented, but to make himself sole Monarch of the whole world; through all which his name was greatly feared: and so he intituled himself King of the Huns, of the Medes, of the Gothes, and of the Danes, the terrour to the world, and the scourge of God.

Attila translated his warr from the East into the west.

Attila slue his brother Beda by treason.

Attila his great power & army.

Attila's title.

Attila's bodily constitution.

PRISCVS an Historiographer writeth (who, being Secretarie to the Emperor VALENTINIAN, was sent Ambassador to him into *Scythia*, before his coming into *Hungarie*) that hee was but a little man of stature, and had a large broad brest, a great head, little eies, but very quick, *a very little thin beard, and some gray hairs*, a flat nose, and was of a very swarth complexion; and that in his going and looks he shewed the pride and greatnes of his minde. *He greatly* delighted in the warres, and was both politick and valiant, although he did not often vse to fight in person; but reserued himself for greater occasions. Hee was milde and easie to bee pleased by those which humbly required pardon, and submitted themselues vnto him; and held and maintained his faith and word, and defended those which yeelded themselues into his protection: but, with all this, he was most proud, and desirous to make himself Lord ouer all others. VALENTINIAN the Emperor of *Rome*, vnderstanding ATTILA his successe, with his resolution and desire, of whom he had *long stood in fear, did* the vttermost of his power to make head against so great force and fury. The first prouision hee made, was, To conclude a peace with GENSERICVS King of the Vandals, who was now King of all *Africa*, to haue his back in safety from so mighty an enemie. This peace was very acceptable to GENSERICVS; and, as to a thing which hee greatly desired, hee gladly yeelded: for, at that time there was great dissension and rebellion among his Captains and men of warre. This peace was concluded betwixt them, vpon condition that the King should resigne certain prouinces and cities to VALENTINIAN; and MARTIANVS the new Emperor of the East was included in the same.

Valentinian made peace with Genfericus, King of the Vandals, and of Africa.

This being ended, ECIVS, who followed the ordinary warres in *France*, was made Generall against ATTILA, for that hee was the best and most expert Captain in his time; whom ATTILA *had not forborn to haue corrupted with* many fair promises, putting him in minde of former friendship: but, for all he could do, he gaue no ear to him.

Ecius made Generall against Attila.

Ecius fought the first endship of Theodoricus King of the Gothes, and of Spain.

ECIVS, vnderstanding that ATTILA with his Army had already passed the riuer of *Rhine*, and knowing himself to haue no *sufficient Armie to make* head against him, notwithstanding that many new supplies were comn to his aid, he therefore by all means and deuices sought the friendship of THEODORICVS, whom some call THEODORBDVS King of the Gothes (who possessed the greatest part of *Spain*, and a great part of *France*, who was a mighty Prince & very valiant, and at that time lay in *Tholouse*) to induce him to aid and assist the Romans: who frankly promised, and faithfully performed the same; which the Emperor VALENTINIAN had

had also before attempted. And although that ATTILA by his Letters had sued to the contrary, promising him assurance of his estate; yet he (conceiuing that, ATTILA preuailing, he would as well seek to defeat him afterwards, as he did now the Romans) raised his whole power, and drew neere to ioin with ECIVS; and made the Alanes and Sueuians, who liued in *Spain*, to do the like. And, with the like perswasion, ECIVS concluded a peace with MEROBEVS King of the French, and with GVANDARICVS King of the Burgonians, who of custome were his ordinary enemies; and with the Saxons and other Nations: all which, more for fear, and through the hatred which they bare to ATTILA, than for any good will to the Romans, resolued to take part with ECIVS; whose wisdome and discretion was so great, that they all willingly ioined with him: yet for all this, ATTILA entred *France* with such power and fury that without finding any resistance he took the greatest part thereof before that ECIVS was in order to fight with him. But while that he made this spoil and conquest in *France*, the Kings *and people aforesaid ioyned with* ECIVS *in the fields called Catalanes*, on the borders of *Tholouse*: so as he had one of the greatest and best Armies that euer was seene, as well for number, as goodnesse of men, and his partie was held to be of no lesse power than that of ATTILA. Wherefore the one armie drew neere to the other, and *between them beganne a most cruell* warre: wherein (as IORNANDES affirmeth) dyed foure score and ten thousand men, before they came to a generall battaile, whereof we will speake presently; eyther partie desiring it, but chiefly ATTILA, who held his power inuincible, and so all nations attended the issue thereof: for it seemed that on the victorie depended the command and Empire of the whole world. And to say the truth, at this encounter were gathered together the best, and the greatest part of martiall men of all *Europe*, being almost a million of people: wherefore it shall not be amisse that we describe this battaile *more distinctly then we doe others*; *seeing that it* cannot be said, that there was euer seene any that was greater or more bloudie. First then, there fought there in proper person aboue ten mightie and warlike kings of the one side, and of the other. Of ATTILA his partie was ARDARICVS, king of a people called *Gepidi*, and ANDARICVS, VALAMIR, and THEODOMIR, brethren, and kings of the Gothes, or Ostrogothes, and the King of the *Marcomanni*, and others whose names I finde not written, and the people already named which were without number.

The kings which ioyned with Ecius against Attila.

The warres betweene Ecius & Attila.

Of ECIVS his partie, was THEODORICVS (who was of greater power then any of the rest) king of the Gothes, Visogothes, and of *Spaine*, and his sonne THORISMVND, MEROBEVS, King of the Francques, GVANDARICVS King of the Burgonians, SANGVIBANVS King of the Alanes, and the Captaines and kings of diuers other nations, which tooke his part, besides the Romane Legions and Captaines of the Empire. But ATTILA made small account of all these: For he had formerly ouerthrowne the greatest part of them; so as nothing made him to feare or doubt of the victorie, but only the discretion and valour of ECIVS, who was their Generall. Wherefore, as he was an Infidell and superstitious, he commanded his sooth-sayers and wizards to be called together, to the end that vsing their enchantments and forceries, they should tell him what successe he should haue, and how hee should speede in the battaile: and they sacrificing their beasts, told him, that he should lose the victory, but that the greatest Captaine among his enemies should die therein. Whereto giuing credit (although that it grieued him to thinke that he should be ouerthrowne, imagining that ECIVS should die) he sought and procured it: For, he made account that if ECIVS were dead, although he lost the day, yet he would raise new supplies, and preuaile against the rest, and so he disposed himself to fight. And as ECIVS and his partakers desired the same, the two Armies came so neere together, that there rested nothing but to come to blowes, and so they fought: which as PROCOPIVS, IORDANVS, ALABIVS, PAVLVS DIACONVS, and others write, was in this manner.

Both parties being desirous to fight, the one Armie being in the morning by breake of day in sight of the other, both Generals commanded to marshall and raunge their troupes, and to order their battailions, for to charge their enemies; but as their numbers were infinite (notwithstanding all the diligence and expedition that could be vsed by eyther partie) it was past noone before they could set their men in order. ATTILA with all his carts and wagons which hee brought for his cariage, made a kinde of fort or sconce vpon the side of a hill, wherein he put the women and disarmed people of his Armie, and of his whole Armie made three battailions, reseruing to himself e with his Scythians and Hunnes, the maine or middle battaile. And ARDARICVS King of the *Gepidi* with his countrie-men, and many others in whom he reposed greatest

How Attila set his Army in order.

greateſt truſt, led the battaile on the right hand: and to ANDARICVS, VALAMIR, and THEODOMIR, brethren, kings of the Oſtrogothes, with their owne people and their friends, he gaue the charge and leading of the battailion on the left hand.

How Ecius marſhalled his troupes.

And in this order he marched againſt ECIVS: who had ſomewhat prolonged the time, by reaſon of a great miſtruſt which he had conceiued of SANGVIBANVS King of the Alanes, doubting that he would haue gone ouer to ATTILA: for he was aduertiſed that there had been ſome treaty between them; wherein ATTILA granted to reſigne to him a Citie, wherein he had lien, and which was taken from him. Wherefore ranging his Armie into three ſquadrons alſo, in the middle ſquadron, he ſet the ſaid SANGVIBANVS, placing in the auaunt, and arierward of the troupe, the moſt valiant men of the Romane Legions, to the end that he ſhould not chuſe but fight. And to THEODORICVS with his ſonne THORISMVND with his Gothes and Spaniards, he gaue the leading of the ſquadron on the right hand; to the end that they ſhould encounter the Gepidi, which were a mighty people. And he tooke to himſelfe the leading of the left wing, taking with him MEROBEVS, King of the French, with his people, and the Burgonians, whoſe King with the greateſt part of his forces were ſlaine in an encounter which hapned the night before this battaile. With theſe troupes he placed himſelfe againſt the Oſtrogothes (the right wing of the enemie) changing it in this manner, for that he imagined, that if the Viſogothes which were of his ſide, ſhould haue been placed againſt the Gothes which were of the other ſide (for that they were countrie-men, and neighbours) they would not haue charged with ſuch furie as he deſired. In this order theſe two migktie Armies marched the one againſt the other, with incredible courage and aſſured confidence, the one to ouerthrow the other. And ſo there began between them, the moſt cruell and bloudy battaile that euer was. For, although it may be ſayd, that in other battailes there hath been ſo great a concourſe of men, as they could not well be numbred; yet they were not ſuch men, as theſe which now fought; or that it was ſo obſtinate and cruelly fought, with the ſlaughter of ſo many men and effuſion of ſo much bloud as this was, I doe not remember that I euer read. For therein fought the Flower (for valour and courage) of almoſt all the Nations of the World: As, the Romanes, the Scythians, the Hunnes, the Gothes, the French, the Germanes, the Spaniards, the Gaules, the Burgonians, and of each of theſe a very great number: So as in my iudgement, this may be recorded for the greateſt and moſt fierce battaile that euer was. The firſt attempt was to get a little Hill betweene the two Armies, which either of the two Generals thought requiſit to be taken, thereby to haue the aduantage of the other. ATTILA ſent certaine troups to take that Hill: but to that effect, thither already THORISMVND, ſonne to THEODORICVS, was come with his people, which were Gothes and Spaniards; ſo as theſe by this Hill, and all the reſt preſently gaue the charge: and the ſlaughter, the cries, and the ſound of the blowes with ſwords and launces, was ſuch, as it ſeemed the firmament had rent in ſunder; ſo as no man could doe any other but fight. And they all fought with ſuch furie, as there was not any aduantage ſeene from none till night, for ſo long it endured. What particular exploits were therein performed, cannot certainely be knowne: for the Hiſtoriographers (which treate thereof) affirm, that among ſo great a multitude of people, it could not be ſeene nor iudged how things paſſed; for euery one applyed himſelfe to ſtrike, and to kill, and there was not any ſquadron or troupe that ſtood ſtill, to looke on. But it is certaine, and they all affirme the ſame, that a little Brook, which ranne where this cruell battaile was fought, grew ſo high with the bloud of thoſe which were ſlaine, as it vſed to doe after ſome great raine had fallen. And the ſtreames of bloud were ſo great, as they carried the dead bodies down the valley. This ought not to be held for incredible, ſeeing the number of the dead was ſo great, as all authors agree it exceeded the number of one hundred & fourteſcore thouſand men; and they all lay dead in a ſmall circuit of ground. For in this fight there was no retrait, nor running away, but all dyed fighting. In this manner, in the heat and fury of the fight, the night came vpon them, and parted them, but with great and apparant aduantage on ECIVS his ſide; for ATTILA his troupes began to giue ground, notwithſtanding that hee vſed all poſſible meanes to haue maintained the fight. And THEODORICVS, King of the Gothes and of *Spaine*, charging too farre in amongſt his enemies, was ſlaine. Some ſay, that his horſe fell with him, and ſo he was troden to death by his owne men; and that his ſonne THORISMOND falling into the like danger, was reſcued by his people. ATTILA, perceiuing the defect and weakneſſe which was in his people, in the beſt order that he could retired to his fort or ſconce, which he had made of his carts and wagons, and therein fortified himſelfe that night, with thoſe which repaired

A battaile fought betweene Ecius and Attila, the moſt cruell that euer was fought in the world.

A ſtrange fight.

Theodoricus King of the Gothes ſlaine.

repaired to him from the battaile (for ſome were fled other wayes) there expecting the next dayes fortune. ECIVS went vp and downe the fields, as the Lord thereof, gathering his people together and ſetting them in order; to the end, that their diſorder ſhould not incourage the enemie: for by reaſon of the multitude of people, and the darkneſſe of the night, it could not certainly be ſayd who had the victory; and ſo they paſſed that night without any certain knowledge whether THEODORICVS were aliue or dead. The next morning by the breake of day the victorie was apparant: for ATTILA durſt not come forth of his campe; and ſo ECIVS and his ſouldiers had the ſpoile of the field, and were Lords thereof. The Armies were ſo neere together, as notwithſtanding that ATTILA held himſelfe for ouerthrowne, yet hee neither durſt neither could retire: wherefore, he reſolued to fortifie his campe and to defend himſelfe therein. And as THORISMVND found his father dead in the field, he with his Gothes and Spaniards was ſo extreamly enraged, as he purpoſed to haue aſſaulted ATTILA in his campe, to reuenge the death of his father, by his ruine. For all Writers affirme that hee might haue done it, if ECIVS would haue conſented thereto, and haue giuen him ſuch ayd as he might haue done. And they alſo write, that ATTILA was in ſuch deſpaire, when he vnderſtood that they meant to aſſault him, ſeeing the ſmall forces hee had to defend him, that he reſolued rather to kil himſelf then to com into his enemies hands. But the wiſe & valiant captain ECIVS, knowing both the ambition and power of THORISMVND, THEODORICVS his ſonne, and how mighty the Gothes were, was in great doubt, that they hauing wholly defeated ATTILA and his Armie, would haue conuerted their Arms againſt the Romans, who would haue been vnable to defend themſelues againſt them: and therefore it was moſt profitable (the time conſidered) to giue ATTILA meanes to eſcape; to the end that the Gothes and French ſhould not be freed from the feare of him. And to that end, without diſcouering his conceit, he counſelled THORISMVND, that ſetting all other matters aſide, he ſhould go to take poſſeſſion of his kingdome of *Spaine*, before that the Alanes, the Sueuians, or any other Nations ſhould cauſe any alteration, or rebell againſt him: And that before this, hee ſhould not attempt any other enterpriſe; for it was vncertaine whether he ſhould be able to bring his purpoſe to effect. THORISMVND deeming this to be the counſell of a father, and a friend (as indeede it was profitable for him) accepted his aduice, and without any delay preſently departed towards his countries; aſwell thoſe which he held in *France*, as thoſe in *Spaine*. And ECIVS, for the confideration aforeſaid, forbare to aſſault ATTILA's Camp: and ſo he and the kings which were with him had meanes to eſcape, and abandoned what he held in *France*. But the counſell of this great Captain (although that to this effect it ſeemed profitable) afterwards fell out cleane contrary: for it was the cauſe of his owne death, and of great miſeries (as hereafter ſhall be declared) to the Romane Empire.

A great victory obtained by Ecius againſt Attila.

ATTILA being in this manner gone out of *France*, by long iournies, as a man vanquiſhed, went with his Army into *Hungary*, and the countries there adiacent, of which he was in peaceable poſſeſſion; where relieuing his people, he reſted certaine daies. From whence (they ſay) the Hungarians are deſcended, deriuing their name from the Hunnes and another nation called *Catti* or *Gatti*, and ſo they were called *Hungary*, and *Pannonia* is now called *Hungaria*; although that neither in *Hungary*, neither in other Prouinces are obſerued the limits and bounds which in antient times they held. For as there haue beene great changes and alterations in the names; ſo haue there beene likewiſe as great in their limits and confines. But ſeeing this concerneth me not, without producing any example, this ſhall ſuffice for an aduertiſement to the Reader.

ECIVS (hauing obtained ſo great a victorie, leauing all that which in *France* the Romans enioyed, and ATTILA had poſſeſſed, and the French and Burgonians in amitie, and friends) he came to *Rome*, where the Emperor VALENTINIAN expected the iſſue of the battaile. This victory freed all *Italie* from feare, and purchaſed to ECIVS the greateſt honour poſſible; he entring *Rome* with great ſolemnity and incredible ioy of all ſorts of people: within few daies after (as the moſt of the Authors which I follow doe write) VALENTINIAN began to ſuſpect, that he had an intent to haue made himſelfe Emperor, and that he had intelligence with ATTILA; The ſuſpicion growing (as he ſaid) for that ECIVS after the battaile did not wholly ruine ATTILA. And as EVTROPIVS particularly relateth, VALENTINIAN was ſo highly incenſed againſt ECIVS by MAXIMVS a Gentleman of *Rome*, as he cauſed him to be ſlaine. Which (they ſay) MAXIMVS did to the end to be reuenged of VALENTINIAN (as afterwards he was) for rauiſhing his wife; which iniurie he diſſembled, and

Ecius had in ſuſpicion by Valentinian.

The death of Ecius.

and made no shew to vnderstand, vntill that he had oportunitie to effect that which afterwards he put in execution, which was to kill the Emperour; which he neuer durst attempt so long as ECIVS liued. ECIVS being slaine at this time (although that PAVLVS DIACONVS seemes to be of opinion that it was afterwards) with him ended the whole force and power of the Western Empire; wherof PROXIMVS a discreete and Noble Romane gentleman gaue VALENTINIAN to vnderstand. Who being demanded by the Emperor (as PROCOPIVS writeth) whether he had not followed the best and most profitable counsell, by putting ECIVS to death, answered: whether the Emperor hath put ECIVS to death with or without reason, *I dare not determin; but this I dare affirm, that by killing him, thou hast with thy own left hand cut off thy right.* Sure, he was a true Prophet, as the Historie hereafter will make manifest.

The saying of Proximus to the Emperor Valentinian.

While these things passed in the Westerne parts, the Emperour MARTIANVS raigned in great prosperity in *Grecia* and the East: for he was a very wise man, and a louer of peace; and so he maintained and preserued the same with the Persians and other Nations, without losing any iot of his confines: but rather in all treaties, had euer the aduantage, and got ground. He sent aide and men of warre to serue VALENTINIAN in the warres with ATTILA: so as MARTIAN liued in prosperity and well beloued. But returning to our Westerne Historie (thus it went) As soone as ATTILA vnderstood that ECIVS was dead (the feare of whom made him to contain himselfe within *Hungary* and *Germany*) he resolued without any delay, setting all other matters apart, to come against *Italie*, which only being in peace, held for VALENTINIAN. And coming downe with a very mightie Armie, with some of those Kings before named, which after that he was driuen out of *France*, he had ioyned with him, he descended with great furie, taking by the way all the Cities and countries as he passed, putting all to fire and sword. And in this manner he entred poore *Italy*, through the Prouince of the Venetians now called *Friuli*, robbing and spoiling all places: where there came against him a Captaine sent by VALENTINIAN with a great and mighty Armie, with which ATTILA fought a very cruell battaile: but the Imperiall Generall and Armie were ouerthrowne, with great losse and slaughter of men; and so ATTILA marching forwards, tooke many Cities: which put all *Italie* in such feare, that the inhabitants in no part thereof, held themselues in safety from the power and rage of ATTILA. And this his comming and the feare of him, was the cause of the first beginning of the mighty and famous Citie of *Venice*, which in those daies begunne to be built (according to the most part of the best Historiographers) by people which flying from the rage of ATTILA, reduced themselues to dwell in certaine little Ilands, with their wiues, children, and goods, where that Citie now standeth, imagining that there they might liue in safety: and there *fortifying themselues in the best manner they could* (for ATTILA his Armie did consist of land-men only) afterwards they resolued to continue there, notwithstanding that the feare was past, and began to set orders concerning their gouernement and iustice. And hauing good successe, they grew in processe of time to such greatnesse, that in a manner they became absolute Lords of the Sea, and gat many Ilands, kingdomes and Noble Cities, and are vntill these our daies the honour and credit of all *Italie*, and preserue their liberty inuiolate, calling their Citie *Venetia*, after the name of the Prouince from whence they came, which was the maine Land vpon the shore side neere to *Venice*: which, for that it appertaineth not to my Historie, I will passe ouer with silence, referring the Reader to BLONDVS, SABELLICVS, and other Authors which treate thereof at large.

Attila his commme into Italy. Forum Iulij.

The beginning of the city of Venice.

Some are of opinion that it is called Venetia of these words Venite qua, *vsed by those which were first there, to induce the rest which were on land to come thither.*

ATTILA, hauing taken all the countrie behinde him, besieged the Citie of *Aquileia*, which at that time was of great power; whereinto, besides the inhabitants, and such as were borne therein, entred many Romanes, and other of the Emperours souldiers which escaped from the battaile wherein their Generall was ouerthrowne: and they so valiantly defended the same, that ATTILA besieged it three yeeres, and could not take it, holding it for a great dishonor to raise his siege before he had it: in which time he did much harm in all the countrey round about, with his men of warre, and there were many conflicts between the besiegers and the besieged.

The siege of Aquileia.

During the time of this long siege, GENSERICVS king of the Vandales made himselfe peaceable Lord of all *Africa*. And the French with MAROBEVS their king grew mighty in *France*, and enlarged their Dominion, and the Burgonians in the countrie now called *Burgundy* did the like. And the Gothes, Alanes, and Sueuians in like manner in *Spaine*, and in such part of *France* as is afore said. And the Emperour VALENTINIAN neuer came to relieue *Aquileia*, and as little did MARTIANVS the Emperour of *Constantinople*, eyther through cowardize

cowardize, wretchlenesse, ill gouernment, or want of power sufficient for such an enterprise, standing in feare of ATTILA and his power, who at the end of three yeers that he had held the same besieged resolutely assaulting it vpon a day with his whole Armie without any intermission, withdrawing such as were weary and tyred, and setting others in their places) he tooke it by force; and hauing sacked it, and put all to the Sword which he found therein, he made it to be cast to the ground, not leauing any one house or building that might be inhabited, it hauing been one of the richest and most Noble Cities of that time: for *Aquileia*, and *Rauenna*, after *Rome*, were the greatest and most populous in that age.

Aquileia taken and razed by Attila.

ATTILA, hauing thus like a sauage barbarian ruined *Aquileia*, he marched forwards with great expedition, and within very few daies, tooke many excellent Cities and Townes; among which, were *Mantua*, *Brescia*, *Cremona*, *Bergamo*, and all their confines. The like he did by *Milan* and *Pauia*, and other neighbour townes: and went to the Citie of *Rauenna*, which for that the Emperours held their courts there, was the most famous Citie in all *Italy*, which yeelded to him without any assault. From thence he marched into *Tuscane*, with a determination to haue made no stay vntill he came to *Rome*, and wholly to haue ruined the same, and so in speeches he gaue out. At that time LEO the first of that name was Pope, who at the request of the Emperour VALENTINIAN, accompanied with many Senators, went to ATTILA, intreating him for pities sake to spare *Rome*, and not to destroy that City, which intreatie he made with such discretion and wisedome, and it pleased God to giue such efficacie to his words, as notwithstanding that ATTILA was the most cruell and inexorable Prince in the World; yet the Popes supplication did so much preuaile with him, that he not only gaue ouer his iourney to *Rome*, but resolued to depart out of *Italie*, and to returne to his antient seate in *Hungarie*, requiring first a great summe of money to be leuied vpon the Citie for a signe and acknowledgement of Soueraignty. And the state of *Rome* was now come to this point, as they durst not make denyall of any thing that ATTILA required at their hands; and (withall) they held it for a very great good hap, that ATTILA would forbeare to put his cruell determination in execution.

Cities taken in Italy by Attila.

Some Authors haue written (whether truely or fasly, I dare not maintaine) that all men wondring at this sodaine alteration of ATTILA his purposes, and some of his fauorites asking him the cause thereof; he answerd, that he durst not denie the Popes demand: For, whilst he stood talking with him, he thought that he perceiued two old men standing behinde him, with vnsheathed swords in their hands, threatning to kill him, if hee failed to perform what he required; and that he therfore durst doe no other, which was held for a miracle.

A great miracle, if true.

After this agreement ATTILA returned into *Hungarie*, where he was held for the greatest and most powerfull Prince of the World, and was so much feared, that MARTIANVS the Emperour of *Constantinople* sent to sue for peace, and therewith sent him presents and money to obtaine the same. And he to the contrarie sent to the Emperor VALENTINIAN, requiring him to send him his sister HONORIA for his wife; threatning, that if he sent her not he would againe returne into *Italie*, and destroy *Rome*. Whereto VALENTINIAN agreed by the consent of his sister; For shee, by meanes of an Eunuch, had written to him, and receiued letters from him, procuring him to require her to wife whatsoeuer hapned; which she did, for that her brother constrained her to liue a maide, lockt vp to her disgrace, and to the dishonor of the Emperor her brother: and he fearing ATTILAS displeasure, sent him his sister, according to his request, and he tooke her to wife, together with others which as a Barbarian he held. This his mariage was the cause of his death: For he, holding a royall feast, and banquet at his wedding, dranke and ate that day so much: that waxing drowzie, and being ouercome with sleepe, he laid him downe, mussling or grouling vpon his face, and nature being oppressed with what he had eaten and drunke, such aboundance of blood gushed out at his nose, and with such vehemency, that in the space of an houre he was choaked therewith, and so hee ended, shedding his owne blood, who had caused streames and riuers of humane blood to flow; and had slaine a greater number of men, and vsed greater cruelty then any King or Captaine that euer was before him.

Attila had Valentinians sister to wife.

The death of Attila.

The death of ATTILA gaue liberty to some Kings and Nations which were vnder him, and had serued him in all his warres, and there ensued great warres betweene them and his sons. But the Empire could neuer recouer the Prouinces and Countries which it had lost in *Germany*, in *France*, in *Spayne*, in *England*, and in *Africa*; although that in *France* and *Spaine* it held some part: yet it so much declined and fell to so meane estate, as from henceforth wee shall write

The end of the Empire in the west.

of the Emperors and such accidents as hapned in *Italie*, as additions annexed to the Empire of the East, principally naming the Emperors of *Constantinople*, wherein consisted the strength and power of the ancient Empire. For, after fiue or six Emperors, and some of them tyrants (as we will shortly declare) AVGVSTVLVS being the last of them; for the space of three hundred and thirtie yeeres the western Empire was whollie lost, and that which in *Italie* remained was subiect to the Emperors of *Constantinople*, who ruled the same by their Gouernors (called Exarchi) vntill the time of Pope LEO the third, in which time through the negligence and basenesse of the Greeke Emperors, the Imperiall seate was transported to the West, as when time commeth we will specifie.

The death of the Emperor Valentinian.

The next yeere after the death of ATTILA, the Emperour VALENTINIAN was slaine in *Rome*, by the secret practice and treason (as it was afterwards knowne) of MAXIMVS: and he which executed this murther was a valiant souldier, who had serued that braue Captaine EVCIVS, whose name was TRANSILA, who did it in reuenge of the death of his Captaine. And so ended VALENTINIAN after that he had raigned thirtie yeeres; fiue and twentie in the company of his father in lawe THEODOSIVS the lesser, and fiue with MARTIANVS the Emperor of *Constantinople*, who by reason of his death remained sole Emperor, which hapned in the yeere of our Lord (after most writers) foure hundred six and fiftie. He left not any some that might succeede him, but two daughters by his wife EVDOXIA.

THE LIFE OF MARTIANVS, ONLY OF THAT NAME, AND FOVRE AND FIFTITH EMPEROVR of ROME.

(***)

Maximus vsurpe the name of Emperor.

PResently vpon the death of the Emperour VALENTINIAN in *Rome*, as PROCOPIVS, PAVLVS DIACONVS and some others doe write, MAXIMVS for that he was a Romane Citizen, of high parentage, nobly descended, and of great authoritie in the Citie, presently vsurped the name of Emperor; and was possessed of *Rome* and of all *Italie*. And the better to assure his tyranny, he vsed such meanes, as (more by force, then any free consent) he married with EVDOXIA, which had been VALENTINIANS wife, and daughter to the Emperor THEODOSIVS the lesser. To whom after that he had her in his power, thinking thereby the better to winne her loue, he discouered and confessed that he had caused her husband to be slaine: with this addition, that he did it languishing for the loue of her; which did nothing asswage her discontentment, but rather so much incensed her, that she resolued to be reueng'd on him by any means howsoeuer

uer. And imagining that from *Constantinople*, or from the Emperour MARTIANVS, she should not haue any redresse, she secretly wrote to GENSERICVS King of the Vandales, who then raigned in *Africa*, very effectually recommending her vnto him, and earnestly intreating him to set her at libertie, and to deliuer her from the power of MAXIMVS, who was a tyrant and a traitor. GENSERICVS to take the benefit of the time, and in hope to make himselfe Lord of *Italy*, or at least to haue the spoile thereof, employing his whole power, raised the greatest Armie he was able; and vsing all possible expedition sailed into *Italy*, being so strong as Authors affirm, that he brought with him three hundred thousand men in his Armie: against whose power MAXIMVS was neither able, neither durst make any resistance, notwithstanding that he attempted as farre as he could: wherefore being altogether hopelesse and in despaire, he resolued to flie, and to abandon *Rome*; but by the way he was slaine by a Roman captaine called VRSVS.

Gensericus came into Italy with 300000 men.

The death of Maximus.

When GENSERICVS arriued on the coast of *Italy*, there was so great feare in *Rome*, as all the principal citizens abandoned the Citie: wherefore Pope LEO seeing the calamity likely to fall vpon it, resolued to hazard his life for the same. And knowing how great cruelty GENSERICVS had vsed against the Bishops in *Africa*, as an Heretike (for he was an Arrian) before that he came to *Rome*, he went forth to meete him, and in great humilitie intreated him for the Honor of Christ to mitigate his furie, and to content himselfe with the wealth of *Rome*, without spoiling and sacking the Churches and Temples. But this cruell king forbare not to march to *Rome*, and to enter it with his whole Armie, and robbed and spoiled without any difference as well the sacred, as the prophane. Being in *Rome* thus busied, in the space of foureteene daies, he departed from thence, carying with him infinite wealth, and rich prisoners; and so *Rome* being the head of the world, and Queene of all Nations, was spoiled, dishonoured, and sacked by the Vandales, hauing already at another time been spoiled by the Gothes, as aboue is mentioned: a wonderfull example, to moue a man to make little account of the power & riches of this world. Leauing the Citie thus wasted (notwithstanding that at the intreaty of Pope LEO he commanded that no edifice or buildings should be set on fire, neither any man to be slaine or tortured) he led with him from *Rome* the Empresse EVDOXIA, and her two daughters which she had by VALENTINIAN, which he afterwards caried with him into *Africa*. After that GENSERICVS departed from *Rome*, he did the like in many other Cities in the marches thereof, as he had done there: and destroying the Citie of *Capua*, for that it made some resistance, he went to *Naples*, and besieged it, thinking to haue wonne it by assault. But the inhabitants so manfully defended it, that he was driuen to raise his siege, and so returned into *Africa* loden with the spoiles and wealth of *Italie*; where he married one of the Emperour VALENTINIANS daughters, which he brought with him from *Rome* to his sonne TRASIMVNDVS, who succeeded him in his estate.

Rome sacked by Gensericus.

The Empresse Eudoxia, and her two daughters caried into Africa.

This befell in the sixt yeere of the raigne of MARTIANVS, being the next yeere after the death of VALENTINIANVS. GENSERICVS with his Armie hauing left *Rome*, and being departed out of *Italie*, the principall Senators and Romane Gentlemen, which through want of forces and of an Emperor, had abandoned the Citie, presently returned, and by common consent, chose for Emperor of *Rome*, *Italie* and *Sicilie* (for now in a manner all the rest of the state was vsurped) an antient Noble Romane Gentleman, both for age and blood, of the order and dignity of Senator, whose name was AVITVS: which when the Emperour MARTIANVS vnderstood, as a gentle and religious Prince, he was very glad thereof, and allowed and ratified his election, in hope of better order to be taken in the Gouernment; and so it seemed that there was good hope to haue preserued the Empire in that state wherein it then was. But all was disturbed through the death of MARTIANVS, who was poisoned in *Constantinople*, by the practice and deuice of ARDABVRIVS, and his father ASPAR, who were his Captaines: which hapned in the yeer of our Lord 459, he hauing raigned seuen yeers. This MARTIANVS was a vertuous and a iust Prince, and preserued and enlarged the Easterne Empire.

Auitus chosen Emperor by the Romanes.

Martianus poysoned in Constantinople.

THE LIFE OF LEO THE FIRST, BEING THE FIVE AND FIFTIETH ROMANE EMPEROR; AND OF THOSE *WHICH IN HIS TIME TOOK* VPON THEM THE NAME OF Emperors.

(***)

The Argvment.

When Martianus *was dead, some which had beene the causers thereof sought to haue vsurped the Empire: wherein failing to effect their desires, they made* Leo *Emperour, being a Greeke borne, who in the beginning of his Empire bare himselfe so valiantly, that there was not any enemy so hardie, as to make warre against him. But in the Westerne Empire many tyrants arose, and many Emperours; which for that they liued not long, were the cause of great alterations and combustions: and the Vandales aduentured to come into Italy, against whom* Leo *sent a good and a worthy fleete, vnder the conduct of a Captaine called* Basiliscus, *who encountring them, ouerthrew them. In the meane time* Leo *in Constantinople was driuen to fight against some who sought to haue vsurped: who being ouercome and slaine, he had great difficultie to rescue Rome, which was sacked and spoiled by many vnder the name of Emperors; which for that they liued not long, or were deposed from that dignity by others which were more mighty then they, were the causers of very great troubles in the Westerne Empire, in the middest of which tumults ensued the death of the Emperour* Leo *in Constantinople, when hee had raigned seuenteene yeeres.*

PResently when Martianvs the Emperor of *Constantinople* was dead (whose death was greatly lamented) the principall men began to consult about the choosing of a new Emperour: and Aspar, who wrought the last Emperors death, sought to haue been his successor; but he preuailed not, for as much as he was of the Arrian sect: for as the Catholike Christians were the stronger side, so they would not consent to his election. But seeing that he could not obtaine the Empire for himselfe, hee bare a great sway in the election of another, which was an excellent man both in peace and warre, a Tribune, whose name was Leo, a Greeke borne, and the first that euer was Emperour of the Greeke Nation, and as most Authors write, was born in the City of *Besica*. But Aspar first made this bargain with him, that when he should be

be in full possession of the Empire, hee should then make his sonne, Ardaburivs, Cæsar; although it succeeded not. This being concluded, Leo was chosen and obeyed for Emperor: and gouerning the Empire in good order and with good successe, in the beginning thereof he wan great credit and reputation; so as neither *Africa*, *Asia*, nor *Persia*, durst to stirre against him: but in the West, in *Italie*, and in *Sicilia*, there were great alterations, and many were Emperors more in name, than in power or authority comparable to the Antient. And that old and mighty King Genserics neuer desisted from infesting *Italie*, coming himself in person, and sending his fleets to rob and spoil the Countrey; so that (as Eutropivs relateth) he ruined and laid waste many Cities, and in the end became sole and abolute Lord of all *Sicilia*. In the first yeer of the Raign of Leo, Avitvs died in *Rome*, who (as we said) raigned there; and the Roman Army, being then neer to *Rauenna*, chose and nominated for Emperor a good man of warre, whose name was Maioranvs: whereto the Emperor Leo gaue his consent. *The death of Auitus.*

This Maioranvs was a good Prince, and an excellent Captain, for the time he raigned: for, he took great care, and vsed great diligence in defense of *Italie* against the Vandals & Genserics their King: and to that end he raised a great Army, and remained for the most part of his time vpon the sea-side, to be the better able to send relief and succour where most need required. This prospering well with him, and seeing himself mighty and strong in men and munition, he resolued to haue sailed into *Africa*, in hope and with intent to haue reconquered the same; but he could not accomplish that good work: for, death surprised him when he had raigned three yeers and odde moneths. Some say, that hee died of a disease: and others say, that the same Army that chose him slue him. In place of Maioranvs rose vp another Emperor, which was an eminent man called Severianvs; who, besides the ordinary warres against the Vandals, was troubled with another against the Alanes: who, with George their King departing from *Spain*, where they had of long time inhabited together with the Gothes, resoluted to come into *Italie*, thinking to haue conquered the same, and to haue made themselues Lords of certain places in *Lumbardy*: against whom, Severianvs commanded an Armie to bee leuied, and made a valiant man called Rithimer Generall thereof, who was by linage a Goth, but now made a Citizen of *Rome*, and receiued into the degree and dignity of a Roman Gentleman. The King of the Alanes coming with the Roman Generall neer to the City of *Bergamo*, to a battell which of either party was very cruell, in the end the Alanes were ouerthrowne, and their King slain. *The death of Maioranus, chosen Emperor.* *Seuerianus chosen Emperour.*

After this victory and other accidents which hapned of lesse moment, Severianvs died in *Rome*, when he had gouerned the Empire in *Italy* almost foure yeers: and in his place was chosen a very excellent man of war, sent thither by the Emperor Leo to succour and protect *Italy* against the Vandals, who was called Anthemivs, and was sonne-in-law to the late Emperor Martianvs, Leo's Predecessor. There presently arose against Anthemivs (intituling himself Emperor) a Captain whose name was Gervandvs, who was Prefect and Gouernor of the Prouince of *Narbone*; which was all that remained subject to the Empire in *France*. But Anthemivs speedily sent his Captains against him: and, beeing by them taken, hee was condemned to perpetuall exile; and Anthemivs established in his place a friend of his which was a good Captain, called Belimer, to gouern the Countrey of *Gallia Narbonensis*. This rebellion was scarcely ended, when in *Rome* another prime man arose, and would also haue rebelled, called Patricivs: but Anthemivs pacified that matter with as great facility as the rest. *The death of Seuerianus.* *Anthemius chosen Emperor.* *Gerundus was called Emperor.*

During all these alterations, and the death of Emperors in *Italie*, the Emperor Leo gouerned *Græcia* and the East very valiantly, and in peace. But the ould and politick Genserivs, King of the Vandales in *Africa*, seeing the alterations and troubles which daily happened in *Italie*, resolued with himself to inuade it, and to make himself absolute Lord thereof; which was a thing that hee long desired, as a man who had tasted the sweetnes of the wealth and riches of *Rome*. Whereupon hee mustred vp his valiant Vandales, and the countrey Inhabitants of *Africa* and other Nations; and armed and rigged the mightiest Armie and Nauy that hee euer before had leuied. Whereof when Leo was aduertised, and knowing that Anthemivs had not power sufficient to defend himself against Genserivs, and that if Anthemivs sped il, his estate was not assured (at the least *Slauonia*, and those Countries which bordered vpon *Italy*) he resolued to imploy his whole power against Genserivs, in defense of Anthemivs; who of his side made all the prouision of men and Arms that *Genserius, King of the Vandals, came again into Italie.*

possibly he was able; for the defence of *Italy*, and had rigged vp an excellent fleet for the Sea. When LEO had prepared his Armie and fleete, he made one BASILISCVS, a great man in his countrie, Generall thereof, who was his brother in law, being brother to his wife the Empresse, and was also brother in law to ANTHEMIVS: for ANTHEMIVS had maried his sister. BASILISCVS, with his great fleet departing from *Græcia*, safely arriued in *Italy*; and ioyning with the fleete which ANTHEMIVS had prepared, they went in quest of GENSERICVS, who with no lesse a fleete was come vpon the same coast.

These two Nauies being come within sight one of the other, and GENSERICVS knowing his enemies souldiers to be farre more readie and expert in Sea seruices then his were, would gladly haue auoided the fight; but he was so charged by BASILISCVS, that he could not chuse but fight: and as the battaile was fearefully begun, so was it cowardly maintained. And he seeing his disaduantage, would haue gon out of the fleete, whilest the ships were fighting one with an other, and did attempt to haue done so: which the rest of his fleete perceiuing, they all presently turned their backes, and he was apparantly ouerthrowne: where he lost many of his ships and much people; and so very shamefully fled into *Africa*. Whom BASILISCVS pursued, and took land but two hundred and fourescore furlongs from *Carthage*: and (as PROCOPIVS reporteth) if he had presently gone thither he had easily taken the same. And GENSERICVS being without forces (as he then was) he might haue taken all that prouince: for alreadie on the other side towards the East, another Captain whom LEO had sent, whose name was HERACLIVS, had taken the citie of *Tripoli*, and other townes: but through ignorance, or as some say, BASILISCVS being corupted with a great summe of money by GENSERICVS, he forslowed the warres, and was content to retire his Armie into *Sicilia*, and there to recouer what GENSERICVS possessed. Whilest as the Emperor LEO's Captaines and souldiers performed these seruices, he himselfe was not idle in *Constantinople*: for ASPAR and his sonne ARDABVRIVS had caused great combustions. And as they were chiefe in making him Emperour; so were they of great power and authoritie in his Court, and in the gouernment of the Empire: besides that both the father and the sonne had euer been eminent men, and very powerfull. This ASPAR, perceiuing that BASILISCVS the Emperors Generall prospered well in all his actions, began to feare to fall from that dignitie which he then enioyed; imagining that the Emperor being out of feare of GENSERICVS, would make small account of him: and to auoide this, he resolued whilest as BASILISCVS was in the warres, to importune and vrge him to nominate and make his sonne ARDABVRIVS, CÆSAR, according to his former promise when he was chosen Emperour; which he had hitherto deferred, by entertaining them with some apparant reasons. But now ASPAR (as a mightie man) so audaciously importuned him to hold his word, as taking hold of the Imperiall robe which the Emperor then ware, he said, LEO thou oughtest to performe what thou hast promised me; for he that weareth this robe ought not to lie. Whereto the Emperor answered: And much lesse ought he to endure that any man vse violence or force him.

ASPAR, perceiuing the Emperors determination, resolued to make his sonne CÆSAR by force; and accounting himself of sufficient power to effect it, gaue him the name of CÆSAR: and leuying such forces as he was able, the warre began betweene him and the Emperor. Some say that LEO nominated him CÆSAR, and that the Catholike Christians would not yeeld thereto, for that ASPAR and his sonne ARDABVRIVS were both Arrian heretikes: whereof ensued great tumults. But howsoeuer the matter went, it is certaine that they tooke Armes against their Soueraigne, and that their men of warre fought one partie against other. Wherefore in great haste LEO sent to recall his Generall BASILISCVS from *Sicilia*, to the end that with his Armie and fleete he should come to his aide: but before that he could come, the Emperour was in great danger, and likely to haue been vtterly lost and ouerthowne.

But being come with his Armie, notwithstanding that there were many skirmishes within the citie of *Constantinople*, and that in apparance it seemed the matter went in a manner at euen hand (for ASPAR and his sonne were excellent men of warre, very rich and of great power) yet in the end LEO his partie preuailed, and the two tyrants were taken and put to death by the Emperours commandement: and so was he freed from this daunger and seruitude.

But there presently ensued other troubles with the Ostrogothes, which had accompanied ATTILA in his warres. For BALEMIR and THEODOMIR Kings of those Gothes, with all their whole power, after many battailes fought between them and the sonnes of ATTILA (which I write not, for that it appertaineth not to our historie) resolued to make warre in the East

Genfericus *ouerthrowne in a battaile by Sea.*

Speeches vttered by Aspar *to the Emperor* Leo, *with his answere.*

Aspar *made Cæsar by his father* Ardaburius, *by force.*

Aspar *and his sonne* Ardaburius, *slaine by the commandement of the Emperour* Leo.

East Empire: and beginning in *Slauonia*, they put the Emperor LEO to great care and trouble. But he, as a wise Prince and a louer of peace (seeing that there was no other remedie) gaue them *Hungarie* and *Austria*, and taking hostages and great assurances of them, concluded a peace; which at that time was very necessary and profitable for the Empire, although nothing honourable. He also granted vnto them *Seruia*, *Mœsia*, and *Walachia*.

In the meane season, after the ouerthrow of GENSERICVS, the Emperor ANTHEMICVS liued in peace in *Italy*. But as there is no constancy in humane estates, and that in the time of most prosperity, there many times happen the greatest disasters and calamities; RITHINER, who (as we said) ouerthrew the Alanes and slew their King neere to the Citie of *Bergamo*, being growne proude and vaineglorious, by reason of so famous a victory, forgetting the fauours which ANTHEMIVS had bestowed vpon him (first in marying him to his owne daughter; and then making him Gouernour generall of *Gallia Cisalpina*, now called *Lombardy*) resolued to rise and rebell against his father in law, and soueraigne Lord; by either of which he was bound to haue been a faithfull and loyall seruant; and to that end resolued to come with the greatest force that he was able, against the Emperor ANTHEMIVS: whereupon, all *Italie* was in Armes, either for the one party or for the other. But Pope EPIPHANIVS vsed the meanes to bring them to a peace: which he caused to be confirmed vpon certaine conditions, and with exceeding great oathes. But the wicked RITHINER (within a little while after) brake all, and with his Army came to the walls of *Rome*, making warre against all such as tooke part with the Emperour.

Rithiner *rebelled against the Empero.* Anthemius *in Italie.*

ANTHEMIVS was then vnfurnished of any sufficient Army to take the field; and therfore contenting himself to defend the City, suffered it to be besieged, expecting the succours which came to him out of *France*. For BALEMIR (whom as we haue sayd, he had made Gouernour of *Gallia Narbonensis*) vnderstanding in what distresse he was (as a loyall and gratefull seruant) resolued to come with the greatest power he was able to leuie, to relieue his soueraigne Lord and to raise the siege. And the Emperor LEO vnderstanding what past in *Italie*, and knowing how small meanes and power ANTHEMIVS had to defend himselfe, being informed also of the treason of RITHINER, with all speed he sent into *Italie* a Captaine whose name was OLIBRIVS, with a good Army against him; with authoritie, when he should see time fit for it, to take the name of Emperour. Which when ANTHEMIVS vnderstood, thinking by this meane to be freed from the siege, wherewith the Citie was distressed, he agreed that the other should be called Emperor, and willingly allowed his name and title.

But before that OLIBRIVS could come, BALEMIR arriued with such succours, as he brought with him out of *France*: and seeking to enter *Rome*, and to ioine with ANTHEMIVS, RITHINER got betweene him and the Citie, in such manner, that whether BALEMIR would or would not, they came to blowes, and there was between them a cruell battell, wherein the loyall Captaine (through the secret iudgement of God) was slaine by the traytor: whereupon, the people of *Rome* being out of hope of this succour (and as OLIBRIVS which came from *Constantinople* was in *Rauenna*, so farre from *Rome*) they so cowardly fainted, as RITHINER entred the Citie by force; and being in possession thereof, put his Lord and father in law the Emperour to death, and sacked the whole Citie, excepting two streets wherein hee was lodged. And so this was the third time that *Rome* endured wants and much trouble in defending it selfe, and violence and spoile after it was taken. So that (as it hath been seene, and hereafter will often appeare) this Woorld knoweth not how to giue any good thing, but takes it away againe; neither how to aduance, but to the end to pull downe againe. *Rome* had commanded and subdued the whole World, and had raigned ouer all the habitable knowne Nations of the earth: it had tamed and deprined great Kings and Common-wealths of their Kingdomes and Dominions, and had enriched it selfe with the spoiles and wealth (in a manner) of all the Nations and Cities of the World. Neuertheless, through the diuine prouidence of God, in processe of time it was taken and spoiled by the same people and Nations which it had subdued, and brought vnder their yoke. And those Nations came to *Rome*, tooke it, and made spoile thereof, as if they had come to set home, and to haue that restored to them, which in former time was taken from their Auncestors; which the Reader may plainly perceiue by that which is already written, and shall be written hereafter: which will shew how often *Rome* hath beene entred and taken by force, and how often it hath been sacked and spoiled, and indured such like disastres and calamities.

Balemir *ouerthrowne and slaine by* Rithiner.

Rome taken and sacked the third time by Rithiner, *wherin the Emperor* Anthemius *was slaine.*

But to returne to our Historie: RITHINER being Master and Commander of *Rome*, and

Rithiner *made Emperor of Rome, and his death.*

Olibrius *made Emperor, and his death.*

of the reſt of *Italie*, with the power and name of Emperor (excepting *Rauenna*, and the marches thereof, which was defended by OLIBRIVS) three moneths onely hee enjoyed this ſouereignty: after which, he fell into an extreme ſickneſs, whereof he died in terrible pain. And as ſoon as he was dead, OLIBRIVS was proclaimed Emperor in *Rome*, who then was in *Rauenna*: and coming thither, and giuing but the ſignes and ſhew of an excellent good Gouernour, within foure months he died of his naturall death. And as *Rome* had loſt her power and authority: ſo had the Emperors thereof little health, and ſhort life. For, who-ſo ſhall make a computation thereof, ſhall finde, that whil'ſt LEO raigned in the Eaſt, there were in *Italie* (by good and bad titles) one and other, ſix or ſeuen Emperors.

Glizerius *made Emperor, and depoſed.*

Preſently after the deceaſe of OLIBRIVS, the Senate of *Rome*, conſidering the loſſes and tyrannies paſt, would haue vſed their authority in chuſing an Emperor by voices, and by generall conſent, with good aduice and conſideration; but they could not bring their purpoſe to effect: for, being ouerſwaied by GVANDIBARVS (a Captain who then was in *Rauenna*) they made choice of one GLIZERIVS a Senator of *Rome*, who was in *Rauenna* with him. Yet his Empire laſted but a while: for, the Emperour LEO, vnderſtanding that his election was by force, ſent againſt him a Captain called NEPOS, with the title and name of Emperor; who, being aſſiſted by the Romans which againſt their wils had ſworn obedience to GLIZERIVS, depoſed him, and made him againſt his will to take Monaſticall Orders, and gaue him a Biſhoprick: but he tooke the Empire to himſelf; which was the occaſion of many commotions and troubles in *Italie*. For, GVANDIBARVS, who had aduanced GLIZERIVS, took his ſuppreſſion for a great diſgrace and an indignity done to himſelf: wherefore he leuied an Army, to the end to haue reſtored him. But Pope EPIPHANIVS vſed ſuch diligence, and took ſuch pains in the matter (who, as we ſaid, made the peace between BALEMIR and ANTHEMIVS, although it continued not long) that hee made a ſtay thereof, procuring peace betweene them: ſo as they laid down their Armes; and for that time NEPOS remained in peace in *Rome*. But, as he liued in that eſtate, he was aduertiſed that HENRY King of the Gothes (who then raigned in *Tholouſe* in *France*, and in the greateſt part of *Spaine*) made warres vpon thoſe Countries which were ſubiect to the Romans; and had taken certain Towns; ſo as it was feared that he would haue proceeded further. NEPOS, to ſhew his power, leuied a very good Armie; and, making one ORESTES, a priuate friend of his, Generall therof, commanded him to take his way towards *France*. But ORESTES, departing with very great forces, took no care for going that journey according to his commiſſion, which had been more for his honour; but rather, as ſoon as he came to *Rauenna* (hauing firſt founded the good will of his Army, ſo far forth as he thought expedient) made his ſon to be called Emperor, whoſe name was AVGVSTVS; whom the Romans called AVGVSTVLVS (for, that name they gaue him when hee was a childe) and ſo he is called by all Hiſtorians. And hauing brought this to effect, he reſolued to return to *Rome* againſt NEPOS; who, as hee had imployed all his men of warre and whole power in that Army, was not of force able to ſtay his coming, neither to make any defenſe or reſiſtance againſt him. Wherefore he abandoned *Rome*, and the hope to bee any longer Emperor, hauing been ſo but a little while; and fled into *Dalmatia*, which was vnder the iuriſdiction of the Emperor LEO: and ſo AVGVSTVLVS continued in *Rome* in poſſeſſion, and with the name and title of Emperor.

Oreſtes, being ſent by the Emperor Nepos with an Armie into France, made his ſon to be called Emperor.

The Emperor Nepos, abandoning Rome, fled into Dalmatia.

Auguſtulus *made Emperor. The death of the Emperor Leo in Conſtantinople.*

While the affairs of *Italie* ſtood in this eſtate, the Emperor LEO died in the City of *Conſtantinople*, hauing raigned (as writeth PAVLVS DIACONVS) ſeuenteen yeers with great valor and honour, as an excellent Prince, in the yeer of our Lord foure hundred, threeſcore and ſixteen; who left not behinde him any ſonne to inherit, but two daughters, the one called ARIADNE, and the other, LEONCIA: the one was married to ZENO, who afterwards was Emperor; and the other to MARTIANVS, ſonne of ANTHEMIVS, (as we haue ſaid) had been Emperor of *Italie*: yet ſome ſay, that ARIADNE, who was wife to ZENO, was not his daughter, but his ſiſter, and that hee inſtituted a ſonne of hers before his death for Emperour, and his Succeſſor. His death was condoled by all, and many lamented the ſame with teares.

The Emperor LEO being dead in *Conſtantinople*, and AVGVSTVLVS raigning in *Rome*, the generall eſtate of all the Prouinces that were wont to be in ſubiection to the Empire, ſtood in this maner: The Gothes, with their King called by ſome EVRICVS, and by other HENRICVS, held *Tholouſe*, and that part of *France* which borders vpon *Spain*, and the greateſt part of *Spain* it ſelf. The Sueuians in *Gallicia*, and in part of the Kingdome of *Leon*, held warres with the

the Gothes, and to the Empire remained ſome hauen townes on the coaſt of *Arragon*, *Carthagena*, and *Tarragona*, and ſome others alſo. The Alanes which remained in *Spaine*, dwelt together with the Gothes in a part of *Spaine* towards *Italy*: and after the names of theſe two nations, that prouince was cald *Gotalonia*, which now through corruption of ſpeech is called *Catalunia*. In *France* raigned the French, in *Paris* and in al the countries round about it, and in other countries with all that which we now call *Flanders* and *Picardie*, whoſe king was called HEDERICQVE. The Burgonians held the two *Burgundies*, and the Empire held no more but *Narbone*, and ſome land thereto neere adioining, which continued but a while in the Emperours iuriſdiction. In *England* raigned the Engliſh Saxons, and in *Scotland* the Picts and Scots. In *Hungarie*, *Auſtria*, and *Miſſia*, *Seruia*, and *Walachia*, the Oſtrogothes, with their King TODOMIR, and his ſonne THEODORICVS, by permiſſion of the Emperour LEO, bare the ſway. In *Africa* were the Vandales, and their very old King GENSERICVS, many times ſpoken of: who died within a little while after, and his ſonne HONORICVS ſucceeded him. The moſt of the prouinces of *Germany* were vſurped by the ſucceſſors of the Hunnes, called Heruli, Turingi, and others which came thither with ATTILA: and betweene all theſe nations and countries and their Kings were great warres, each of them couueting to inlarge his territorie and dominion. All the Eaſterne prouinces were in peace ſubiect to the Empire, and to the Eaſterne Emperour, who then was LEO, nephew of that LEO of whom we but now diſcourſed.

THE LIFE OF LEO, THE SECOND OF THAT NAME, AND SIXE AND FIFTITH ROMANE EMPEROR; And of his Father ZENO.

THE ARGVMENT.

THE Emperor Leo *being dead, his Nephew, whoſe name was alſo* Leo, *tooke poſſeſſion of the Empire; to whom it ſeemed a matter vnreaſonable, that his father, whoſe name was* Zeno, *ſhould liue as a priuate man, and he an Emperour: wherefore he renounced the Empire vnto him, and crowned him with his owne hand, and within ſhort ſpace after dyed.* Zeno *beeing then made Emperour, the wiſdom Empreſſe being much diſpleaſed that he ſhould enioy ſo great a dignity, procured* Baſiliſcus *a Captaine of his owne, to rebell againſt him; who making himſelfe Emperor, compelled* Zeno *to flie into Iſauria in Aſia: but he continued not long in that miſerie; for* Baſiliſcus *being hated for his pride, behaued himſelfe ſo, as* Zeno *was reſtored to the Empire. Whileſt as he liued in the Eaſt in peace, the Weſterne Empire and Rome were ſo turmoiled, that* Oreſtes *father to the Emperor* Auguſtulus *was taken priſoner in Pauia, and there ſlaine. And* Auguſtulus (*for feare*) *left the Imperiall enſignes, the Empire and Rome to the diſcretion of* Odoacer, *who was afterwards diſpoſſeſt by* Theodoricus *King of the Oſtrogothes. And* Zeno *hauing been ſomewhat troubled with warres in the Eaſt, and hauing obtained victorie againſt two tyrants, which were* Aſpar *and his ſonne* Ardaburius, *which roſe againſt him, dyed of an ordinary death in Conſtantinople, when he had raigned ſixteene yeeres.*

I Am of opinion that the Reader hath ſufficiently vnderſtood, in what eſtate the Empire remained, when the Emperour LEO died in *Conſtantinople*: wherefore I hold it needleſſe to make any repetition thereof. I ſay then, that as ſoone as LEO departed out of this life, his Nephew without any contradiction was acknowledged and obeyed for Emperor, whoſe name alſo was LEO. For as I ſayd, his Grandfather had choſen and ſo appointed him to be, before his death, and hee held the Empire the ſpace of certaine moneths: at the end of which he did a thing which ſeemeth ſtrange, and breedeth admiration. Which was, that of his owne accord

cord and voluntarie free will (holding it a hard caſe, that the father ſhould be ſubiect and inferior to the ſonne) he renounced the Empire, and gaue it to his father ZENO, and crowned him with his owne hand, and preſently did him homage. For fathers in their life time to giue to their children their kingdomes and dignities, is a thing we haue ſeene, and often read of; and it ſeemeth that there is reaſon to induce them thereto: but ſeldome hath any man euer heard, that the ſonne would diſpoſſeſſe himſelf of a kingdome or Empire, to giue it to his father. For it hath rather happened to the contrarie, that the ſonne hath bereaued the father thereof by force in his life time; yea and ſometimes hath wiſhed and practiſed his fathers death, to be his heire, and to ſucceede him. Therefore I ſay, that this accident is very ſtrange, and the reuerence and obedience of this ſonne much to be noted.

Leo refuſed the Empire, and gaue it to his father Zeno.

But it ſucceeded in this manner, that ZENO was crowned and obeyed for Emperour in *Conſtantinople*, and his ſonne LEO remained in his former eſtate. To the contrarie hereof, in *Italy* ORESTES made his ſonne AVGVSTVLVS Emperor, not deſiring or procuring it for himſelfe. LEO hauing renounced the Empire and giuen the ſame to his father (as IORNANDES and other authors ſay) died within few daies after. But PAVLVS DIACONVS reporteth it after another manner: for he ſaith that the father ſought his ſonnes death, from which he was deliuered by making himſelfe a Prieſt, and ſo liued certaine yeeres. But howſoeuer it was, there is no more mention made of LEO, and his father ZENO began to rule the Empire. Going in progreſſe to viſit the ſame, being in *Chalcedonia*, the widow Empereſſe, his wiues mother, who remained in *Conſtantinople*, repining to ſee ZENO Emperour, whom her husband LEO neuer accounted worthie of the Empire (as IORDANVS writeth) induced her brother BASILISCVS, who (as we ſaid) ouerthrew GENSERICVS in a battaile at ſea, to take vpon him the name of Emperor. And as by reaſon of that victorie and the affinitie which he had with the late Emperor LEO, he was very mightie and highly eſteemed: ſo was he both able and willing to make himſelfe Emperour, and for ſuch was receiued; and they ſware obedience vnto him in *Conſtantinople*. Which as ſoone as ZENO vnderſtood (whether it were through baſeneſſe of minde, or to auoide the warres and the effuſion of blood which would haue enſued) he took no care to make any head againſt him, but retired himſelfe into *Iſauria*, which is a very ſtrong and guardable prouince in *Aſia* the leſſe, where he aſſured himſelfe to liue in ſecuritie.

Baſiliſcus made himſelfe Emperour againſt Zeno *in Conſtantinople.*

Whereof BASILISCVS waxing proud, and very ioyfull, and holding himſelfe now ſafe and paſt all danger, he made his ſonne MARCVS, CÆSAR. But his pride and ioy continued but a while: for as he was infected with the Neſtorian hereſie, ſo he began to perſecute and afflict the Church and Catholike Chriſtians; by meanes whereof (as IORDANVS and PROCOPIVS report) he grew ſo hatefull, and was ſo abhorred by all ſortes of people, that thoſe Captaines which he ſent againſt ZENO, returned againſt himſelfe, and by the generall conſent of all men ZENO was reſtored, and reeſtabliſhed in the Empire; and he with his ſonne MARCVS and VERINA his ſiſter, were taken priſoners, and being baniſhed died in exile. In this manner remained ZENO mightie and in peace, hauing bin diſpoſſeſſed of the Empire the ſpace of eighteene moneths: where we will leaue him, and returne to ſpeake of AVGVSTVLVS the Emperor of the Weſt, or to ſay better, of *Italy*.

Marcus made Cæſar by his father Baſiliſcus.

Baſiliſcus the tyrant diſpoſſeſſed, taken priſoner and baniſhed, died in exile, together with his ſonne and ſiſter.

Whileſt theſe things paſſed in the Eaſt, we told you how that ORESTES had exalted his ſonne, and made him Emperor againſt NEPOS, who held his Empire in *Rome*, and that NEPOS had abandoned *Italy*, and AVGVSTVLVS remained there: and ſeeing that in *Italy* no man durſt oppoſe himſelfe againſt him; by the aduice and counſell of his father he made peace, and entred in league with GENSERICVS King of the Vandales in *Africa*, who was now growne old and worne with bearing armes, and euen at deaths dore. By reaſon of which league, hee held himſelfe to be in great ſecuritie: for of ZENO he made no account, ſeeing the diſcord between him and BASILISCVS. But his trouble and ruine ſprang from whence he leaſt miſtruſted it; for the Heruli and the Turingi, a people of which we haue made mention, and which had ſerued in the warres vnder ATTILA the mightie King of the Hunnes, and which at that time inhabited along the riuer of *Danubius*, in the furtheſt confines of *Hungary*, tooke for their Captaine a man of their own nation called ODOACER, with a reſolution to come into *Italy*, and to make a conqueſt thereof; ſeeing that no man had any right thereto, but he who was of greateſt power, and could beſt fight for it. And it was the will and pleaſure of God, that as *Italy* had ſent Captains to the conqueſt of all parts and nations of the world, ſo ſhould Captains and men of war come from all parts and nations of the earth to make a conqueſt therof. Leauing apart other accidents which by the way befell ODOACER; hee beeing approached to the Borders

Auguſtulus made peace with Genſericus *King of the Vandales in Africa.*

Auguſtulus Emperour in Rome.

Odoacer king of the Heruli *came into Italy.*

Borders of *Italy*, ORESTES, the father of AVGVSTVLVS, ſallied forth to encounter him, with an excellent Armie which the father and ſonne (hauing intelligence of his coming) had leuied.

The two Armies being comm within ſight one of the other, both the Generals would haue fought: but certain companies of ORESTES his ſouldiers went ouer vnto ODOACER, Which when he perceiued (repoſing no firm confidence in the reſt which remained) hee retired in the beſt order he could towards *Ticinum*, which is now called *Pauia*, a City in *Lumbardy*; and ODOACER purſued him. But ORESTES, hauing no ſufficient Armie to take the field to fight with him, ſuffred himſelf to be beſieged in that City. And notwithſtanding that he did as much as was poſſible for his defenſe, yet the aſſaults giuen were ſo terrible, that the City was entred by force, after that hee had defended it many daies, and ORESTES taken: on whom, and the ſouldiers which were with him, ODOACERS ſouldiers executed extreme cruelty. And from thence ORESTES was carried priſoner to *Placencia*; where, by ODOACERS commandement, he was put to death.

Oreſtes, father to Auguſtulus, marches againſt Odoacer.

Oreſtes taken and ſlain by Odoacer.

After that ODOACER had obtained this victory (as AVGVSTVLVS his Empire had but a weak foundation, and leſſe equity of his ſide) all things went againſt him, and proſpered with his enemy: and ſo with ſmall difficulty, and as little reſiſtance, ODOACER took all the cities of *Italy*, and preſently proclaimed himſelf Lord and King thereof.

When AVGVSTVLVS vnderſtood that all the townes and people took part with ODOACER, he departed from *Rauenna*, where he then kept his Court, to go to *Rome*: but by the way, before he came thither, being out of hope, hee voluntarily put away his Robes and Imperiall Enſignes, abandoning *Rome*, and fled; contenting himſelf with the hope of ſauing his life, when he had raigned two yeers a peaceable Emperor: and ſo he afterwards ended his life in pouertie and miſery (as it is to be preſumed); for, the Hiſtoriographers make no more mention of him. *Rome* being abandoned by AVGVSTVLVS, ODOACER without any reſiſtance poſſeſſed himſelf of all *Italie*, which he enjoyed foureteen yeers in great proſperity: after which we will tell you who were Lords thereof. And ſo in this AVGVSTVLVS ended the Empire and dominion of *Rome*; which afterwards had no Emperor for the ſpace of three hundred and thirtie yeers. This happened in the yeer one thouſand, two hundred, nine and twenty after the building of *Rome*; and in the fiue hundred, nine and twentith after that IVLIVS CÆSAR made himſelf Tyrant and Lord thereof; and in the yeer foure hundred, ſeuenty and ſeuen, after the birth of our Sauiour CHRIST.

Auguſtulus abandoned Rome to Odoacer.

Odoacer made himſelf Lord of all Italy.

Anno 1229 after the building of Rome.

Anno 529 after that Iulius Cæſar *made himſelf monarch of the Romain Empire.*

In theſe times (as PAVLVS DIACONVS and BLONDVS write) there aroſe a Nobleman in *England*, by linage a Roman, deſcended from thoſe which in antient time had dwelt in that Iland, whoſe name was AMBROSE; who ioyning with the Britans, the antient Inhabitants of that Country, againſt the Angles, fought many battels with them: but in the end hee was ouerthrowne and ſlain. Whereupon, many of thoſe Britans reſolued to abandon that Iland; and in Barks and Ships (ſuch as they could get) embarked themſelues, and ſailed ouer into that Coaſt of *France* which for that cauſe is now cald *Britanny*; where in thoſe daies dwelt a people called Veneti, Cenomanni, and others: where, ſomtimes by leaue, and with the good will of the Inhabitants, and ſometimes without it, they inhabited and poſſeſſed themſelues of that Country; and haue continued there euer ſince with ſo good ſucceſſe, that the name thereof and their language continueth there vntill this day, and is one of the beſt Prouinces of all *France*: wherein haue been mighty Princes; but, by means of ſundry alterations, the French King is now Lord thereof.

The Britans abandoned England, and went ouer into Britanny in France.

After this, the Emperor ZENO raigned in *Conſtantinople*, and ODOACER in *Italie*, ſome yeers peaceably; ſo as there hapned not any thing in the Empire worth the writing: but in the end fortune turned her wheel in ſuch manner, that ODOACER juſtly loſt all that which hee had wrongfully gotten; and one Tyrant was bereaued of what he had taken from another Tyrant; which hapned in ſuch manner as we will ſet down. THEODORICVS, ſon of THEODOMIR King of the Oſtrogothes, who in the time of the Emperor LEO the Firſt had lien in hoſtage in *Conſtantinople*, when his father and vncle made peace with LEO, who granted vnto them *Auſtria*, *Hungarie*, and *Miſsia*, to inhabite; at this time his father THEODOMIR beeing dead, THEODORICVS ſucceeded him in the Kingdome: whereof when the Emperor ZENO was aduertiſed, he ſent Ambaſſadors to him; giuing him to vnderſtand, that he was very glad of his ſucceſſion; and therewith requeſted him to come to his Court, for the great deſire he had to ſee him, and to doo him honour: which THEODORICVS gladly performed, remem-

Theodoricus, King of the Gothes, came to the Emperor Zeno's Court.

remembring the honour and good entertainment which in former time he had receiued in *Constantinople*. Whither when he came (besides that he was very solemnly receiued at his first coming) he was afterwards very honourably entertained by the Emperor ZENO; who gaue him Ensignes of Arms, and other honours and dignities, assigning to his people pay and perpetuall pensions: and so was THEODORICVS beloued and esteemed by the Emperor & his whole Court. And, liuing in this manner with great contentment for a certain space; his people that came with him, and those which remained behinde also in his Countrey, being accustomed to the warres, and to rob and spoil, and now grieued with liuing idle in peace, continually perswaded him, that (imitating those from whom he was descended) he should seek to make some conquest, and not to spend his life in banquetting and feasting: but principally they counselled him to sue to the Emperor to giue him leaue to make a Conquest of *Italy*, which ODOACER had taken and vsurped; and they told him so many things thereof, that in the end he resolued to follow their counsell: and, finding a time and place conuenient, he made a fair speech to the Emperor, intreating him to grant him what is before-said; which, Bishop IORNANDES writes at large in his Book of the Originall and Acts of the Gothes.

Theodoricus made suite to the Emperor to giue him leaue to conquer Italie from Odoacer.

When ZENO had heard his discourse, and vnderstood his meaning, hee was very sorry for it: for, he desired euer to haue had him neer to himself, and not to haue suffred him to haue departed; aswell for the loue hee bare him, as for the fear and doubt which hee euer had of the Gothes. But seeing his resolution, after counsell taken with the Senate, he was of opinion that hee might well grant him (as he requested) the conquest of *Italie*; considering that the Empire had lost it, and that it was now in the power of ODOACER; wherefore it were better that a King which was a friend and a confederate should possesse the same, than another: and if hee did not accomplish his conquest, yet it was a means to weaken both their forces; of which the Empire stood in fear, hauing been oftentimes molested by them.

When the Emperor had made this Grant, and confirmed the same by publique instruments, THEODORICVS took his leaue, and went into *Hungary* and into *Mysia*, where his people inhabited: there he gathered together the best and choicest men of war he was able for this enterprise, and began to march forwards with his Armie; but by the way he was hindred and encountred by certain Kings and barbarous people which were the remnant of ATTILA his troops: so as by that time he came into *Italie*, he was well trained in the warres, and his souldiers were accustomed to vanquish. ODOACER, who some daies before was aduertised of his coming, had leuied a very great Armie, and had assembled together the people of that countrey, whom he perswaded to aid him, and to defend themselues.

Theodoricus entred Italie, & Odoacer went to meet him

When THEODORICVS was arriued in *Italie*, he encamped himself by a riuers side called *Sontius*, neer to the ruines of old *Aquileia*, to refresh his Armie in those fertill fields. As soon as ODOACER heard of his coming (as he lay in wait for him in those Marches) hee drew so neer with his Armie, that in short space they came to a battell (which THEODORICVS with great courage offred, and ODOACER refused not: for, it seemd that both the Commanders desired the same); which was one of the most cruell and bloudie that hath been seen: for, the Commanders and souldiers of either side were very valiant; and the one fought to winne a Kingdome, fame and honour, and the other fought to preserue all these. The Fight lasted a great part of the day; and, after great slaughter, and effusion of much bloud on either side, THEODORICVS obtained the victory, and ODOACER was fain to flee when he had done all that was possible for him to maintain the Fight. And although ODOACER lost this battel, yet he lost neither courage nor hope to defend himself: but, gathering together the remainder of those which escaped from the battell, he raised new forces; and, again taking the Field neer to the City of *Verona*, returned to fight with THEODORICVS, who followed him thither: and the two Kings came the second time to battell, which was no lesse cruell than the first; for, this was the last of ODOACER's hope: but hee was again ouerthrowne; for, those supplies which came to his aid forsook him, and he lost great part of his Army fighting; and afterwards in his flight passing the riuer *Po*, many of his people were drowned.

A battell betwixt Odoacer and Theodoricus.

Odoacer was ouerthrowne by Theodoricus.

Odoacer ouercomm the second time by Theodoricus.

In this flight ODOACER neuer staied till he came to *Rome*: where he thought to haue gathered a new head, and there to haue resisted his enemies; but they would not receiue him: for, seeing that hee had been twice ouerthrowne, they had no hope or confidence in him; but sought to gratifie THEODORICVS, so as the City was in Arms: wherefore ODOACER returned, and with the best forces hee was able to gather together, put himself into *Rauenna*. THEODORICVS for that time forbare to pursue him; but went to *Milan* and took it, with other cities in that quarter: whereupon, many cities in *Italy* sent to him to yeeld their obedience, and many companies of souldiers came to serue him in his warres. In the meane season ODOACER fortified himself with armes, men, and victuals, thinking at the least to haue been able to defend himself in *Rauenna*, which at that time (after *Rome*) was the principall citie of all *Italy*. THEODORICVS being in a redines to besiege it, there followed so sodaine an alteration, as he neither could, neither durst to stay before it: for by the procurement of one of ODOACER's Captaines, who was either a president or admirall of some part of *Italie*, many Captaines, townes, and people againe took part with ODOACER; and they grew to so great a head, that THEODORICVS was in such feare, as he put himself into *Pauia*, and many daies passed before that he drew his Armie againe to field, so as neither ODOACER came to seeke him, nor he ODOACER. Within few moneths after, they made frontier warres: and THEODORICVS, recouering forces, committed his Mother and Sisters to the keeping of EPIPHANIVS Bishop of *Pauia*, and went to *Rauenna* (wherein ODOACER lay) and laid siege thereto: but ODOACER so manfullie defended the same, that in three yeeres space (for so long the siege lasted) he not onely made head against THEODORICVS, but made so many sallies vpon him, and gaue him so many alarmes, as he neuer suffered his Armie to rest. But in the end wanting victuals, and out of hope of any reliefe, hauing first tried all meanes both to offend and defend, and seeing it auailed not, he resolued to yeeld to THEODORICVS, vpon condition that he should giue him assurance of his life, with promise to allow him some place in *Italy*, wherein he might liue; which promise was ill performed: for he commanded both him and his sonne to be slaine: and so ended the life and raigne of ODOACER, which cannot iustly be tearmed, cowardlie.

Warres betwixt Odoacer and Theodoricus.

Theodoricus besieged Odoacer in Rauenna.

Odoacer slaine by the commandement of Theodoricus.

ODOACER being dead, the remainder of his Armie of Heruli, which escaped from the battaile, were entertained by THEODORICVS, and he gaue them pay, and in short space made himself Lord of all *Italy*, finding not any resistance; afterwards he went to *Rome*, where he was receiued with great ioy and solemnitie, as well for the fame and good report which they had heard of him, as for that he was sent thither by the Emperor ZENO. And this moreouer did greatly helpe him to get the good will of the citie; that at his very first comming thither, he caused a great quantitie of wheat to be distributed amongst the citizens; whereof they then stood in great neede: And so he remained Lord of *Rome*, and of all *Italy*, calling himself king thereof, as ODOACER had done, thirteene yeeres before.

Throdoricus went to Rome and made himself Lord thereof and of all Italy.

This THEODORICVS was a very vertuous, iust, and a most excellent Prince and gouernour, and made himself very mightie, and much beloued and feared: but aboue all, he was very wise and circumspect in preseruing his estate. And to the end to make himself the more mightie, he procured alliance with all the kings then in *Europe*: for he presently treated a marriage with ANDEFREDA the French Kings daughter, which he solemnized with great feasting and triumph. And of his owne three daughters, one he maried to SIGISMVND King of the Burgonians; and another to ALARICVS King of the Visogothes, and of *Spaine*; and his third daughter called AMALASIVNTHA, he married to a Prince of *Germany* called EVTHARICVS; and his sister ALMAFREDA hee maried to HONORICVS King of the Vandales and of *Africa*, who was GENSERICVS his heir and successor. So as with all the Princes neere vnto *Italy*, he made some affinitie and league of friendship, and held that kingdome, which with such honour he had conquered, with no lesse honour, the space of thirtie yeeres.

The alliance and league made by Theodoricus.

Whilest these things passed in *Italy*, ZENO the Emperor of *Constantinople* and of the East, had somewhat to doe with the Bulgarians, who euer since the death of ATTILA had inhabited *Germany*, and had made an incursion into the prouince of *Thracia*, and done much harme in that countrie: but they quickly returned to their habitation. In *Constantinople* also happened a great fire, which burnt a great part of that citie. There befell vnto ZENO also another great disaster, plotted by a fauourite of his, who was steward of his palace, whose name was YLLOS, which was thus: This YLLOS made the Emperour beleeue (though vniustly) that his wife the Empresse, whose name was ARIADNE, daughter to the Emperour LEO, liued dishonestly; and so ZENO being deluded, commanded her secretly to be slaine. And hee to whom the charge of the execution was committed, reuealed the secret to a young gentlewoman of the Empresse chamber, who presently aduertised her Ladie thereof. And she at the very instant without any delay, fled from the palace in the closest maner she could, leauing her in her chamber, which had aduertised her thereof, and went to the house of ACACIVS then Bishop

What befell the Emperor Zeno in Constantinople.

The treacherie of Yllos against the Empresse Ariadne.

of *Constantinople*. The Emperour the next day, assuring himselfe that his commandement had been effected, clad himselfe in mourning attire, faining that his wife had died naturally. But presently the Bishop, came vnto him: who with great authoritie seuerely reprehended his lightnes and hastie resolutions; aduertising him of his wiues innocencie; and that her accusation was vntrue. Finally, he handled the matter so well, as hee perswaded him of the truth, and reconciled him to his wife, and made a perfect peace betweene them. But the Empresse ARIADNE, after that she vnderstood that it was YLLOS which had accused her, as a woman would bee reuenged, and commanded a certaine man, whom she held fit for that purpose, to kill him; who the better to bring his purpose to effect, lay in wait for him: and purposing to haue striken him vpon the head, his blow failed, and it happened vnto him as to S. PETER: for missing his head, he smote off one of his eares, and so hee escaped. And dating not to remaine in the Emperor ZENO's Court, he resolued to commit a greater treason then the former; which was to goe into *Asia*, and there to rise and rebell, with a great part of the East: which he might easily doe, for hee was very cunning and of great account; and ZENO for his conditions was in those parts very ill beloued. But he speedily sent a good Armie against him vnder the leading of a Captaine called LEONCIVS: but this YLLO vsed such meanes and perswasions to LEONCIVS, as he did the like: and so of one tyrant there arose two, which made themselues Lords of a great part of *Asia* the lesse. But within few daies after, the Imperiall Armie which had conspired with them, after that the souldiers were growne rich by spoile and booty, repenting their errors, and to obtaine pardon, vpon a day mutined and slew them both, and brought their heads to *Constantinople*. And so was ZENO freed from this trouble and reuolt, and liued the remainder of his time in rest and peace: notwithstanding that he put certaine Noblemen to death without any iust cause. All these things being past, in the seuenteenth yeere of his raigne ZENO died of a naturall death in *Constantinople*. It is written of him that he was exceedingly ill fauoured and deformed, and of a loathsome aspect and gesture. He is not reckoned among the good Emperours; and it is also said of him, that he would sometimes be drunke. He died in the yeere of our Lord foure hundred, fourescore and fourteene.

By what meanes the Empresse was deliuered from death.

Leonclus conspired with Ylos, and both were slaine by their souldiers.

The death of Zeno.

THE LIFE OF ANASTASIVS, THE FIRST OF THAT NAME, AND SEVEN AND FIFTITH ROMANE EMPEROVR.

THE ARGVMENT.

ZEno being dead, Anastasius was chosen, who was greatly fauoured by the Empresse: to whom he was married, at the end of fortie dayes after the Obsequies of her dead Husband. This man, finding all things in peace, in the beginning of his raigne did many good deeds: but he suddenly altred his condition, and being spotted with the heresie of Eutiches or Euticetus, which made a quaternitie of the Diuinitie, he began to growe hatefull to God and men; and many countries rebelled against him. Against which putting himselfe in order to fight (although that he ouercame many of the Rebels) neuertheless hee was once brought to such an extremitie, as he was driuen shamefully to buy his peace with money; and afterwards the Persians, rising against him, gaue him many crosses in sundrie battailes: but finally he made a truce with them, and during the time of the truce, he was slaine by a thunderbolte from heauen.

ZENO had not any sonne that might succeed him in the Empire: wherefore, after his death some of the chiefest Lords procured themselues to be chosen; among which was this ANASTASIVS: who although he were not of any Noble Family, yet he was a man of great reputation, and well beloued. By reason whereof, and also for that he was in great fauour with the widow Empresse, he was chosen Emperour, with the ayde and assistance of an Eunuch, called VRBICIVS, who was of great authority in the Court. And ARIADNE did not onely procure his election aforesayd, but within forty dayes after the obse-

Anastasius chosen Emperor.

obsequies of her dead husband were solemnized, and his body intombed, she married with the new Emperour: and by this meane obtained ANASTASIVS the Empire. In the beginning whereof, without any contradiction, but with the generall contentment of all men, he was obeyed: and he not onely found the Empire in peace, but there was peace also in *Italy*, *France*, *Spaine*, *Germanie*, and *Africa*; they gouerning those kingdomes as their owne, who were successors to them vvhich first vsurped and tooke them from the Empire; notvvithstanding that shortly after there arose great vvarres betvveene them. THEODORICVS, vvho vvas called *King of Italy*, made choise of the citie of *Rauenna* for his royall seate; vvhich vvas by him enobled with sumptuous buildings: and in his absence he commanded the like to be made in *Rome*, and did much good through all *Italie*, directing all things like a good and an excellent Prince; in so much as the people praised God for him, and held themselues happie, in that they had so good a man for their Lord and gouernour.

But returning to our nevv Emperour; as soone as he vvas crovvned, he commanded by a publike decree that all such debts as vvere due to his chamber of accounts, or as vve say, his exchequer, vntill that day, should be pardoned, and not be recouered from the debters; which amounted to a very great summe. He began also to giue offices and places of charge to such persons as were of vvorth, and sufficient for them, and not for money (as the custome was) by reason of late vvants. By meanes whereof and of other apparant signes of a good prince, in the beginning of his raigne, he was very well beloued. But this lasted but a while: for he was infected with the heresie of EVTICHES; who held an abominable opinion of the person of CHRIST. And for as much as nothing can be of any assurance, or acceptable without faith; this Emperour began to grovv secretly hatefull to God, and publickly odious to men; and so although that he died old, yet he died an euill death: And in his life he was neuer free from tyrants which rebelled; and other warres and troubles. The first which rebelled, were the people of *Isauria* (a very valiant nation in *Asia* the lesse) the occasion whereof was, for that hee took, from them, that pay which his predecessor ZENO had promised, and giuen them, when he subdued the tyrant ILLOS, who (as we said) falsely defamed the Empresse. This nation making choise of a valiant and expert soldier, whose name was LILINGVS for their captaine; made cruell warres vpon the lands of the Empire, for the space of sixe yeeres. In which time, betvveene the souldiers of ANASTASIVS and of LILINGVS, there happened some battailes, and many conflicts and skirmishes; vntill that LILINGVS dying, the Isaurians being scattered, and lost through want of a captaine, were cruelly punished, and many cities wer ruined, and laied waste, as relateth IORDANVS the Bishop: who although briefly, yet he expresseth the greatest part of that historie.

The heresie of Eutiches.

Lilingus rebelled in Isauria against Anastasius.

There arose also against ANASTASIVS, another captaine in *Cilicia*, at the same instant, called ATHEMIDORVS, but he was soone brought to ruine. In *Slauonia* and *Dalmatia*, rebelled two mightie men and very rich, called SABIANVS and MVNDO: and neere to *Adrianople* another whose name was POMPEY: and within the citie of *Constantinople*, were certaine tumults and insolencies committed, wherein many men were slaines. By reason of all which rebellions, ANASTASIVS was much perplexed; and being in great feare, he came to some compositions (little to his honour) and lost sundrie townes. Being freed from this trouble, he had another ciuill warre, which was of great importance and long continuance, against a valiant soldier, a Scythian borne; but trained and brought vp in the wars of the Romanes, and in the Emperors house, and court: he was high constable, or commander of his men of warre, and was called VATILIANVS; who either of ambition and desire to be absolute, or for some displeasure or discontentment (which historiographers write not) rebelled against ANASTASIVS; and with threescore thousand men, which he leuied, of Hunnes, and other nations, began cruell warre against him, both by sea and land; so as sometimes he came within three miles of the imperiall citie of *Constantinople*. Against whom the Emperour raised a great Armie, and made his nephew HIPATIAS Generall thereof; who before he could come to fight any battaile, by a wile was taken prisoner by the Hunnes, and deliuered into the power of VATILIANVS: After which, the Emperours other captaines were ouerthrowne; so as the warre continued sixe yeeres: and in the end thereof, the Emperor bought his peace of VATILIANVS, for a great sum of money which he gaue him, and so was deliuered from the peril, although not from the disgrace and dishonor of buying peace. In this warre (as writeth ZONARAS) called IOANNES MONACHVS (as reateth IOHANNES CVSPINIANVS) ANASTASIVS was greatly assisted by the skill and industrie of PROCLVS, an excellent philosopher and Mathematician,

Athemidorus, Sabianus, Mundo, and Pompey, Tyrants.

Hypatias made Generall against Vatilianus.

Proclus, an excellent Philosopher.

Mathematician, who was most skilfull in inuenting instruments, engines and stratagems. Amongst other matters, they report one thing of him, which seemeth incredible, which I dare neither affirme, nor deny, but will recite it for a wonder, let the reader beliue what he listeth; yet I say that the secrets of nature are so great, as we ought not to hold all for impossible which we cannot comprehend how it may be brought to passe. That which I say, these authors write for certaine, which was, that as we now see certaine glasses, which being set in the sunne, with the reflexion of the beames thereof will set tow or flax on fire, and such like other dry stuffe neere at hand: so did this PROCLVS make a very great many of these glasses, which wrought effect with such force as being set vpon the high turrets of the walles and bulwarks, they set on fire and burnt whole fleets of shippes in the harbour, with all the people that were in them; and in like manner any other engines that were erected against the walles, wheresoeuer they were (if the sunne-beames might reuerberate from those glasses) wherewith the enemie was greatly annoyed, which was done in the same manner as we now see tow set on fire. Whilst these things passed in the Empire of *Constantinople*, there were great wars betweene the King of *France*, and *Spaine*, and THEODORICVS King of *Italy*: which for that they are long to recite, and nothing to my purpose, I omit.

Wonderfull burning glasses.

But returning to our Emperour, who seemed now to bee at some rest, being freed from warre with VATILIANVS; there happened another warre with the Persians, which was of as great importance, and no lesse perillous, the cause whereof was this. At that time in *Persia* raigned a King both mightie and valiant, whose name was CAVADAS; who by reason of warres and other expences, stoode in neede of a summe of money, therewith to pay a certaine King which was his neighbour to whom he was indebted: which by ambassage he requested the Emperour ANASTASIVS to lend him, as to a friend and confederate (as he then was). But ANASTASIVS taking counsell vpon the matter, was aduised not to graunt it, for that it was a meane with his owne money to ioyne in league of amitie and friendship, those which were the antient enemies of the Empire: and that therefore the best course was to take away the meane from the Persian, to bee able to make paiment; to the end that they might make warre one against another, and so waste and consume themselues. And in this manner it was concluded, in the best for that might be, to excuse the matter, without granting what the King requested. The King of *Persia* hauing receiued this answere, was so extremely enraged therewith, as he resolued to make warre against the Romane Empire: and putting his determination in execution, leuying a great Armie, and making great preparation for the warres, hee personally entred the limits and confines thereof, and made cruell warres, and incamped himselfe before the citie of *Amida*, which was then a great and a famous citie in the prouince of *Mesopotamia*, as writeth PROCOPIVS, before which were many conflicts: but in the end the Persian tooke it, and held the same for some space. As hee lay before this citie, ANASTASIVS raised the greatest Armie that euer hee had before; which he diuided into foure parts, and sent the same vnder the command of foure Generals against CAVADVS: whose names were ARIOVINDVS, who then was Pretor in the East; and CELER, the Captaine of the Emperours guard; and another was called PATRICIVS borne in *Phrygia*; and the fourth was HIPATIAS, who was the Emperours Nephew, as is before said. And with these went other great men: as IVSTINVS who afterwards was Emperour, and some other noble and and expert men in the warres.

Cauadas king of Persia.

Warres with the Persians.

Anastasius his Generals against the king of Persia, Ariouindus, Patricius, Celer, and Hipatias.

These Armies marched by seuerall waies, and directed not their course to relieue *Amida*; but to make warre in sundrie parts of CAVADAS his kingdomes. He being aduertised of their comming, went to meete with ARIOVINDVS; who behaued himselfe so cowardly, as not daring to fight, he retired very shamefully, and left his campe full of many rich things, and of great value, which were taken by the Persians, who had them in chace, and pursued the Imperiall Armie. The other two Generals, to wit, PATRICIVS and HIPATIAS, ioyning their forces together, being neere the enemie, began the warre, without any certaine knowledge where the King was, after the retreit, or rather flight of ARIOVINDVS; and they by chance met with eight hundred horse of his, the King being but a little behind them with a very mightie Armie: who putting themselues in order for their defence, were all slaine and cut in peeces, without any newes learned of them by the Romanes: and they hauing no sight of CAVADAS his troupes, pitched their tents vpon a riuers side; the currant whereof ranne directly that way as CAVIDAS came, and so they began to victuall and refresh themselues, of their wearie iourney; and

and went into the water, and did fetch water out of the said riuer. And as CAVADAS and his Captaines saw the water come downe troubled, bringing therewith other things which seemed to be lately throwne into it, they suspected as it was, whereupon CAVADAS in all haste commanded his Armie to march in otder ready to fight. Which came so suddenly vpon the Imperialists, that before they could range themselues in order, they were broken and ouerthrowne; and the most part of all these careleſſe Captaines were slaine, except some which escaped by flight. And without question if at this time the Hunnes had not come downe out of *Scythia Asiatica*, and with great power had not made warre vpon the Persians, which diuerted CAVADAS his thoughts into other parts, and made him returne into his country, to take order for the defence thereof, he had after this ouerthrow done great spoiles in the Empire. But he vpon this occasion retiring himselfe, there came in good time the fourth Captaine called CELER, with his Imperiall Armie, who began in better order and more aduisedly to follow the wars: and gathering together those troups which ARIOVINDVS had left (for he himselfe was commanded by ANASTASIVS to come to *Constantinople*) and ioyning with PATRICIVS the Captaine which escaped, they besieged the Citie of *Amida*, which the Persians had taken; and after a long siege, they got it by a wile. This most cruell warre continuing two yeeres, with great slaughter and losse to either side; and the Persians being much distressed by the Hunnes, and other nations which with them entred their countries, a truce was concluded with the Empire for seuen yeeres. Afterwards, the time of the truce being expired, ANASTASIVS commanded a citie to be built in *Mesopotamia*, which he called after his owne name, *Anastasia*: wherewith the Persians were much displeased. But they were so oppressed by the Hunnes, as they durst not breake with the Emperor, and so the peace continued during the life of ANASTASIVS, wherewith he was well content: for in the warres he had lost both many men and much reputation; and being (as we said) infected with the heresie of EVTICHES, he raigned in great trouble. In the end when he least thought thereof, when he had raigned seuen and twentie yeers, a Thunderbolt fell from heauen which slew him in the yeer of our Lord, fiue hundred and nineteene, leauing not any sonne that might succeede him.

Cauadas hit victory against Anastasius his Captaines.

A truce with the Persians for 7 yeeres.

The death of the Emperor Anastasius, slain by a thunderbolt.

THE LIFE OF IVSTINVS, FIRST OF THAT NAME, AND EIGHT AND FIFTIETH EMPEROVR of ROME.



AFter ANASTASIVS IVSTINVS EVROPALATES succeeded in the Empire. And truly it is a wonderfull thing to consider from how base an estate, and from how poore a beginning he mounted to so high a dignitie; and of the waies and meanes whereby he attained thereto. Which for an example of the strang aduentures and variable accidents in this life, I hold worthie to be related in such sort as it hapned. This IVSTINVS was borne in *Thracia* (yet some say, that he was of *Slauonia*, or *Dalmatia*) of poore and simple parentage; so as from his infancy he was bred vp in keeping of beasts. But as it pleased God in his secret iudgement, to ordaine him to raigne and rule, to some good end, he inspired him to leaue that base kinde of life: so as at the age of seuenteene yeeres he went to the warres, with a resolution to continue in the exercise of

519

The parentage and course of life of Iustinus before he was Emperor.

Arms. And he proued ſo worthy a ſouldier, that within ſhort ſpace he purchaſed the name of Valiant, and fought oftentimes with great dexterity and courage, with his enemies in ſingle combats man to man; and in all occaſions made good proof of his perſon. Wherefore within ſhort time he was made a Captain, and within a while after an Earl; which (as is already ſaid) at that time was, and ſtill is, a great dignity. In that eſtate was he when ANASTASIVS died, being now wel growne in yeers: And as preſently after his deceaſe the Lords began to conſult whom they ſhould make Emperor; a great Courtier named AMANTIVS, who was an Eunuch, and had bin the Emperors Steward, and was now the beſt monied man of his time, ſought by all means to make a great and mightie man, called THEOCRETIANVS, who was his great friend, Emperor. And for as much as the Armie and men of warre bare greateſt ſway in the election (for, now nothing was done in ſuch order as it behoued, but by force and for benefit) he therefore determined to buy the good wils of the Captains and men of warre. And to this effect hee purpoſed firſt to winne IVSTINVS, and to vſe him for a mean to perſwade the reſt; and conferred with him concerning the ſame. And, coming to a compoſition, hee gaue him a great ſumme of money, to the end he ſhould diuide the ſame among the Captaines and men of warre where he thought good; conditionally that THEOCRETIANVS might be choſen Emperor.

Amantius fought to get the Empire for his friend Theocretianus.

When IVSTINVS had gotten this money into his fingers, hee forgot to deal for THEOCRETIANVS, but ſecretly ſought to buy their good wils for himſelf; and carried the matter ſo cunningly, that when AMANTIVS thought that the ſouldiers would haue made his friend Emperor, he found that they had nominated and would haue IVSTINVS. And in this manner they preſently ſware fidelity and obedience to him, by the generall conſent both of the Senate and Army: for, beſides what is already ſaid, he was well beloued, and held for a vertuous man, and a good Chriſtian.

The meanes whereby Iuſtinus got the Empire.

AMANTIVS ſeeing himſelf deluded, although for the preſent he could not refuſe to yeeld him obedience, yet ſhortly after hee practiſed the death of the new Emperor, and conſpired with THEOCRETIANVS, who pretended to haue bin choſen Emperor; and with another called ANDREAS, and with MISSAHALE and ARDABVRIVS (all which were of the Emperors chamber) to the end they ſhould kill him as ſoon as any oportunity were offred. But it pleaſed God that their treaſon was diſcouered; and, it being proued, IVSTINVS commanded AMANTIVS, ANDREAS and THEOCRETIANVS, to be ſlain; and the reſto be perpetually baniſhed. And, the better to aſſure himſelf in the Empire, hee vſed a mean that VATILIANVS, who rebelled againſt ANASTASIVS, came to Court; whom he made ordinary Conſul, and Generall of all his men of warre, and beſtowed great gifts and honours vpon him. But, for all this, he (as ingratefull, and a Traitor) within fewe daies practiſed with ſom others againſt the life and eſtate of IVSTINVS: which being diſcouered, he was vpon a day ſlain in his Palace, together with PAVLVS and CELERIANVS, who were confederates and complices with him in his treaſon.

The treaſon and death of Vatilianus.

IVSTINVS being freed from this danger, and ſeeing himſelf in peace in the Empire, being a good Chriſtian, and knowing how far the Arrian hereſie had extended it ſelf ouer the world, reſolued to vſe therein all the remedy that poſſibly he could: whereto he was likewiſe perſwaded by Pope HORMISDA, who from *Rome* ſent GERMANVS, Biſhop of *Capra*, to confer with him of matters concerning the faith. Wherupon IVSTINVS ſent his decrees throughout all the Eaſt, commanding that no man ſhould bee accepted into the Church for Biſhop or Prieſt, that ſhould bee of the ſect of ARRIVS. At what time IVSTINVS did this good deed, TRASIMVND King of the Vandals died in *Africa*, who was an Arrian Heretick; and his ſonne ELDERICVS poſſeſſed his Kingdome, whom he had by the Emperor VALENTINIAN's daughter. This man, following his faithfull mother, and not his hereticall father, as ſoon as he was eſtabliſhed in the Kingdome, recalled from exile all the Catholique Biſhops which his father had baniſhed (as is aboue-ſaid), and reformed all the Churches. But the Emperor and this King hauing done ſo good a deed, THEODORICVS, who ruled in *Italie*, beeing of great power, and for that he was (as the moſt of the Gothes were) an Arrian Heretique, was therewith much diſpleaſed; reſoluing, if the Emperor did not reuoke his decree, to vſe through all his dominion all manner of cruelty againſt the Catholiques. But firſt hee conſtrained Pope IOHN, who ſucceeded HORMISDA, to go to *Conſtantinople*, and with him THEODORVS and AGAPETVS (men who had been Conſuls) to treat with the Emperor, to the end he ſhould preſently reſtore thoſe Arrian Biſhops which he had depoſed; otherwiſe that in his

Iuſtinus the Emperor perſecuted the Arrians.

his dominions he would put to the ſword all ſuch as did not beleeue as he did.

Pope IOHN and the other Ambaſſadors being arriued at *Conſtantinople*, were very honorably received; and the Pope with teares intreated the Emperor to be pleaſed, notwithſtanding that his ſuit was vniuſt; yet to auoide the exceſſiue crueltie which was expected, for the preſent, to permit the Arrian Biſhops to be reſtored. The Emperor to eſchew this crueltie, granted his requeſt: and ſo the wicked Biſhops were reſtored to their Churches; and the Emperour did Pope IOHN great honour, and thoſe which came with him. In the meane time, whil'ſt they were in *Conſtantinople*, THEODORICVS King of *Italie*, made SIMACHVS, and BOETIVS SEVERINVS to be ſlaine, who had beene Conſuls, and were very Noble and excellent perſonages, very deuout Chriſtians, and excellently learned in all Arts. And not herewith content, hauing beene vntill then a good and a iuſt Prince; hauing Pope IOHN and the other Ambaſſadors which came with him from *Conſtantinople* in ſuſpicion, by reaſon of the great honour done vnto them by the Emperor, he commanded them to be apprehended and caſt in priſon; where they all three died of hunger and cruell vſage. After which crueltie, it pleaſed God that within ninetie daies he died ſuddenly, leauing a Nephew of his, called ATHALARICVS for his heire: for he had not any ſonne. And for as much as his Nephew was but eight yeers old, his mother took vpon her the gouernment of the Kingdome, as a woman who was very wiſe and valiant.

Theodoricus King of the Gothes defended the Arrians.

The cruelty of Theodoricus, and his death.

Returning to IVSTINVS the Emperor; It grieued him much for that which THEODORICVS had done: but he was not of power able to redreſſe the ſame; for, beſids the wants and neceſſities wherewith he was oppreſſed, the Perſians made warres againſt him, which was a Nation, of all others, moſt feared by the Romanes. But for the ſmall time that he liued, hee had good ſucceſſe in thoſe warres, and his Captaines obtained ſome victories; SCITA and BELISARIVS being his Generals. Of which two, BELISARIVS (who then was very yong) proued afterwards to be one of the beſt Captaines in the world, and which conquered more countries, and obtained more victories, then any other man in his time: as we will hereafter briefly declare. IVSTINE, liuing in this proſperity, ſeeing himſelfe old, and without any ſonne to ſucceede him, reſolued to make IVSTINIAN, who was his Nephew and his ſiſters ſonne, CÆSAR; and to adopt and nominate him for his ſucceſſor; and ſo preſently made him his companion in the Empire. And within foure moneths after, falling ſick, he died in the Citie of *Conſtantinople*, when he had raigned eleuen yeeres, or (as ſome Authors write) but nine. I finde little more written of him, then by me is rehearſed. He died in the yeere of our Lord, 529; and, as ſome ſay, 28.

The death of the Emperor Iuſtin.

THE LIFE OF IVSTINIANVS, FIRST OF THAT NAME, AND NINE AND FIFTITH EMPEROVR of ROME.

(***)

THE ARGVMENT.

AFter Iuſtinus, *without any contradiction, ſucceeded* Iuſtinianus, *who amongſt his firſt attempts, made one againſt the Perſians, vnder the leading of* Beliſarius; *whom with variable fortune of the warres, in the end he ouercame: Yet he made a peace with them afterwards. After this, there followed a ciuill warre in Conſtantinople, wherein* Iuſtinian *was likely to haue ſped but ill; but by meanes of* Beliſarius, *he was freed; notwithſtanding there died there in many thouſands; which being ended, he returned to make a conqueſt of Africa, which of long time had beene vſurped by the Vandales; and getting it, he came againe to Conſtantinople, where* Iuſtinian *prepared him a triumph. But it was not long before the*

Emperour sent him into Italie against the Gothes, where after many changes of fortune, and treaties of peace, and of truce, having taken the Citie of Naples (wherein as it seemed consisted the principall hope of the Gothes) he tooke his way towards Roome, where he peaceably entred, and defended the same, with great valour, against Vitiges King of the Gothes; whom Belisarius at last took prisoner. After this victory Iustinian recalled Belisarius, to employ him against the Persians, which was the occasion that Italie againe fell into the hands of the Gothes, particularly Rome, which by Totila was burnt and destroyed: and that for no other defect, but for that it could not be relieued by Belisarius, who then was sick. Who as soone as he had recouered his health, tooke it againe from the Barbarians. And returning to Constantinople, the state of Italie was very happily gouerned by Narses an Eunuch. Inwhich time Iustinian hauing applied himselfe to reforme and abbridge the Lawes; when he had raigned nine and thirtie yeeres, departed this life, no lesse replenished with yeeres then full of glory.

529

After the death of IVSTINVS, IVSTINIANVS was without any contradiction receiued and obeyed for Emperor; being of the age of foure and fortie yeers. He was a powerfull and a good Prince, and such a one, as might well be compared with the best in antient time, for his good gouernement, both in peace and warre. The warres and conquests which hapned in his time (which was little lesse then fortie yeeres) were so many, and so noble, that I cannot expresse the same as I would, and they deserue; following my accustomed breuitie. I will therefore write as I may; notwithstanding that the length of the time, and the variety of accidents, will compell me to exceede my prefixed limits.

The beginning of the warre betweene the Emperor Iustinian and the Persians.

As soone as IVSTINIANVS saw himselfe confirmed in the Empire, he was not contented to preserue that which he inherited from his Vncle; but (bearing the minde and hauing the iudgement of an antient and good Emperour) he began to desire, and therewith to practise, to enlarge the Empire, and to reduce the same (if it were possible) to the antient majestie and dignitie. The first occasion of warres that was offered, was against the Persians; who in the time of his predecessors, had broken and violated the peace, inuaded the bounds of the Romane Empire, and vsurped certaine countries and Prouinces thereof: in so much (as PROCOPIVS writeth) that for the space of fiftie yeers before the raigne of IVSTINIAN, in all the wars the Imperialists commonly had the worst, and all conclusions of peace were made to the aduantage of the Persians.

The cause of this warre betweene the Emperor IVSTINIAN, and CAVADAS King of *Persia*, was in truth the emulation and hatred which these two Empires, and the Lords thereof, had of antient time borne, and still did beare the one against the other, which was continually nourished and increased, as by that which we haue written may plainely appeare. But the occasion and principall cause was this, IVSTINIANVS, as soone as he was Emperour, sent BELISARIVS, an excellent Captaine, into those frontiers, with direction, in a certaine citie, which was on the borders of *Persia*, to build the strongest and most inexpugnable Castle that could be deuised, for that Citie was one of the entries and passages of greatest importance: which order BELISARIVS presently put in execution. Whereof when CAVADAS was aduertised, he was highly offended, and presently sent Captaines and men of warre, to require BELISARIVS to giue ouer the worke, which if he would not doe; that then they should throw down what he had built.

These men being come to the place where this Castle was a building, there passed many words, and some deedes betweene them: and for as much as the builders were not of force sufficient to make resistance against the Persians, the Emperor sent thither two Captaines, brothers, with some companies of souldiers. These being arriued, and the Imperialists persisting in their building, and the Persians in hindering the same, they came to fight a battaile, wherin the Imperialists being fewer in number, were by the Persians defeated and ouerthrown, and many were slaine, others were carried away captiues, and the building was laid leuell with the earth. When IVSTINIAN vnderstood of this ouerthrow, he presently made BELISARIVS Generall of all his forces in the East; who as a wise and valiant man, with all expedition raised a very mightie Armie; and taking to him another Captain cald HERMOGENES (whom the Emperor with a good supplie had sent vnto him) he took his way towards the Citie of *Dura*, in *Mesopotamia*, which at that time was the frontier of the Persians; where began a cruell warre betweene

Belisarius made Generall against the Persians.

between the one and the other Nation. But as IVSTINIAN, seeking to imploy his time in recouering some other Prouinces which the Empire had lost, desired peace with the Persians, he sent an Ambassador called RVFINVS, to CAVADAS King of *Persia*, to treat of a peace (if vpon honourable conditions it might be concluded).

This Ambassador being comn into the Borders where the King was, before that hee was to come to his Court certain motions were made of peace: and as they treated thereof, the Imperiall Generals were giuen to vnderstand, that the Persian Army came to seek them, and was within half a daies journey, and had for Generall thereof a great man called PEROZAS, who was a Mirranes; which was the name of a Magistrate, of great dignity and authority in *Persia*. Whereupon BELISARIVS set his troops in order; and the two Camps came to lodge neer one to the other: and so they continued the space of two or three daies, ranging themselues euery day in order of battell; either partie expecting when the other should charge. Vpon one of those daies certain Archers of the one and other side beganne to skirmish: whereupon, the squadrons moued and brake the one vpon the other; and fought in such manner, that it was a very cruell and a bloudy battell, which lasted till neer night: wherein the Romans in the right wing had the worse, and the better in the left; and euery Captain did his best to obtain the victory: but in the end the Romans preuailed, and made great slaughter of their enemies; and PEROZAS the Mirranes escaped by flight.

Perozas, Generall for the King of Persia.

A battell with the Persians, wherein Belizarius had the victory.

BELIZARIVS, hauing obtained this notable victory, within fewe daies after recouered some places in *Mesopotamia*, which the Persians had vsurped; wherein also passed sundry doubtfull conflicts and encounters. In the Kingdome of *Armenia*, wherein the Persians held many places, SITTAS being Generall, and DOROTHEVS Pretor, the warres were followed with the like good fortune; and the Imperiall Army, obtaining victory, recouered most part of what was lost. The wars standing in these tearms, and kindled euery where, RVFINVS (who we said went Ambassador to the King of *Persia*) vpon safe conduct came to his Court, and had many treaties and discourses with him; but no peace could bee concluded: and CAVADAS, resoluing to prosecute the warres anew, to bee satisfied for the losses which his people had receiued; by the counsell of ALAMANDER, a valiant ould Captain of his (who in times past had gotten many victories against the Romans) he made EZARETHA, Generall of his Armie, a man both valiant and of great experience, and a Persian born. With whom, BELISARIVS, together with SITTAS the other Generall, after some encounters, came to a battell; which was one of the cruellest and greatest of all that hapned in those wars.

Sittas, Generall for Iustinian in Armenia, ouercam the Persians.

Ezaretha, Generall of the Persians.

This battell was fought neer to the Riuer *Euphrates*, and much against the opinion of BELISARIVS; who, knowing that the enemie had the aduantage, would not haue fought: but his troops against his will prepared themselues. Whereupon he, seeing their resolution, marshald and encouraged them against the Persians, which were already in order. And the fight began with so great fury and obstinacie on both sides, that for the greatest part of the day it appeared not whether party should haue the victory; vntill such time as the Imperialists, being vnable any longer to endure the toil therof, for they were fasting, being Easter Euen (Christians of our Age may see how inuiolably fasting daies were obserued in those times) they disbanded, and began to scatter. Whereupon the Persian horsemen charged BELIZARIVS his horse-troops with such force, that the Romans brake, and began to flee, and the like did the other squadrons of foot. Which when BELIZARIVS perceiued, after that hee had vsed all means to stay them, and to haue renewed the Fight, and could not preuail, hee alighted from his horse, and placed himself in a squadron of footmen, which kept together whole and vnbroken; and, encouraging them with his presence, they all resolued rather to dy than to be ouerthrowne. And EZARETHA and the Persians, which followed the chace of those which fled, seeing that squadron to remain whole, returned with great fury, thinking easily to haue had the execution of them: but they failed of their purpose, for they kept themselues so close together, that they could not be broken; and fought so valiantly, that they did the Persians more harm than they receiued from them; and so til night held their ground, and kept themselues in such order, that EZARETHA and his men were fain to leaue them: but they had the ransacking of their tents, and so returned to their Camp. BELISARIVS in very good order withdrew himself to a little Iland, which the riuer *Euphrates* maketh in that place; whither the greatest parr of his souldiers which fled, were already retired. And there the next day he again set himself in order, and gathered together his souldiers: but the Persians, houlding themselues for victorious, had the spoil of the Field. After this journey EZARETHA remoued his Camp to another quarter: for,

A cruell battell.

for, there hee had receiued greater losse than BELISARIVS; insomuch that CAVADAS King of *Persia*, vnderstanding what number of men were lost in that battell, held not himselfe content, nor for well serued in that victory. And dying shortly after, his sonne COSROBS succeeded him in his Kingdome: with whom, after many embassies and treaties, a peace was concluded; and BELISARIVS reconquered other Countries, which other nations held in the East. Thus much honoured and victorious, being sent for by the Emperor IVSTINIAN for the warres in *Africa*, SITTAS remaining Generall, he came to *Constantinople*; where he was receiued in triumph with great solemnity.

Cauadas King of Persia dying, his son Cosroes succeeded.

This being past, within fewe daies after there fell so great an vprore and tumult in the City of *Constantinople*, that it was likely to haue gone ill with IVSTINIANVS: for, this tumult in the beginning, growing from the factions of the common people, came to that point, that IPATIVS and POMPEY brethren, the chief men of that City, with the fauour of the people which took their part, they being the Emperor ANASTASIVS sisters sonnes, rebelled against IVSTINIAN; and IPATIVS took the Ensignes and name of Emperor: and the warre was so cruell within the City, that 30 thousand persons were slain. But in the end IPATIVS was taken and slain, and IVSTINIAN's troops remained victors: wherein BELISARIVS did him great seruice aboue all others. Afterwards (punishing such as were offenders, and confisking their goods) the conspiracies and troubles were all appeased; and IVSTINIAN liued more in peace, and in better estimation, than euer before. But soon after followed the wars of *Africa*; the occasion whereof grew through the dissension between GENSERICVS his nephews, the first King of the Vandals that euer raigned in *Africa*, which hapned after this manner: YLDERICVS, one of the nephewes of GENSERICVS, succeeding in that Kingdome, beeing in contention with another who was his cosin germane, and nephew also to GENSERICVS, whose name was GILIMER: both which pretended to haue title to the Kingdome, vpon what occasion for breuity I will omit; This YLDERICVS grew to be so negligent, that GILIMER (who was both wise and valiant) took him prisoner, and against all reason made himself King and Lord of all *Africa*; vnder this title, that the other was vncapable and insufficient for the gouernment. Wherewith the Emperor IVSTINIAN was very much displeased: for before that he was Emperor he held friendship with YLDERICVS, who was now depriued of his Kingdome. Whereupon, after that he had required GILIMER by his Ambassadours to render the Kingdome to his cousin YLDERICVS, which he refused to perform, hee resolued to make a conquest of the Kingdomes of *Africa*, and rigged a mighty Nauy, and sent his Noble Generall BELISARIVS vpon that seruice; and to that effect commanded a great army to be leuied: with which BELISARIVS embarking himself, accompanied with many excellent Captains in fiue hundred sail of ships, and fourescore and twelue Gallies, hee began his voiage towards *Africa*. Wherein, a great man born in that Countrey, whose name was PRVDENTIVS, had taken Arms against GILIMER in the City of *Tripoli*, on the behalfe of the Emperor IVSTINIAN; and another Captain in *Sardinia*, whose name was GODAS, had done the like. So as when BELISARIVS arriued in *Africa*, hee found some which took his part: and hauing landed his Army neer to a City called *Tittimuth*, marching along the seacoast he took his way towards *Carthage*: and his Nauy did the like by Sea.

A great tumult in Constantinople

Ipatius rebelled in Constantinople, and was slain by Iustinian.

The occasion of the conquest of Africa against Gilimer, King thereof.

Belisarius went to the wars of Africa.

When the Tyrant-king GILIMER vnderstood of the coming of BELISARIVS, with the Army which he had in readinesse he departed from that City wherein he first intituled himself King, and sent commandement to his brother called AMATA, whom hee left in *Carthage* for the guard of the City, and of YLDERICVS the deposed King, that hee should presently kil him, and such other prisoners as were in his power; and then with his whole force he should sallie out, and take the Field against BELISARIVS, and at a certain time appointed should fight with him; for that he at the same Instant would charge him in the Arreregard. Hee sent another Captain all the day long to trouble him on the one side, and to tire his people with continuall alarms. To be brief, there passed many things in that journey worthy to bee noted: and, coming neer to the City of *Carthage*, AMATA, beginning to fight at such time as his brother had appointed, was slain by BELISARIVS his Vaunguard: And GILIMER, without hauing intelligence thereof, with his troops so resolutely charged in the Arereguard, that the Imperialists began to retire in such manner, that if GILIMER had not made an Alt (as PROCOPIVS affirms) that day he had gotten the victory. But when it was told him that his brother was dead, he caused his troops to stand. And BELISARIVS his souldiers, vnderstanding of the good successe of their Auantguard, which was farre before them, being by him animated and

Belisarius arriued in Africa, King Gilimer came against him.

Amata, brother to Gilimer.

and encouraged, returned to fight with such fury, that GILIMER was wholly ouerthrowne and scattered, and many of his people slain, and hee by flight saued his life; and his souldiers, which escaped from the battell, straggled into diuerse parts: vpon which, greater execution had been done, if night had not ouertaken them.

A battel wherein king Gilimer was ouerthrown

The next day after this battell, BELISARIVS marched with his Armie towards the City of *Carthage*; where hee arriued in the euening, and found no resistance; for, they opened their ports, and made great lights to haue receiued him: but he would not by night come into an enemies City, leauing it vntill the next day, and then entred with great quietnes, without any spoil or murder committed by any of his souldiers; he hauing so commanded: for, his authority and reputation was such, that no man durst doo the contrary. The Vandals, which were in *Carthage*, withdrew themselues to the Temples and Churches; and BELIZARIVS, granting them their liues, commanded them to come forth vpon his word, which hee held inuiolably. Possessing himself of that City, he commanded the wals thereof to be repaired, which were in many places decaied; which was the occasion why GILIMER did not retire thither: BELISARIVS, being in *Carthage*, sent a Poste, a chief Captain called SALOMON, to the Emperor IVSTINIAN, to giue him to vnderstand of all that had passed. And GILIMER, who escaped from the battell, recouered certain fields of *Getulia*, called *Bulla*, which are foure dayes march from *Carthage*: where (as a man no way dismaied) he gathered together his troops that were scattered, and leuied others: and he also sent in great haste to recall his brother ZAZON, who then was in *Sardinia*; whither he had sent him against GODAS, which (as wee said) was in Arms in that Iland against GILIMER: whom ZAZON had ouerthrowne and slain, and recouered the Ile. But ZAZON, seeing the message from his brother, left all, and came with his forces to joyn with him. GILIMER, after that his brother was comn, hauing recouered a sufficient Army, took his way towards *Carthage* to besiege BELISARIVS, or to giue him battell if he would come forth and fight: but BELIZARIVS for certain daies would not take the Field, vntill he had throughly repaired the walles of the City, and taken order for the rest. Which being done, he took the Field with his Armie; drawing neer to GILIMER, who attended his coming.

Belisarius entred Carthage with victory.

King Gilimer escaped from the battell.

Zazon, brother to king Gilimer came to his aid with succour.

The next day one Army hauing sight of the other, each of the Commanders set his people in order: and the Fight on either side began with such fury, that in the first charge ZAZON, GILIMER's brother, was slain, and certain other principall men of the Vandals; which strook such a feare among them, that they began to faint: and BELISARIVS charging with his squadron, they turned their backs, and fled to their Camp, which they had very well fortified; and GILIMER, vnable to stay them, did the like. BELIZARIVS, gathering together his forces both of foot and horse, the very same day in the euening made towards GILIMER's Camp, with intent to haue assaulted it, and to haue made a compleat victory. When King GILIMER saw the battailions march, knowing that he was not able to defend himself, with some few seruants which followed him he fled: and BELISARIVS with little resistance, by reason of the Kings absence, got their Camp: his souldiers, putting to the sword all they found were able to bear Arms, took all the women and children captiues; and in the Camp they found an infinite quantity of gold, siluer, money and jewels: Which (as PROCOPIVS affirms) was one of the greatest and richest spoils that euer was seen or taken. For, the Vandals, hauing no place or refuge which they accounted safe, carried their gold, siluer, money, and all their treasure, with them: so as within one houre they lost all they had stolne and gotten together in *Africa* in 95 yeers. For, so long had they been in possession thereof.

The second battell and victory obtained by Belisarius against Gilimer.

The Vandals held Africa 95 yeers.

The next day, BELISARIVS, to let slip no occasion, dispatched an excellent Captain called IOHN, with a good troop of horse to pursue GILIMER; he himself purposing to do the like. And, leauing good order for all things in *Carthage*, and a sufficient garrison, hee followed with some of the choice men of his Armie. King GILIMER, riding without any stay, retired himself into certain inaccessible mountains and rocks in the Prouince of *Numidia*, called *Papua*; inhabited by a people called Mauritij, who were great friends to the Vandals. But before hee came thither, he was in danger to haue been taken by IOHN; and he escaped out of his hands when he was very neer vnto him. But it was his ill hap that one of his souldiers, shooting at a bird, and missing it, slue his Captain; who, being shot through the throat, fell down dead: and by that mean had GILIMER oportunity to escape, and to take the rocks & mountains; where he staid not long ere BELISARIVS came. But forasmuch as it seemed a long work to take those rocks where GILIMER was, by force; he left one PHARAS a Captain with sufficient forces

The flight and pursuit of King Gilimer.

forces to compasse-in GILIMER; so as by no meanes hee could escape. And hee with the rest of the troupes returned to *Carthage*, and in his going and comming, tooke many Townes; and much people, with great ioy and contentment came to doe him seruice, glad to see themselues freed from so great seruitude, and so restored to the libertie of the Empire.

Gilimer besieg'd by Pharas.

Being come to *Carthage*, for the full accomplishment of his victorie, he sent a Captaine to take the Ile of *Sardinia*, and sent other Captaines into *Mauritania*, and into diuers other parts, in all which he had most happy successe: for the Vandales in all places (for the most part) were ill beloued. So as in little more then foure moneths, BELISARIVS reconquered all *Africa*, after that the Empire had lost the same the space of fourescore and sixteene yeeres. And truely it was a wonderfull thing: for all that people were Arrian hereticks, and for such the same IVSTINIAN recordeth them, in his booke *de officio Pretoris*: wherein although that he not therefore gainsay the ninety and six, as I haue reported: for that was written nine yeers afterwards, and he speaketh according to the day of the making of that law. But the truth is, that they possessed *Africa* but ninetie six yeeres. PHARAS, which remained behinde, to besiege King GILIMER, begirt him in on euery side, in such manner, that GILIMER seeing no other remedie, after many letters which past betweene them, yeelded himselfe vpon securitie of his life: which assurance BELISARIVS sent vnto him, and to certaine his kinsemen which were with him. And PHARAS as soone as he had him in his possession, came with him to *Carthage* to BELISARIVS, who entertained him very honorably. And so BELISARIVS ended his victories and enterprises: which truely was an admirable thing, and worthie of great consideration, if we call to minde the valour and power of those Vandales, and the great victories which they had obtained against the Romanes, of which we haue touched some. BELISARIVS presently sent to giue the Emperor IVSTINIAN notice of the successe and issue of the warres, and to intreate him to giue him leaue to make his repaire vnto him, and so bring GILIMER with him. Whereto IVSTINIAN answered, that he should doe therein what best pleased him, either to continue in the gouernment of *Africa*, or to repaire to him at his pleasure. But BELISARIVS to cleere himselfe of certaine whispering mutterings, vnjustly raised against him, chose rather to goe to *Constantinople*, and left SALOMON before named for Generall and Gouernor of *Africa*, with a good part of his Armie; who afterwards had wars with the Mauruſij; which rebelled, and he subdued, although with great danger and trouble.

Belisarius conquered all Africa in little more then foure moneths, which had been held by the Vandales ninety six yeers.

Gilimer brought prisoner to Belisarius.

Belisarius left Salomon gouernor of Africa.

BELISARIVS followed his iourney, leading with him the King and many of his kindred, men and women prisoners, with infinite iewels, treasure and riches, which was the greatest and best part of all that the Vandales had stolne from *Rome*, *Spaine*, *Africa*, and other Prouinces, in almost a hundred yeers before. Being come to *Constantinople*, the Emperour commanded him to be receiued in triumph, with all the ceremonies and solemnities, which the Romane Consuls in old time, and the Emperors afterwards triumphed in *Rome*.

Belisarius his triumph.

The Historie of IVSTINIAN must of necessitie be longer then that of many other Emperors; as well for that he raigned a long time, as also for that the accidents which hapned in his time, were great and famous, and the feates of Armes done in that time, noble and excellent: wherefore it shall not be fit to forbeare to make mention thereof. I doe also know, and (as I thinke) haue said it, that Readers take pleasure in reading of great battailes, strange aduentures, conquests of countries, and alterations of Kingdomes and estates: wherefore the Historie of peaceable Princes, and of happy times, without warres and disasters, are nothing so pleasing, as are those which treate of slaughters, ruines of estates, alterations of kingdomes, notable victories, insurrections, factions, tumults, rebellions, and finally great accidents whether good or euill: for which reason fabulous bookes are read, and doe commonly giue content, for that they kill and cut in peeces thousands of men, batter Cities, and faine things in a manner impossible. Herein, following the aduice of HORACE, I haue determined to take care as well to please, as to profit the Reader (when I may) with the truth; relating sometimes the great deeds of Armes, without concealing the examples of peace also, and the good conditions and vertues of peaceable and milde Princes, reprouing and condemning vice and sinne, by detesting and abhorring those which committed the same; for to that end Historie are written, and are to be read; that reading vicious and wicked actions, the Readers may flie them, and follow those which are good and vertuous. And by the variable aduentures and accidents may become more

To what end Historie are to be read.

more circumspect, and frame the rule of their liues according to such things as may befall them.

But returning to our purpose, BELISARIVS rested not long in *Constantinople*, before that IVSTINIAN gaue him the charge of the warres, and conquest of *Italie*, and *Sicilie*, against the Gothes, and THEODATVS who at that time was Lord thereof: which enterprise was held to be of no lesse importance and danger, than that of *Africa*: and the successe thereof shewed it afterwards to be far greater, in regard of the great battels and slaughters which followed.

The beginning of this war (briefly) was such, as in the end of the life of the Emperor IVSTIN was by vs related. For, the great and redoubted King THEODORICVS being dead, his Nephew ATHALARICVS (for that he had no sonne) succeeded him in the Kingdome of *Italie*, being of the age of eight yeers. Wherefore his mother AMALASVNTA had the gouernment of the Kingdom; who began to rule with infinite wisdome, and to bring-vp her sonne in vertuous exercises, and in the study of learning and good letters. But it was not long before that contentions and factions arose between her and her sonnes kinred; and particularly the malice and enuy grew betweene her and THEODATVS, cosin-germane to ATHALARICVS. Whereupon she, seeing her self oppressed, gaue the charge of the bringing vp of her son to certain principall men of them: and, leauing *Rome*, she came to *Rauenna*, where she still had great authority in the gouernment. The enmity increasing betweene her and THEODATVS, who was a man of great power, and openly had made himselfe Lord of the Prouince of *Tuscane*; either of them, to weet, AMALASVNTA and THEODATVS, sought the friendship and assistance of the Emperor IVSTINIAN, and promised to giue him entrance into *Italy*.

As matters stood on these tearms, the yong King ATHALARICVS died; wherewith AMALASVNTA was greatly troubled and very hartily sorrie, for that she was a widow enuied, and ill-beloued of the chief men among the Gothes. Afterwards, studying what course was best to be taken, she resolued to come to an agreement with THEODATVS, and to make him King of *Italy*; perswading her self, that he for so great a benefit could not chuse but be her faithfull friend; and that she should still hold the authority, and he the name and title of King. She hauing resolued heerupon, procured certain treaties and a meeting to be had: where, after long discourse and great promises, bound with solemn othes, made by the one and other party, shee proclaimed him King of *Italie*; and he ioyning his power with her forces (which were greater than his) without difficulty obtained the Kingdome, and all men obeyed him. But this deuice proued ill with AMALASVNTA, neither was it any sound course for her: for, as soon as THEODATVS saw himself an absolute Lord, and in possession, he began to rule, little to her liking; and within fewe daies commanded her to be apprehended, and in the end to bee put to death, like an ingratefull and wicked Christian.

Theodatus, vncle to Athalaricus, procured the kingdom of Italie for himself.

Theodatus apprehended Amalasiunta, and caused her to be slaine.

IVSTINIAN being aduertised hereof, was highly displeased (for hee tooke part with AMALASVNTA) and detesting so vile a fact, holding this for a good occasion, through the desire which he had to recouer *Italy* to the Empire, hee resolued suddenly to make open warre against THEODATVS, in hope to make a conquest thereof by armes, which before he sought by wiles and secret practices. And to that effect hee chose BELISARIVS for General of his armie, who then came triumphing and victorious from *Africa*. IVSTINIAN at that time had an Ambassadour in *Italy*, called PETER, who went thither to treat of peace betweene AMALASVNTA and THEODATVS, with whom THEODATVS laboured to come to some conditions of peace, for hee greatly feared the power of IVSTINIAN: and whilest that hee was busie hereabouts, BELISARIVS arriued with a Nauie and an armie in *Sicilia*, for that hee held it expedient first to take that Iland: and suddenly landing his men, hee presently took the citie of *Catania*, and within few daies after marched towards *Sarragossa*, and with the like fortune entred, and tooke the same, and did the like by many other townes and cities.

Then hee marched to *Palermo*, where he found greater force and resistance, for it defended it selfe certaine daies, and many men were slaine of both sides: but those which were within it fearing their ruine, yeelded themselues to BELISARIVS, and so did all the rest of the Iland. Such was his expedition and good hap in the warres. And so as much as hee (for his fame) was greatly feared, THEODATVS seeing what had hapned in *Sicilia*, standing in feare of him, treated with this Ambassadour PETER concerning certain conditions of peace, wherein he renounced his right to *Sicilia*: and that in *Italie* in all decrees & proclamations to be made IVSTINIAN should be first named, and that euery yeer THEODATVS should send him a golden crown,

Belisarius tooke Sicilia.

in token of subiection, and other things which Procopius setteth down at large.

Peter being gone with this message, fear so much increased in Theodatvs, that hee sent vpon the way to recall the Ambassador which he had sent with Peter, whose name was Rvstic vs; and made him to sweare, that hee should not reueal his resolution vntill that he came into the presence of the Emperor, and saw whether hee would accept of the first offer or no; and if he did not, that then he should offer the whole Kingdom of *Italie* to Ivstinian, vpon condition that he should giue him some lands and possessions in *Gracia* or else where, to liue in. And to that effect he wrote a notable Letter to the Emperor, with his owne hand. When Ivstinian had heard the first offer made by Theodatvs; as hee was a valiant Prince, and of an hautie courage, he would not accept thereof: whereupon, the Ambassador discouered the second, wherein he offered him *Italie*: wherewith hee was exceeding glad, and wrote a gratious Letter to Theodatvs, and therwith sent Ambassadors to confirm the agreement; and to command Belisarivs, that, making an end in *Sicilia*, he should passe ouer into *Italie*, and possesse himself of the forces thereof: but the accord was not so concluded. For, in the meantime that these Ambassadors went and came, Theodatvs his Captains had obtained a notable victory, and had slain Mvndvs and his son Mavricivs, who were Ivstinian's Captains in *Slauonia*, and had defeated the Imperiall Armie.

Theodatus ofereen to render the kingdom of Italie into the hands of Iustinian.

Theodatus refused to perform his promise

By reason of his victory, Theodatvs grew so proud, that hee not onely refused to accompliss what he had offered; but, fayning himself much displeased with some speeches vsed to him by Ivstinian's Ambassadors, he caused them to be apprehended. This also increased his presumption: for, at that instant Belisarivs was gone out of *Sicilia* into *Africa* to rescue Salomon, whom hee had left there. For, a Captain called Estorzas mutined with the greatest part of the Army; and, making himself Lord of the Country, put to death the Iudges and Gouerners thereof. But Belisarivs, arriuing in *Africa*, took such order, that within very fewe daies he ouercame them in battell, and vsed extreme punishment in the Country; and so, leauing all in peace and quiet, returned into *Italie*, the affairs whereof he found in such estate as is before said.

The Sunne gaue very little light for the space of almost a yeer.

At this time (as Procopivs writeth) there was seen so prodigious a sight in the Sun, that the like hath neuer been heard of: which was, that the greatest part of one whole yeer the Sun gaue so little light, that it was but equall or little more than the light of the Moon; the sky being cleer and without clouds, or any other thing to shadow the same. And so, without any apparant occasion, it was obscured all that time: which, as it was afterwards conjectured, was the occasion of the famin and want of grain, which generally ensued through all the world, and did prognosticate the wars and effusion of bloud which followed in *Italie*.

Ivstinian, seeing the inconstancy of Theodatvs, and being greatly displeased with the death of his Captains in *Dalmatia*, and the imprisonment of his Ambassadors in *Italie*, with great wisdome, and the courage and resolution of a worthy Prince, prouiding for both occasions, sent into *Dalmatia* and *Slauonia* for his Generall, a valiant Captain called Constantivs; who recouered much of that which was lost, and renewed the warre in that part. And, as for the affairs of *Italie*, he commanded Belisarivs speedily to enter it with the greatest power he could. Who, with his accustomed expedition and courage, left, in the fortresses and strong holds of *Sicilia*, such garrisons as he thought good, and transported his Army into *Italie* at the streight of *Messina*, and began to seise on the places and towns neer the sea-side, not finding any Army to hinder him; and so he conquered all the Coast to the City of *Naples*: wherin Theodatvs had put a great garrison of Gothes, who valiantly defended the same. Where passed many conflicts: and the Besieged sent secretly to craue relief, but in vain; for, in the end they were taken by force, and the souldiers had great spoil, and made great slaughter of the Gothes. But Belisarivs, the next day assembling his Armie, took such order with the souldiers, that they set all the Inhabitants of the City at liberty, and restored to them the greatest part of the goods which were taken from them; contenting themselues with the spoile of their enemies onely, sparing the citizens: to whom they protested, that the cause of their coming was, To set them at liberty. Great was the fear which the taking of *Naples* strake into the Gothes: for, they held it impregnable. Wherefore all the chief men and Captains amongst them, seeing the small prouision that Theodatvs made, and assuring them that Belisarivs would not continue long in *Naples* before he came to *Rome*; One inuiting another, they mette at a place neer vnto it; and, after long debating and consultation vpon the matter, they did chuse a wife and valiant Captain for their King, who by name was called Vitiges, to

Belisarius came with great power into Italie.

The Gothes, discontented with Theodatus, chose Vitiges for their King.

to the end that he should presently take order for the leuying of men of war, and the defense of the countrie against Belisarivs. Which which when Theodatvs vnderstood, who then was in *Rome*, holding himselfe to be in no securitie, he fled thence towards *Rauenna*: but he was ouertaken vpon the way by a Captain called Optares, whom Vitiges sent to pursue him; and so was slaine by his commandement, when he had raigned three yeeres King of *Italy*. Theodatvs being dead, Vitiges called a councell: and being of opinion that he had not power sufficient to attend Belisarivs in *Rome*, neither to sally forth to fight with him in the fields, resolued to goe to *Rauenna*, and there raising sufficient forces, returne to giue him battaile. And he was the rather induced thereto, for that he stood in doubt of the French, which had declared themselues for the Emperour. Being thus resolued, he left for gouernour of *Rome* a Captain whose name was Baderes, with fower thousand mercenarie souldiers in garrison: and encouraging the citizens to defend themselues, he tooke his way towards *Rauenna*.

Theodatus slaine by the commandement of Vitiges.

Belisarivs, leauing a good guard and garrison in *Naples*, marched with his Armie towards *Rome*; where the inhabitants knowing of his comming, resolued that they would not stand vpon their defence, but opened the ports & let him in: and they so agreed together, as the Gothes could not hinder it, but held it their best course to be gone. And it so hapned, that in one day, and at one instant, Belisarivs entred at one port, and they sallied out at another. Who after that he had made a most excellent speech to the Senate, and encouraged them to embrace their libertie, he presently applied himselfe to repaire the walles and to fortifie the citie; bringing in victuals and prouision from all parts: For all the countrie round about was at commandement.

Belisarius entred Rome.

In the meane while, the new King Vitiges, (who was neither idle, nor a coward) left nothing vndone that might encrease his power against Belisarivs. First he concluded a peace with the King of *France*, to the end he should not bee his aduersarie, and gaue him those lands which Theodoricvs held in *France*, thereby to be the better assured of his friendship: and sending for his ordinarie captaines and souldiers which he vsually held in *France*, hee commanded them to come and ioyne with him. And from *Germanie* and other parts he procured all the aide he possibly could. Finally, he vsed such meanes, as hee raised in *Rauenna*, and the marches thereof, one hundred and fiftie thousand men, of foote and horse; good souldiers, and the most of them very well armed.

Vitiges leuied an Armie of 150000 men of foote and horse.

With this Armie he began to march towards *Rome*, wherein Belisarivs was; but not with any such force as might suffice to take the field, or to fight with so great an enemie. Whereupon King Vitiges (nothing doubting of the victorie) grew so proud, as he not onely tooke care that Belisarivs should not flie and abandon *Italie*, but by the way he euer asked, whether Belisarivs were fled or no: and reioyced infinitly when it was told him that he fortified himselfe in *Rome*; and that it seemed, he meant to abide his comming. But the valiant Belisarivs was farre from that which Vitiges supposed, for he was resolued rather to die, then to abandon what he had gotten. But seeing his small power, in respect of his aduersarie, he sent to Blessvs and Constantianvs, Captaines which hee had sent into those marches, that they should presently returne to *Rome* with their troupes, where hee was with his, and had fortified and furnished the citie; with a resolution to defend the same, and to stoppe the enemie, if he purposed to goe forwards, to recouer what he had gotten in *Campania*, *Pulia*, and *Calabria*. But Vitiges held on his way directly towards *Rome*, imagining that it could not be held: and at his arriuall there happened so great an accident, that although I know it will somewhat detaine me, yet I will describe it.

Belisarivs, at a bridge ouer the riuer *Tiber*, about a mile from *Rome* where Vitiges should passe, had caused two very strong towers to bee built, and placed therein a very good guard to entertain the enemie: but Vitiges being comn with his Armie, those that had the guard at the bridge, one night were in such fear, that without any fight they presently gaue vp the place; and the same night Vitiges began to passe ouer a great part of his Army. The next morning, Belisarivs, suspecting no such matter, sallied forth of *Rome* with a thousand choice horse, and came towards the bridge, to the end to chuse a fit place to lodge his people, for the defense and stopping of the passage: but, being comn somewhat neer vnto it, he suddenly met with Vitiges men-at-Armes, who that night had past the riuer by the bridge: wherewith Belisarivs was so much despited (imagining the guarders of the bridge to be lost) that with lesse discretion than he ought, hee charged Vitiges men with so

Vitiges marched towards Rome against Belisarius.

A strange encounter.

so great rage and fury, that there followed a cruell Fight; so as VITIGES his Vauntguard retired to the battailion wherein he himself was: whence hee charged with so great a troop of Gothes, that BELISARIVS his company was held for lost; and hee in his owne person did wonders, slaying and wounding many of his enemies; and charged so farre in amongst them, that all Authors which write thereof affirm, that he discharged the part of an excellent man at Arms, but not of a good and discreet Generall. For, he put his person in such danger, that hee was held for dead; and so it was presently reported in *Rome* by some of his people which fled. He being in this distresse, wherein he lost many of his friends and seruants, being vnable any longer to maintain the Fight, his people began to retire a main gallop, and he did the like, after they had slain 1000 of the Gothes. And many of VITIGES his horsemen pursued them euen to the very gates of *Rome*, which were shut: and those which held the guard there would not open them, fearing to let in the enemie. And for that with the noise and callings, they knew not BELISARIVS by his voice, whom they accounted for dead; he, hauing fought the greatest part of the day, was driuen to lean to the wall; and, ranging his souldiers into a squadron, made head against the enemie, and so continued fighting, without any meat or sustenance, till it was night: in the which he did a valiant, though a dangerous and desperate, exploit; which was, that he charged the Gothes with such fury, that they all beleeued (through the darknes of the night) that great troops had sallied forth of the City: and in this doubt they began to retire towards their Camp, BELISARIVS still charging them in the arieregard, til he found a free place, and then returned; and, coming to the Port, was knowne and receiued into the city with his people, although many, fewer in number than they sallied. And so he escaped this perilous conflict, with a great number of arrows sticking in his horse & armor; and had some blowes and cuts with the sword, but none of them toucht his flesh: which was held for a wonder by those which saw in how great danger he had been.

A desperate attempt.

The next day VITIGES arriued, and ouerran the fields of *Rome*; and, being vnable to besiege the City round on euery side, by reason of the greatnes thereof, hee diuiding his Armie, inuested it with six Camps: and forasmuch as it would be too long to recite the conflicts which passed in that siege, they were so great and strange, I will leaue them all. Onely let this suffice, to vnderstand, that it was one of the most terrible and bloudy sieges that euer was before any city: for, it continued one whole yeer and nine daies; and the first seuen moneths of that time, VITIGES and his Gothes (who were valiant men) neuer ceased to batter and assault the City on all parts; where they did and receiued much hurt. And BELISARIVS and his people neuer suffred their aduersaries to rest, neither forbare to sallie forth and to fight with them in field; so as in skirmishes and sallies Writers affirm, that they slue aboue 40000 of the Gothes: in which time he did maruels in Arms, aswell for valour and hardinesse, as for wisdome and policie, as an excellent Captain.

Rome terribly besieged and assaulted by the Gothes.

Vitiges besieg'd Rome.

The Emperour IVSTINIAN was not careless of this siege, but sent reliefe and succor both of men and munition to BELISARIVS; and supplied him with certaine Captains and companies of horse and foote, with corne and other victualls, which without great trouble and daunger could not come to *Rome*. But this was not so sufficient, but that they endured extreme famine. Yet that not withstanding, he managed things so wisely and valiantly, as VITIGES seeing himselfe and his Armie tired, and weakned, sought to make a truce with him, which was concluded for three moneths: but it continued not so long, for VITIGES through the cunning and treacheric of some, demanded to haue leaue to come in, and to see the citie, within the time of the truce: whereupon the warres were renewed. And BALISARIVS sent commandement to a Captain of his called IOHN, who was Marshall of his Armie, that he should make cruell warres in the marches of *Rauenna*, whither he had sent him with aboue two thousand horse, and certaine other souldiers before the time of the truce, imagining that he harrying that quarter, VITIGES would rise from before *Rome*. This Captain sped so well in his enterprise, as he took the citie of *Arimino*, and other places. And VITIGES standing in feare to lose *Rauenna*, raised his siege from before *Rome*, and returned to defend the rest. But in his retreit BELISARIVS charged him so furiously in the arieruguard, as he slew a great number of his men. And so with shame, dishonor, and losse of his forces, VITIGES returned to the countrie of *Rauenna*, and very resolutely besieged *Arimino*, wherein this Captaine IOHN was.

Rome hardly besieged.

Vitiges took truce with Belisarius for three monthes.

Vitiges raised his siege from before Rome.

BELISARIVS, to auoid losse of time, leuying such forces as hee could get, staied not any longer: but whil'st he went to *Naples*, and fortified that City, he then presently took his way towards the city of *Rauenna*: and so the warres were renewed in diuerse parts of *Italie*. And to

to BELISARIVS came a Captain sent by IVSTINIAN, called NARSES, an Eunuch, with a great supply of souldiers. This NARSES afterwards was Generall, and an excellent man: with whom, and those which he had already, BELISARIVS relieued IOHN, who was besieged in *Arimino*; and with some losse of men constrained VITIGES to raise his siege. Before and after which, in *Gallia Cisalpina*, now called *Lombardy*, *Milan*, *Bergama*, *Nauarra*, and other Cities, took part with BELISARIVS; whither hee sent some Captains, and there followed great conflicts and battels, as well with the Gothes, as with THEODOBERTVS King of *France*, who came with a resolution to haue made himself Lord of that Country, while they were busied in these wars. BELISARIVS, after many great aduentures, fought a battell with VITIGES, who had drawn together his whole power to that end. And, to vse breuitie, BELISARIVS getting the victory, VITIGES, fleeing to *Rauenna*, was therein besieged: which siege lasted many daies, and there were many treaties of the one and the other side; so far forth, as to offer to make BELISARIVS King of *Italie*. But hee continuing his siege, and the Citie being taken, VITIGES was deliuered into his hands, with whom in a manner all *Italie* came vnder his obedience.

Narses sent by the Emperor to the aid of Belisarius.

A battell: Belisarius victor.

Belisarius took King Vitiges prisoner.

Belisarius left Italy by the Emperors commandement.

The affairs of *Italy* standing in this estate, by the commandement of IVSTINIAN, BELISARIVS was to depart from *Italy* (which he ought not to haue done): for, the Emperor meant to imploy his person in his wars against the Persians, leauing *Italy* in subjection; although that afterwards through his absence there followed great alterations & combustions. For, although that IOHN, BESA and VITALIS (all valiant men, and of great esteem) remain'd for Commanders and Gouerners in his place, yet there was no comparison between them and him: for, he was a most excellent Captain. This great Captain BELISARIVS departed from *Italie*, carrying with him King VITIGES, and the Queen his wife, with many of his kinred, and other principall men of the Gothes, prisoners; and was receiued into *Constantinople* with exceeding honour and much joy: And he was so beloued and esteem'd, that all men, both inhabitants and strangers, went to see him as a wonder of the world, extolling his vertues and noble acts; which for the breuity of my stile I am not able to expresse. This was also a great help thereto, in that hee was a man of a most pleasing countenance, tall of stature, of an excellent constitution, Noble of condition, milde, courteous, and endued with many other rare and heroicall vertues.

Belisarius carried King Vitiges and his wife prisoners to Constantinople.

Within fewe daies after that BELISARIVS was gone out of *Italie*, some Cities rebelled, and chose YDIBALDVS for their King, a valiant Captain, and of great authority among the Gothes; who began to growe mighty by means of the euill gouernment, and the powlings and extortions, vsed by the Emperors Captains in the Country. He leuying an Army (which vntil then hee durst not do) presumed to fight with VITALIS, and ouerthrew him in battell, and began to be feared by the Imperialists. But, because hee slue a nephew of VITIGES, one of his guard slue him, when he had raigned little more than one yeer. In his place was chosen ARARICVS (whom PAVLVS DIACONVS and IORDANVS call ARARIVS) who was also slain within fiue moneths. And then they chose TOTILA for their King; who wrought the miserie and destruction of *Rome*, as I will presently tell you, when as we haue declared how and vpon what occasion BELISARIVS was drawn out of *Italie* by the Emperor IVSTINIAN, which before we spake not of; which passed in this manner:

Ydibaldus was chosen by the Gothes for king of Italie, and after him Araricius.

Totila made king.

COSROES King of *Persia*, seeing that BELISARIVS (whom he chiefly feared) was busied in the wars of *Italie*, sought some occasions, whether fained or just, to make warre vpon the territories of the Empire; and, entring some Prouinces, took certain Imperiall Cities. Whereupon IVSTINIAN, who very circumspectly prouided for all parts, besides the ordinary garrisons sent an Armie into the East, and for Generall thereof a valiant Gentleman named SITTAS, who in a battell was ouerthrowne and slain. And IVSTINIAN sent another called BVCEN, a very rare man at Arms; and also a nephew of his called GERMANVS, and other Captains and souldiers: so as the war was very cruell and bloudy between COSROES and them; which I haue not time to relate. But the Imperialists could not make sufficient resistance against the Persians: and so COSROES entred far into the Empire; and, leauing *Mesopotamia* on the right hand, marched towards *Syria* and *Cilicia*, and by assault took many good Cities. Wherfore IVSTINIAN, holding no man sufficient for that war but BELISARIVS, sent for him out of *Italie*: at what time he had brought it all vnder subjection, excepting some fewe Holds and Castles in *Lombardy*, wherein the Gothes had fortified themselues.

Cosroes, king of Persia, made warr in the Empire.

Captains sent against the Persians, Sittas, Bucen and Germanus.

The Persians took many cities in the Empire.

BELISARIVS leauing *Italie*, and arriuing at *Constantinople*, within fewe daies after was sent

Belisarius sent against the Persians.

into the East, against COSROES the mightie King of *Persia*: And with his comming the Imperialists tooke heart, and he reuiued the warre with such discretion and courage, as there was present alteration in all things: and hauing obtained some victories against certaine of COSROES Captaines (for he himselfe durst not fight with him) he recouered much of that which was vsurped, By meanes whereof the affaires of the East were daily from well to better, through the presence and good gouernement of BELISARIVS. But in the meane season (which were two yeeres) the estate of *Italy* waxed worse: for as we said, TOTILA, being made King of the Gothes, followed the warres with so great courage and in so good order, as hauing ouerthrowne and slaine some of the Emperour IVSTINIAN's Captaines, the Gothes wanne such reputation, as all the townes tookpart with them, excepting such as were held by garrisons.

Totila his good successe in Italy.

And TOTILA marched through all *Italy*, without finding any resistance; and besieged the great citie of *Naples*: which after many exploites both by sea and land, he tooke, and many others in that quarter, and prospered so well in his enterprises, as it seemed, that in short space he would (without speedie redresse) make himselfe Lord of the whole. Which when IVSTINIAN perceiued, grieuing more for *Italy*, then for all the rest, he commanded BELISARIVS, that leauing the affaires of the East in the best order he could, he should make his repaire vnto him, and be as a seruant accustomed to obey; did so. Leauing his people in the East, and comming to *Constantinople*, without any stay he was sent by the Emperor into *Italy*; whither he went with so great haste, that he could not leade with him aboue fiftie thousand men: for it was thought that he should haue found sufficient forces there; and was made to beleeue that the Emperours partie was not brought to so great extremitie as it was. But he found all quite contrarie, in so much as it did partly seeme that his comming did more harme then good: for, being wished for, and expected by his friends, and feared by his enemies, seeing him come with so small forces, the one were dismaied, and the other took courage: and so in the beginning his enterprise was very doubtfull and tedious. Putting himselfe into *Rauenna*, to fortifie and defend the same, within few daies he took such order, as notwithstanding that he could not keepe the field and heard the enemie (for that he was too mightie for him) yet the Gothes neuertheless did rather lose then get.

Belisarius by the Emperors commandement returned into Italy.

Totila besieged Rome.

Wherwith TOTILA being much displeased, and desirous to make warres to the vttermost, assembled all his whole power, and sent Captaines and companies to *Rauenna* against BELISARIVS. And he with his whole Armie went to *Rome*, which was so slenderly prouided for, either with men or munition, that it seemed it could not long be defended.

BELISARIVS vnderstanding hereof, and remembring with how much trouble and extremitie he had defended that citie in former time, and seeing that he had not forces to keepe the field, neither could put himselfe into it by land, was much displeased and sorrowfull, and wrote an earnest letter to the Emperour IVSTINIAN, desiring him to send him men and money; resoluing to put himselfe into *Rome* by sea from *Rauenna*, where he then was. And passing ouer into *Dalmatia*, and thence to *Durasso*, he found captaine IOHN, whom IVSTINIAN had sent with a good Armie, wherewith he was of opinion to be able to fight with TOTILA. But the reliefe of *Rome* he held necessarie to be prouided for, with greater expedition then could be made with that Armie: for if TOTILA should take it, he feared that all *Italy* would reuolt. Wherefore he resolued to goe thither by sea, and to put himselfe into *Rome* by the riuer *Tiber*: (for the citie called *Porto* in the mouth of *Tiber*, held for the Emperour; and *Ostia* on the other side of the riuer held for the Gothes) and that Captaine IOHN should crosse the Sea with his Armie, and comming into *Calabria*, should march by land, to relieue him.

This being thus concluded, BELISARIVS sailed, and arriued at *Porto* in the mouth of *Tiber*; and hauing no sufficient power to march by land, by reason of TOTILA his great Armie, hee speedily rigged a great number of Barkes and Fregates, which he fraughted with men and munition, and so passed vp the riuer. And notwithstanding that TOTILA had in the narrowest place of that riuer drawne chaines, and made a bridge, and two Castles at the ends of the bridge, guarded with a great number of souldiers, by this meanes to stop his passage; yet BELISARIVS followed his course vp the Riuer: and comming to the bridge, he and his people in such sort charged those which guarded the same, that they brake and scattered them and passed through and *Rome* had been presently relieued, and euery thing had had good successe, had there not befallen a strange mishap, which troubled and altered all.

Belisarius passed vp the riuer Tiber, with a determination to relieue Rome.

BELIZARIVS had left his wife and familie (which wife he loued so much, as in his other warres he euer carried her with him) in the port before named, at the entrie of the Riuer, with

with a Garison which held the fort, and a good Captaine, whose name was ISAAZ, with expresse commandement that he should not sallie forth without the walles, but should keepe the fortresse. But ISAAZ hearing the newes of BELISARIVS his victorie, and being desirous to doe some notable exploit of himselfe, sallied out of the towne with his Garison, to charge TOTILA his souldiers, which lay there against him: and although that at the first he disordered them and made them retire, yet in the end he was ouerthrowne by them and taken prisoner. Whereof BELISARIVS was presently aduertised by some which fled, and the report went (without any author) that the Towne was taken, and that his wife was in the enemies hands. Which when he vnderstood, he was so grieued and enraged, that without expecting any further newes, he returned downe the Riuer, with a determination either to die, or to set his wife at libertie; imagining that if he sped well, he might speedily returne to the rescue of *Rome*. But being come to the port, he found the place at his deuotion, and that his wife was well and at libertie, although the Captaine were lost. Whereupon he tooke greater displeasure to see himselfe thus deluded, then at the first euill newes; and the same night after his arriuall at the port, through extreme choler and griefe which he had taken, or some other vnknowne occasion, he was so extremely taken with a feuer, that he fell downe for dead, and his disease daily encreasing, he was oftentimes at the point of death. In this meane time, which was for the space of many daies, TOTILA did so straightly besiege the Citie, that they within died of hunger, and did eate dogs, cats, rats, and other things which seemed impossible. And TOTILA in the end, hauing the Citie in his power, sent his Ambassadours to IVSTINIAN, offering to be his seruant and good friend, and to preserue and keepe the Citie, if hee would grant him peace; if not, that then he would raze it and make the most cruell warre he could. IVSTINIAN answered that his Generall BELISARIVS was in *Italie*, to whom he referred all matters.

A great misfortune which befell Belisarius

Totila tooke Rome.

TOTILA was so enraged with this answere, that hee resolued to ruine *Rome*, and so hee did: For hee made the Capitoll it selfe to bee burned, and the best part of all the Citie, and the third part of the walles hee caused to be throwne downe, and commanded the inhabitants to abandon the Citie, vpon paine of death, and to goe to liue in some other place. And so he left burned, desolate, and waste, that Citie which had commanded the World, and which had beene the greatest, most frequented, and best peopled of all others. Then he marched against IOHN, who with the Armie sent by IVSTINIAN, came through *Calabria*, towards *Rome*, who shewed himselfe so very a coward, that hee durst not attend him in the field, but put himselfe into *Otranto*, the furthest place of all *Calabria*. And so TOTILA without any resistance tooke all *Calabria*, *Abruzzo* and *Lucania*, which vntill then held for the Emperour IVSTINIAN.

Totila burnt and destroyed Rome.

In the meane time, BELIZARIVS recouered his health, and performed one of the most desperate attempts, that euer he had done at any time before; which was with those troupes which he had, to goe and put himselfe into *Rome*, with a resolution to repaire, reedefie and defend the same; and so he did. And so first sending his wife to *Constantinople*, he presently went to *Rome* (as desolate as it lay) and caused with all expedition, trenches to be digged, and rampiers to be made, where the walles were throwne downe, and all the victuals that possibly could be gotten, to be brought thither, and made a Citie of that which lay waste. Through the fame hereof, many Citizens, that could get to him; for the loue of their countrie came, and put themselues thereinto with him. Whereof as soone as TOTILA was aduertised, by long iourneys without any intermission, he returned againe, assuring himselfe presently to enter it, and there to take BELISARIVS: But BELISARIVS so valiantly defended the same, that to his great losse, TOTILA was driuen to raise his siege. Whereby it may be imagined, how well he would haue defended it before it was ruinated, and he repaired it with new ports and rampiers. In the meane season captaine IOHN in *Calabria* and *Pulia* gathered the Citizens of *Rome* together and sent them thither, in whose Citie BELISARIVS remained; and hauing fortified it, and left a good Garrison therein, with an excellent Gouernour called GONON; he went to ioyne with IOHN, and other Captaines, to pursue TOTILA: where many things hapned too long to be recited. But the King of *Persia* againe making warres in the East, IVSTINIAN resolued to send BELISARIVS thither, although that afterwards he went not, for peace was concluded betweene them. Vpon this occasion BELISARIVS againe went out of *Italie*, although not with so great good fortune, and victories, as at the first, yet with no disgrace, neither with any lesse honor, for he neuer failed in any thing, to doe what be-

Belisarius entred Rome to the end to fortifie and defend the same.

Totila besieged Rome, and therein Belisarius.

Belisarius was sent for out of Italy.

behoued him, or what he was able; and so in summe went to *Constantinople*, where he remained all the remainder of his life. After he had liued there certaine yeeres, AGATHIVS writeth, that the Huns came down into *Thracia*, euen very neer to *Constantinople*, robbing and spoiling the countrie. And BELISARIVS being now old, was sent against them, and ouerthrew them in battaile; and had not IVSTINIAN sent for him to returne, hee had wholly ruined them.

Totila *besieged and took Rome.*

Within few daies after that BELISARIVS was departed out of *Italy*, TOTILA returned to *Rome*, and againe besieged it, and after a long siege and great extremities and famine endured by the besieged, through the negligence of IOHN who should haue relieued it, and the treason of some others, the fierce barbarian tooke it, but the taking of it at this time was quite contrarie to the last: for now he did not any harme, but sought to repaire and repeople it, and gaue great gifts, priuiledges, and exemptions to the inhabitants, to the end they should returne and dwell there. Afterwards he took many other places, and passed ouer into *Sicilia*: and for that he could not easily make a conquest thereof, he left foure captaines with many men of warre therein, and returned into *Italy*. And if NARSES a captaine whom IVSTINIAN sent, had not come thither, he had within short space made himselfe absolute Lord of the whole countrie. This NARSES was a famous Captain, valiant, and of great experience, and very priuate with the Emperor IVSTINIAN; and therefore rich, and of great authoritie; who came into *Italy* with a great Armie, leuied of sundrie nations, as Hunnes, Herüli, and other warlike people. Amongst which there came to his seruice, a people called Longobardi, who then dwelt in *Hungarie*; and he marched by land along all the coast of the *Adriaticque* sea; now called the gulfe of *Venice*, vntill he came to *Rauenna*; notwithstanding that at his entrie into *Italy*, he had some encounters and conflicts with some of TOTILA his Captaines, where there came to ioyne with him some of those Captaines and companies, which BELISARIVS had left, Staying but few daies in *Rauenna*, he tooke the field with his Armie, directing his course for *Rome*. But TOTILA who was not any way a coward, attended his comming vpon the way; and presenting him battaile, they fought, and in the fight TOTILA was slaine, and his people scattered and ouerthrowne. Which victorie was the occasion that NARSES easily reconquered all *Italy*: for after this fight, he held on his iourney and besieged *Rome*. And notwithstanding that the Gothes which TOTILA left there in garrison, did defend it well, yet NARSES took it by assault, with great losse of the defendants. And departing from thence, he took all the townes and cities round about.

Narses *came generall in Italy against* Totila.

A battaile betweene Narses *and* Totila, *wherein* Totila *was slaine.*

After the death of TOTILA, the Gothes made a great man amongst them whose name was TEYAS, their King, who took all TOTILA his treasure which lay in *Pauia*; and sought to get men and aide against NARSES, and sent to intreate relefe of the French, who would not intermeddle in that warre. But TEYAS seeing that NARSES tooke cities and townes, without finding any man to fight with him, departed out of *Lombardie* with all the power hee could make, and marched towards *Campania*, where NARSES staied for him. They both lodged their Armies vpon a riuer side: where after some notable skirmishes, they came to a battaile, which was one of the most cruell that had been fought in all that warre. For historians report wonders wrought by this TEYAS, King of the Gothes in his owne person; but in the end being ouer-borne by NARSES his men, he was by them slaine, iust at twelue of the clocke at noone, at which time he had fought about six howers; and yet notwithstanding his death, the battaile ceased not, vntill that darke night parted them, without apparance of any victorie of either side: and reposing themselues as well as they could that night, the next morning the Gothes in despaire, and the Imperialists despited, to see that a people without a Captaine should so defend themselues, returned againe to fight, without ceassing; and the Gothes taking the benefit of the side of an hill, defended themselues. But in the end towards night they sent their Ambassadors vnto NARSES, offering to render all that they held in *Italy*, conditionally that he should giue them leaue to liue in it, without any armour or weapons. Which request NARSES graunted, for that he would not fight with a desperate people, and for the great losse which his Armie had already receiued: and so they deliuered what they possessed, and some of them continued in *Italie*, subiect to the inhabitants, in such manner, that within a very short space the name of the Gothes was wholly extinct, rooted out and forgotten, although not presently after the victory: for some Captains and companies which remained in *Gallia Cisalpina*, now called *Lombardy*, and in the Prouince of *Traspadana*, now *Piemont*, began to fortifie; and they craning aide and succours comming out of *Fraunce* and *Burgundy*, the war was renued, which lasted welneere

A most cruell battaile wherein Teyas *was slaine.*

Teyas *made King of the Gothes.*

Traspadana, Piemont.

neere one whole yeere, and therein passed great battailes: but in the end NARSES obtained both the field and the victorie, and was absolute commander of all *Italie*. And it pleased God to make him the instrument to roote out, and to extinguish the name of the Gothes and Ostrogothes in *Italie*, 18 yeers after the beginning of this warre; and threescore and twelue, after that THEODORICVS first entred and made himselfe Lord of that countrey. But to the contrary, the Visogothes in *Spaine* grew daily more powerfull, and the name of the Alanes and Suevians extinct, the Gothes only remaining. At that time reigned ATHANAGILDVS in great prosperitie in *Spaine*, and ruled that kingdome the space of 22 yeers. These enterprises being ended, NARSES applied himselfe to the vttermost of his power, to the reedifying of *Rome*: and for asmuch as it was extremely ruinated and lay waste, and many of the Citizens absent, he caused the inhabitants to reduce themselues to one part thereof; and so he tooke the best order he could, both for the gouernment of the same, and of *Italie* also. This NARSES was a man of great iudgement, a good christian, very zealous in Religion, and desirous of the good of the common-wealth, and besides all this, was one of the most excellent captaines of the World. By reason whereof he held the gouernment of *Italie* as long as the Emperor IVSTINIAN liued; who during all the time of these great wars, made his continuall abode in *Constantinople*, prouiding men and money for the wars in all parts; as well for those of *Italie* as in the East, where hee had dangerous wars against COSROES King of *Persia*.

Agathius *treateth of this war in a particular Booke.*

Narses *driue the Gothes out of Italie.*

There hapned in the time of IVSTINIAN (besides the warres and conquests before specified, and many others, which for breuitie, and for that they were of no great importance, I omit) earth-quakes, famine, and other great calamities. For in his raigne the times were so variable, and there hapned such strange accidents, as the like had neuer beene. And he (as I said in the beginning) was as an excellent prince, and exceedingly carefull for the wars; prouiding captaines, souldiers and money, without taxing or oppressing his subiects, with incredible magnanimity and bounty. By meanes whereof, he preserued the Empire of the East, and reconquered the Prouinces of *Africa*, wholly subuerting and expelling the Vandales out of those countries, and did the like by the Gothes in *Italie*. And concerning his Gouernment in time of peace, he was no lesse carefull; so as it seemed he neuer had applied himselfe to any thing else: for as the lawes and statutes made by other Emperors his predecessors, were so many, that a man could hardly reade them; and so variable and intricate as it seemed that many of them did contradict one the other; he reduced them all to a conformitie and breuitie; drawing out of them that onely which was necessarie, and made other new. And in this manner he abridged all the lawes of the antient Magistrates, Iudges and Lawyers, which contained about 2000 bookes, and reduced them to fiftie, called the Digest; and compiled the 4 books of the Institutions, commonly called *Institutes*. And the lawes and decrees of all the Emperours and CÆSARS, which were dispearsed abroade in very many bookes, he reduced to twelue; called IVSTINIANS Codex. And he made another book intituled, The Volume, wherin he included three of those twelue bookes aforesaid. To bring these things to effect he held about him great learned men: but the principall ministers and authors thereof were, IOHN PATRICIVS, and THEOPHITVS, and DOROTHEVS, but chiefly TRIBVNIANVS; all singular Lawyers and Philosophers. Besides all this, IVSTINIAN was very curious in Architecture, and built many great and sumptuous edifices. But he was taxed with this vice, that he willingly gaue eare, and was a friend to bake-biters, and such as spake ill of others, and was very reuengefull against such as any way offended him. He was also noted of ingradice, and couetousnesse, and that by all waies and meanes he sought to encrease his rents, and treasure; but he afterwards spent it all frankely and bountifully in the warres, and vpon his souldiers.

The valour and prudence of the Emperor Iustinian.

Iustin *abbridg'd the lawes.*

Codex Iustinian.

Being now very old and hauing no sonne that might succeede him, he chose his Nephew IVSTIN, for his companion in the Empire; which IVSTIN, was his daughters sonne. They write of him, that in his old age, he was infected with the heresie of those, which beleeued, that the flesh and bodie of CHRIST was impassible. Which heresie is to be supposed proceeded through want of iudgement, whereof he was bereaued some daies before he died. Finally, after so many noble acts and many others, which for breuitie cannot be expressed, the good Emperor IVSTINIAN being aboue 80 yeers old, left this for a better life, when he had raigned 39 yeers, in the yeer of our Lord, 568, and was greatly lamented and deplored through all the whole Empire.

Iustinian *made his nephew* Iustin, *his companion in the Empire.*

Iustinian *died in the yeer 568*

THE

THE LIFE OF IVSTIN, THE SECOND OF THAT NAME, AND THREESCORE ROMANE EMPEROVR.

(***)

THE ARGVMENT.

VPon the death of Iustinian, *his daughters sonne* Iustin *tooke possession of the Empire; whoviu farre vnlike to his Grandfather, both in condition, and in his vigilant care for the gouernment: for he left the administration thereof to his wife* Sophia. *He had warres with the Persians, but they were soone ended, and he particularly applied himselfe to the affaires of Italy, which for the Empire was gouerned by* Narses: *For,* Iustin *in the East, gaue himselfe to pleasure and sensualitie. This* Narses, *hauing to his great glory performed many worthie enterprises, was ill rewarded by* Iustin, *and his wife* Sophia: *But the iniuries done vnto him were the occasion of so great miseries, as poore Italy shall euer haue cause to lament them. For* Narses *calling* Alboinus *King of the Longobards into Italy, and afterwards desiring to haue stayed them (when hee could not) hee was the cause of the ruine thereof: For they made themselues Lords of the greatest part thereof, and possessed the same aboue two hundred yeeres. In time of which warre,* Iustin *died of the Gowte, when hee had raigned eleuen yeeres.*

IT was so hard a matter to abbreuiate, and to relate, the accidents happened in the time of the Emperour IVSTINIAN; and I was so much troubled therewith, they were so many and so notable, that I doe not onely feele my selfe eased of that burthen, and doe likewise reioyce in that I haue brought that worke to an end, but am also of opinion that from henceforth I shal be lesse troubled: And although I be in some danger to be deceiued therein, neuertheless I reioyce in this hope; wherein (with the grace of God) I will proceede. IVSTINIAN being dead, his daughters son IVSTIN *the second* without any difficultie obtained the Empire: for (as we haue said) his Grandfather in his life time made him his companion and proclaimed him his successor; his mother (as we said) was IVSTINIANS daughter. His father was a great Noble-man in the countrie of *Slauonia*; he himselfe was of a quick and actiue wit, and both apt and sufficient for any thing; but ill conditioned and vnworthie of the Empire, prouing farre vnlike his Grandfather. For, as PAVLVS DIACONVS writeth, he became couetous and tyrannous, a robber and a despiser of the poore, and aboue all, he was retchlesse and negligent in matters of justice and gouernement; and thereof left all the charge and care to his wife the Empresse, whose name was SOPHIA, whose wit was incapable thereof, neither had she conditions or vertues deseruing the same.

Iustin obeyed for Emperor.

Sophia wife to the Emperor Iustin.

same. At his first comming to the Empire, this SOPHIA, to win the loue and good will of the people, counselled IVSTIN, out of his Exchequer, to pay the debts of such poore men as were vnable to make satisfaction without their vndoing, which he did: wherefore in the beginning of his raigne he was generally well beloued.

There also happened warre between him and HORMISDA King of *Persia*, who through the death of COSROES succeeded in that Kingdome: whither he sent a Noble-man called MARTIN for Generall, and there passed great matters, but principally a cruell and bloudie battaile, wherein the Imperialists preuailed; and finally they returned to treate of peace; and that was confirmed, which was made in the time of the Emperour IVSTINIAN. So the East remained in peace, and IVSTIN passed his time without care in pleasure, giuing himselfe ouer to vice and sensualitie. So as of him there is no notable matter to be written, but of the affaires of *Italie*: which happened in this manner. In the fourth yeere (as some write) of the raigne of the Emperor IVSTIN, and the tenth or twelfth of NARSES his gouernement in *Italie*, after the great victorie obtained through his wisedome and policie against the Gothes; some malicious men enuying his great honour and dignitie, and the great riches which he had gotten in former warres, reported and wrote to IVSTIN much euill of NARSES; and as in Court (an vsuall thing) there wanted not some that enuied him, and were glad thereof, so they found the fauour to be heard; and IVSTIN through want of iudgement, and the Empresse SOPHIA being light of beleefe, were perswaded that what was told them of him was true. So without respect or regard of the daungers and troubles wherewith he had conquered *Italy*, they resolued to depose him from his gouernment, and to send him a successor, which was one of the greatest indignities that could be done him. And it pleased God to permit so great an ingratitude to bee punished. For SOPHIA was not content to embase NARSES by depriuing him of his gouernment, but she also disgraced him in her speeches, saying, that she would haue him come to spinne amongst her women at *Constantinople*. And a principall man called LONGINVS, was presently sent to take his place and to succeed him.

Hormisda king of the Persians.

Warre & peace with the Persians.

Narses deposed from his gouernment of Italy.

Longinus sent to gouern Italy.

When NARSES vnderstood of this, his courage could not endure so shamefull a disgrace, without great disdaine. Wherefore being no lesse grieued with the words vsed by SOPHIA, then with what they had done; it is written that he sayd: That, seeing that she meant to make him to spinne, he promised to twist her such a web, as she should neuer be able to vntwine: which he well performed, as hereafter shall be sayd. And vnderstanding that LONGINVS was come to *Rauenna*, he durst not goe to *Constantinople*, but came from *Rome* (where he then liued) to *Naples*; where he was so much beloued and honored, as he held himselfe to be there in security. From thence as a man disgraced and in despaire, he by often letters and otherwise, sollicited ALBOINVS King of the Longobards, who was his friend, and had sent men to ayde him in his warre against the Gothes, and at that time made his residence in *Hungarie*, that he should come into *Italy*, and make himselfe Lord thereof; and that he would assist and direct him in what he had to do in that conquest. And ALBOINVS afterwards followed his direction. These Longobardi, as some say, were so called, for that they ware long beards. Their originall and the place of their breeding (as PAVLVS DIACONVS writeth of them) was in an Iland in the Germane sea, then called *Scandinauia*: from whence they being many, and accounting their Country too little for them (as many other Northerly Nations had done) with two Captaines, the one called AYON, and the other THATON, left their Countrie, and went to seeke some place wherein they might inhabite, either by peace or warre.

The Lombards what people they were.

These Captaines being dead, they chose one AGELMOND for their King, and afterwards had other Kings, and diuers warres at sundrie times with variable successe, against the Gothes, the Vandales, and other nations; vntill that after many yeeres they became Lords of *Hungary*; from whence their King ALBOINVS sent men of warre (as wee said) to the aide of NARSES against the Gothes; whereof grew the occasion that he called him into *Italy*, to the end that he should make himselfe Lord thereof; who resolued to goe thither, as well for the proffer made to him by NARSES, as for that hee had heard of the fruitfulnes of that soile, not onely by common report, but also by the particular relation, made by those whom hee had sent to serue NARSES in those warres. Whilest that he mustered vp his souldiers, and made such preparation as for so great an enterprise was requisite, LONGINVS the new Captaine and gouernour of *Italy*, settled a new forme and order of gouernment, which continued a long time after: which was, that comming into *Italy* hee tooke the name and title of Exarch, which is

Searches the name of a Supreme Gouernor.

The originall of Dukes.

The last Romain Consuls.

The death of Narses.

Pannonia wherefore called Hungary.

The comming of Alboinus and the Lombards into Italy.

is, Generall or supreme gouernor. And resting in *Rauenna*, careless of seeing *Rome*, in euery city of *Italy* he placed a gouernor called Dux: whereof (as I imagine) sprang the beginning of the title and dignitie of a Duke, which now is vsed throughout all the World. And so each of them gouerned a Citie, and not as in former times, when euery Prouince had some principall man of great authoritie for their particular Captaine or Gouernour. In *Rome* for the greater honour was placed a Gouernor called Præfes, who was (as we say) a President or Lord Deputie. And so the Authoritie of the Senate, and dignitie of the Consuls, was wholly lost and extinct, so as they were neuer after in that manner as in antient times: for NARSES and his companion BASILIVS were the last Consuls.

This forme of gouernement being established, and ALBOINVS king of the Longobards being in a readinesse to take his iourney towards *Italy*, it followed that Pope IOHN the third, with the generall consent of all the Roman people, who infinitely loued NARSES, went from *Rome* to *Naples*, where he then was; and perswading him to returne to *Rome*, preuailed so much as he brought him with him; where he was receiued with great loue and ioy, they pretending to protect him, and to keepe him there amongst them. Whereupon NARSES repented that euer he had called ALBOINVS, and againe wrote to him, to take no care to come into *Italy*, alleaging many difficulties. But as ALBOINVS was resolued, and knew the small force that was in *Italy*, with the gouernement of LONGINVS, and the little discretion and care of the Emperor IVSTIN, he would not be disswaded from his intended enterprise, but hastened his comming. Before which, NARSES died in *Rome*, where he left great treasure hidden, which afterwards was found; and his bodie was carried to *Constantinople*. And at the same time died Pope IOHN who brought him from *Naples*.

King ALBOINVS departing with a great Armie of Longobards from *Hungary*, together with a great number of Saxons and other Nations which he had leuied, and were ioyned with him, through the desire they had to dwell in *Italie*, all which might amount to the number of two hundred thousand men, with their wiues, children, heards of Cattell, and moueable goods, such as they could carrie, would not abandon *Hungaria*, but left the Hunnes, which liued in that countrie, and were the remainder of the great Armie of the fierce King ATTILA (of whom heretofore we haue made much mention) to guard it. Which Hunnes (as the Longobards prospered well in *Italie*) remained owners and possessors of the countrie, which after their name is now called *Hungarie*, which before was called *Pannonia*, as some say; yet some others affirme (as is before noted) that a certaine people called *Hungri*, came from the frozen sea, and together with them the Hunnes dwelt in *Pannonia*, and so after these two Nations it was called *Hungary*. But howsoeuer it was, vntill this day it is so called, and the successors of the Hunnes haue possessed it, and valiantly defended the same against the Infidels, vntill our time, that for our sinnes SOLIMAN the Turkish Emperour tooke the greatest part thereof.

ALBOINVS passing with his Armie towards *Italy*, came into that Prouince which now is called *Friuli*: where he tooke many Cities, and vsed no small cruelty, and much more would haue done, if he had not beene somewhat pacified by the prayers and intreaties of PAVL the Patriarch of *Aquileia*, and of FELIX Bishop of *Treuigi*. But being desirous to enter further into *Italie*, and to leaue that to safe keeping which he had gotten, he left therein for gouernour and to guard the passages into those countries, a valiant Captaine which was his Nephew called SISVLPHVS, and he proceeded in his iourney: It was the will of God, that hee found small resistance in *Italie*, for it was then afflicted, both with famine and pestilence. By reason whereof LONGINVS, the Gouernor and Exarch before named, was not of power to leuie any sufficient Armie to fight with ALBOINVS, and therefore held himselfe in *Rauenna*, where he drew together the best men and the greatest number he was able, with a resolution to make frontier warres by fortifying the Townes, and putting good Garrisons in them; which hee principally did in *Cesarea*, which at that time was a very noble Citie, neere to *Rauenna*, whither he drew the greatest number of souldiers he could possibly leuie, and fortifyed *Patauia*, and therein put a Garrison, which is now called *Padoua*, and is vnder the gouernment of the Venetians. The like he did by *Cremona* and *Mantua*, and in other of the strongest Cities, imagining if he could hold those countries, ALBOINVS would passe no further; and if he did, he should be greatly anoyed by them in his Arriereguard. Which was no ill deuice, if in that Prouince there had beene any Armie to haue made head against ALBOINVS and his forces in the field. But LONGINVS had neither heart nor power to doe it: and ALBOINVS holding it for a long peece of worke to batter and assault all those Townes, tooke another course, withdrawing himselfe from them, for that he would not be forced to stay before any of these Townes: but went and assaulted *Verona* and *Vicenza*, wherein were no Garrisons; which with others, yeelded without resistance. From whence passing ouer the riuer *Adda*, he tooke his way towards *Milane*, where the Citizens (induced thereto by the perswasion of HONORATVS their Bishop) gaue vp the Citie, to free themselues from slaughter and sack.

Alboinus tooke Milan and other townes.

After this, other places did the like: for the famine was so great, and so generall, as without any force the townes yeelded, being vnable to victuall themselues for a siege; excepting those places which were victualled by LONGINVS: amongst which in that quarter were *Pauia* and *Briselli*, now called *Vercelli*, which by the said LONGINVS were sufficiently furnished with all things needefull. ALBOINVS resolued to besiege them: and hauing beene now six moneths in *Italie*, he besieged *Pauia*: but it defended it selfe so valiantly, that the siege continued three yeeres. In the beginning of which time, perceiuing that it would be a long siege, remaining before it with such part of his armie as he thought sufficient, he sent the rest to make warre in other parts of *Italie*, and to make a conquest thereof: and they all sped as he desired: for they tooke many Townes, Cities and Castles in *Italie*. And the President or gouernor of *Rome* fearing to be besieged, and seeing the great scarcitie and famine which was in the Citie, sent to desire reliefe of men and victuals of the Emperor IVSTIN, who commanded a great quantitie of wheate to be brought from *Africa* to *Rome*, and some souldiers also. Wherewith the citie was well relieued, and the Longobards at that time came not thither, neither durst they inuade *Rauenna*, nor the cities adioyning: for they were all verie well fortified and garrisoned by LONGINVS. But in other places they made themselues Lords of a great part of *Italy*, in so much that between *Bologna* and *Milan* there were few places of strength, but within three yeeres war were brought vnder their subiection: and so they afterwards possessed all that prouince aboue two hundred yeeres, with variable fortune, as hereafter wee will relate; and by them it was called *Lombardy*, and is so still vnto this day. About the end of this time ALBOINVS tooke *Pauia*: and seeing himselfe mightie, hee tooke his way towards *Verona*, whither hee had caused his wife Queene ROSAMVND to come, with his treasure and wardrobe; and there holding his Court hee gaue himselfe to feasting and banketting, and was slaine by treason, by the order and consent of his wife, whose father hee had slaine, and in a banquet gaue her to drink in her fathers scull: for reuenge whereof shee worthily practised his death.

The warres of the Lombards in Italy.

Gallia Cisalpina called Lombardia by the Longobards.

The death of Alboinus.

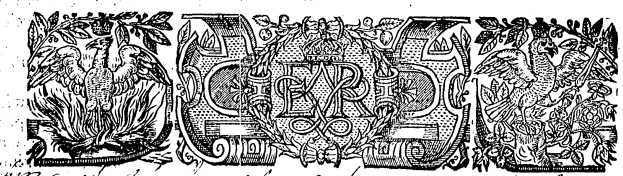
ALBOINVS dying in this manner, after many incounters and battails, the Longobards chose for their King a great man of bloud and of worth amongst them, called CLEPHIS, or CLEVE, who prooued a most cruell Prince; and renewing the warres, committed great cruelties in those cities which held of the Empire, in the prouince of *Venetia*: for in those daies the citie of *Venice*, which in the time of ATTILA began to be inhabited, was greatly increased by those which (to escape the cruelty of the Lombards) went to dwell in those Ilands, and were now of force able to defend themselues; and this citie began to bee famous and of great account, and hath continued and increased vntill this day: so as it is now one of the most famous cities in the world. At this time the Emperour IVSTIN who liued viciously, careless and negligent, in *Constantinople* was taken with so grieuous paine of the gowte in his feete, as he died thereof. And some daies before his death, by the consent of his wife SOPHIA, by whom he was wholly gouerned (for that he had no sonne) he made an excellent Nobleman, CÆSAR, whose name was TIBERIVS: and hauing exhorted him very effectually to yeelde obedience vnto SOPHIA, hauing swaied the Imperiall scepter 11 yeers, he died, in the yeere of our Lord 579: and after some, 576.

Paulus Diaconus lib. 2. cap. 24.

Clephis *King of the Lombards.*

The prosperitie of Venice.

The death of the Emperor Iustin.



I read nothing of the death and burning of this good Emp. Tiberius the 2.

THE LIFE OF TIBERIVS, SECOND OF THAT NAME, AND THREESCORE AND ONE ROMANE EMPEROVR.

(***)

579

SVch were the conditions of the Emperour IVSTIN in his life time, that when he was dead, no man lamented or mourned for him, exeept his wife SOPHIA, who through her husbands insufficiency gouerned and commanded all, and had a conceite to haue continued it; meaning to haue married with TIBERIVS, who presently vpon the death of IVSTIN was created and crowned Emperor. But, as he was a vertuous man, iust, pitifull, milde, charitable, and endued with such vertues, as in a good and Christian Emperor were requisit, he would not haue her to wife; all whose conditions he knew to be quite contrary; and with whom euen in the life time of IVSTIN (as some write) he was at some controuersie. TIBERIVS when he was created CÆSAR, made distribution of much of the Imperiall treasure to the poore; and afterwards at his Coronation named for Empresse a great Ladie whose name was ANASTASIA, with whom hee was secretly married. Whereupon SOPHIA at the same feast practised by treason to haue had him slaine, with a determination to haue made one IVSTINIAN, another of IVSTINIANS nephews, Emperor. But, as it pleased God, the good TIBERIVS escaped this treason, and others also which SOPHIA practised; and his Coronation was held with great solemnitie: and the treacherie of SOPHIA being discouered (she craning mercie) hee pardoned both her and IVSTINIAN. But many daies passed not before shee attempted the like, in a house of pleasure whither TIBERIVS went for his recreation. At this time hee caused her to be apprehended, and despoiled of all her riches. But as hee was milde and pitifull, hee pardoned her her life, and gaue her maintenance, and made her to be serued with great respect and honour; but he took from her all her old seruants, placing others to attend her by his appointment; he againe pardoned IVSTINIAN: for hee knew that hee was induced to all that hee did by SOPHIA. And hee was afterwards greatly beloued by TIBERIVS, and serued him faithfully, as PAVLVS DIACONVS writes.

The vertues of Tiberius.

The treason of Sophia.

These were the priuate and domesticall accidents which in the beginning befell TIBERIVS. In the generall estate of the Empire, he euer maintained iustice, and raigned valiantlie. *Africa*, and all the prouinces which the Empire held in *Asia* and in *Europe*, peaceably obeyed him. But the warres in *Italie* against the Lombards, and in the East against the Persians, did put him to much care and trouble. In the warres of *Persia* hee had good successe, whereof wee will first speake briefly. For as soone as TIBERIVS came to the Empire, hee sent his Ambassadors to King HORMISDA, to confirme the peace in such manner as his predecessors held the

the same before him. But HORMISDA, who saw himself rich and mightie, would not accept thereof, but made warre vpon the Frontiers of the Empire. TIBERIVS speedily sent a mighty Army against him: but at that time they fought not. For, there was a truce concluded for a time: which being expired, a cruell warre began chiefly in the Kingdome of *Armenia*; where the Roman Generall and Armie came to a battell with HORMISDA: which Fight was very cruell, and of long continuance. Neuertheless, the Romans had the victory, and HORMISDA saued himself by flight; and therein were taken the greatest and richest spoiles that euer were gotten from the Persians: all which were giuen to the men of warre, excepting the Kings treasure, and the vessell of gold and siluer for his seruice; which (as PAVLVS DIACONVS saith) was carried to TIBERIVS in *Constantinople* vpon twenty Elephants (which had not other loading) with a great number of prisoners; to whom the Emperor commanded rich and gallant apparell to be giuen, and then to be set at liberty, to return to their Countrey. And in the mean time the Imperiall Armie entred the Countries subiect to the Persians; and, burning and spoiling the same, returned with victorie. But within a small time after, HORMISDA leuied the greatest forces that he was able, and made a very valiant and expert man of warre, Generall thereof: for, by reason of his last ouerthrowe, hee made a law, that the Kings of *Persia* should neuer be present in any battell; and so hee again renewed the warre against the Empire, to recouer his lost honour. Against whom the Emperor sent a new Generall, a valiant and wise Earle named MAVRICE, who afterwards was Emperor; who with the like good fortune sought to fight with the Persians: and, leuying infinite numbers of souldiers on either side, they fought a great part of the day, vntill that, after many thousands of the one and other side were slain, the victorie shewed it self to be of MAVRICE his side: and he recouered certain places, and conquered others from the Persians; so as HORMISDA was constrained of necessity to conclude some peace or truce with the Emperor. And MAVRICE came with victory to *Constantinople*: where hee was solemnly receiued by TIBERIVS, who married him to his owne daughter, in reward of so noble a victory.

Warres with the Persians and their King Hormisda.

A battell wherein the Persians were ouercome.

Maurice made Generall against the Persians.

A battell wherein Maurice had the victory.

Whil'st these things past in the East, the affairs of *Italy* prospered not so wel: for, CLEPHIS, the new King of the Lombards, made cruell wars against those Towns and Countries which held of the Empire; and all things hapned so according to his desire, that he took many cities: and, being desirous to repose himself for a while, he sent his Captains and their companies towards *Rome*. And they took all the Cities in the marches thereof; and *Rome* it self was besieged by them, and was in great danger to haue been entred by force. So that (as Authors affirm) if CLEPHIS had liued but a little while longer, he had made himself Lord of *Rome* and *Rauenna*, which were the two eyes and fortresses of all *Italy*. But his designes were made frustrate by death, like to other Kings and Captains, who haue been as great and greater than euer hee was; whose death was practised by the treason of his owne people. After his decease the Lombards would neither chuse nor haue any more Kings at that time: but there arose thirty principall men, or (to speak more properly) thirty tyrants; who inuested themselues in thirty of the best Towns which they held in *Italie*. And so euery of them gouerned his Town and the Territorie thereof. And each of them likewise made wars apart by himself; sometimes the one aiding and assisting the other against the Empire. And as the Emperor TIBERIVS was busied in making prouision for his wars against the Persians, and did not sufficiently prouide for *Italy*, these Captains of the Lombards had oportunity to extend their power there; and took many other Cities, coming before *Rome* and *Naples*. In which warre they committed such cruelties, robberies and insolencies, as the like had neuer been seen. So that from *Rome* to the Eastwards there remained little more subiect to the Empire than the Kingdom of *Naples*, and the City of *Rome*, with some Towns in the marches thereof; and the City of *Naples* fell also into the hands of the Lombards: but we cannot certainly say, whether at this time or afterwards. Yet *Rauenna* held for the Empire, and some other strong houlds neer vnto it; which, through the wisdome and foresight of LONGINVS, were defended. And there also held for the Empire of either side of the riuer of *Po*, *Como*, *Cremona*, *Mantoa*, *Padoa*, *Bologna* and *Percelli*: and the Lombards at this time had all the rest. Thus the warre was managed on either side with great cruelty: for, the Lombards as they were barbarous, and had not yet well receiued the faith of CHRIST, robd and spoil'd all, aswell sacred as profane, without any difference. Whereto, besides what is already said, this was a great furtherance, that in the time of this combustion TIBERIVS fell so sorely sick, that he could not apply himself to the gouernment of the Empire; and his infirmity neuer left him till he died. Wherefore the Romans, oppressed by the Longobards, motioned a trea-

The state of Italy against the Longobards.

Thirty tyrants of the Lombards

treatie of peace; and a truce was concluded betweene them for a certain time. Which truce the Lombards graunted, for that the kings of *France* (wherein at that time raigned three brothers) being much grieued to see the Lombards growne so mightie in *Italy*, sent a great Army against them, which was already entred *Lombardy*. And they also the more willingly granted the truce, for that the Saxons, which vntill then had aided them in their warres, had now left them and were returned. TIBERIVS being sick in *Constantinople* (as we said) as a good Emperour desirous as well to prouide for the time to come, as he had done for the present and past, nominated for CÆSAR and his successor his sonne in law MAVRICE. And afterwards leauing all the Empire entire and in peace, as he inherited the same (the state of *Italie* onely except) in the seuenth yeere of his raigne (although some say lesse) he died, in the yeere of our Lord, fiue hundred fourescore and fiue; and after some others, fiue hundred fourescore and nine. His death was much lamented by all estates, for his great vertue and integritie, and for that he was liberall and bountifull to all men.

The death of Tiberius.

THE LIFE OF MAVRICIVS, ONLY OF THAT NAME, AND THREESCORE AND TWO ROMANE EMPEROVR.

(**)

THE ARGVMENT.

THE Empire being come to Mauricius, *sonne in law to* Tiberius, *he shewed himselfe to be of a very vile disposition, and particularly sinned in couetousnesse, notwithstanding that in Martiall affaires he was very wise and politick. He sent Captaines and men of warre into Italie against the Lombards, accordingly as Pope* Pelagius *had requested, with whom after long warre, in the end a truce was concluded: he afterwards brake the peace with the Persians, and the warre had this issue, that after many routes and ouerthrowes equally giuen and receiued, of the one side and the other; the new King of Persia, to suppresse a Tyrant which rose against him, became a friend to the Emperour of* Constantinople. *After which peace, binding himselfe to the affaires of the West, he gouerned the estate with indifferent good fortune, through the valour of the Exarch, which he sent into Italy: yet in this time God sent many plagues and scourges into the World, as inundations and ouerflowings of waters, famine, and Pestilence, which happened more in Rome then in any other country. Besides which miseries, it was besieged by the Lombards: and* Maurice *for the hatred which he bare to* Gregorie *(who then succeeding* Pelagius, *was Pope) would not relieue it, so as to abase the Pope, he was content to lose all Italie, which God afterwards seuerely punished. For his owne souldiers rebelling against him, made a priuate Colonell, whose name was* Phocas, *Emperour, who comming towards Constantinople with an Armie, made* Maurice *to flie: and he being vnable to leuie such forces as might defend him, taken by the souldiers of the new tyrant, was brought back to Constantinople, where hauing first seene the death of his wife and children, by the hands of an executioner he had his head stricken off; all which he endured with great resolution when he had raigned twentie yeeres.*

MAVRICIVS peaceably obtained the Empire, by the death of his father in law TIBERIVS, whom he nothing resembled in his vertues, for hee was both vicious and couetous; yet in the affaires of the warres, he was very prouident and diligent: and as he was both valiant and politique in martiall actions, so he made choice of singular Captaines for the warres which were many, very great and dangerous. Whereof great part happened at one instant, notwithstanding that they were in sundrie parts and Prouinces. Wherefore to deliuer that in fewe wordes which I haue gathered together, it is requisite I should write each seuerall accident apart: which

which I will performe in the best manner I can, so as in the end of all, the whole may bee vnderstood. Beginning then with the affaires of *Italy*, I say that the truce made with the Lombards, was not of their part throughly obserued, but that daily from one citie or other, there were robberies committed, and some encounters and bickerings. Wherefore as LONGINVS was but of small power, and the Romans were in great feare to be besieged, Pope PELAGIVS the second wrote a Letter from *Rome* to GREGORIE whom he had sent to *Constantinople*, informing him of the state of *Italy*, and of the great danger and necessitie wherein it was, and gaue him especiall charge to be an earnest futor to the Emperor, to send relefe and men against the Lombards: which hee procured with such efficacie, as the Emperor MAVRICE (notwithstanding that he was much troubled with the warres of *Persia*, whereof wee will speake hereafter) prouided a new Exarch and gouernor for *Italy*, who was a good souldier and a wise man, called SMARAGDVS, with a good number of souldiers; and sent for LONGINVS to returne. SMARAGDVS came by sea to *Rauenna*, and with him Saint GREGORIE. His comming, for the fame and good report which was spred of him, gaue great ioy and hope to the Imperialists in *Italie*; and hee presently tooke order for martiall affaires. And forasmuch as neer vnto *Rauenna*, a valiant captain of the Lombards called FEROALDVS, held a citie called *Classi*, and had made, and still did make, cruell warre against those of *Rauenna*; hee resolued to vse all meanes to dispossesse him thereof, and to driue him quite from thence. And to this effect hee sent to DOCTRVLA an Imperiall captaine and gouernor of the citie of *Parcelli*, that leauing a competent garrison in that citie hee should come with his forces to ioyne with him: who making prouision of boates and barkes, purposed for his better securitie, to passe down the riuer of *Po*, to the end that being arriued at *Aspenetico*, which is at the mouth of the riuer, he might sayle from thence by sea to *Rauenna*. But FEROALDVS had intelligence heereof, and with the greatest power that hee could make, came likewise with barkes to stoppe his passage downe the riuer: where they came to blowes, and DOCTRVLA by means of the aid which came to him from *Rauenna*, had the victorie, and FEROALDVS was ouerthrowne and fled by water to *Classi*, which the new Exarch SMARAGDVS in the meane time had besieged and battered, so as it was readie to haue yeelded when FEROALDVS came, who then hindered the same, by encouraging the besieged.

Smaragdus came Exarch into Italie.

But as soone as they vnderstood that hee was ouerthrowne by the enemy and came thither by flight, they resolued to yeeld, and did so. SMARAGDVS entred the citie, where all the Lombards which were found therein, were put to the sword, and in like manner their gouernour FEROALDVS, in reuenge of the like cruelties committed by them.

This victorie obtained by SMARAGDVS, was so highly esteemed, as those of his partie resuming hart and courage, and their aduersaries waxing fearfull, hee recouered some cities and holds, the greatest part whereof yeelded of themselues. Which the captaines of the Lombards considering, who after the death of CLEPHIS continued as tyrants and would not chuse them any King, they resolued to make choise of one whom they all should obey, and vnder whom they might liue, for they were of opinion, that if they continued so diuided, they should be ouerthrowne and brought to confusion, as they already began. Hauing resolued hereupon they chose one of King CLEPHIS his sonnes, whose name was ANTHARIS; a young man of great spirit, and who had purchased greater fame in the warres then any other man of his nation; and so was much spoken of both among his friends and enemies. The name of a King, and so valiant, as was ANTHARIS, caused a great alteration in the estate; to whom all the Capitaines and gouernours contributed of their treasure, each of them giuing him the one halfe of what he had, for the maintenance of the warres, and his new estate. The first enterprise he vndertooke, was against *Parcelli*, and DOCTRVLA the gouernor thereof, as well for the late dishonour which hee had done them, as for that the citie at that time was of great importance; wherefore he besieged it both by water vpon the riuer of *Po* with barkes, and by land with great forces which he had raised, and forced it in such manner, as notwithstanding that DOCTRVLA did all that possibly he was able to doe, being out of hope to hold the place, hee came to a composition with him, and gaue it vp; and so hee came downe the riuer to *Rauenna*; and ANTHARIS made great spoile in the citie, destroying the best part thereof, and raced the walles downe to the earth, so as they were neuer after repaired or made like as in former time they had been.

Antharis the King of the Lombards.

ANTHARIS hauing obtained this victorie, resolued to goe against FRANCILIONE, who held the citie of *Como*, and other fortresses in the Lake of *Como*, and had verie gallantly

defended the same for the space of seuenteene yeeres. But in the meane season motions were made of peace or truce, and either partie was glad to treate thereof. SMARAGDVS, for that he stood in feare of the King, who was both young and valiant, and also for that he imagined himselfe to haue no sufficient power to make head against him, and the King being but newly come to his gouernment, holding not himselfe throughly settled and confirmed, the better to establish himselfe therein, thought it best to conclude a peace, and to bring vnder some, to whom his election was nothing pleasing. All which laid together, gaue occasion that a truce was taken for a certaine time, although the Lombards neuer truly obserued the same. During that time all *Italie* enioyed some rest, and SMARAGDVS sent to *Rome* for Prefect or gouernour thereof, a noble Knight borne in *Constantinople*, whose name was GERMANVS, with whom went S. GREGORIE, and they were receiued with great ioy and solemnitie: for GREGORIE for his good life and conuersation, was generally beloued and honoured. So as with their comming, and the good hope which was conceiued of their new Exarch, they thought to haue a hand in recouering al that which the Lombards held, and had vsurped; and in the meane time, to enioy the peace in rest and prosperitie. But it followed not according to their expectation: for God sent other persecutions, as you shall heare. But vs leaue *Italie* in this truce, and briefly speake of those warres which MAVRICE made by his Captaines in the East against the Persians, which for numbers of men, battailes and great conflicts, were farre greater then those of *Italie*: for they were betweene two the most mightie Monarchs which then were in the world, to wit, the King of *Persia*, and the Romane Emperor.

A truce taken with the Lombards.

Germanus gouernour of Rome.

MAVRICIVS then sent his Armie, and for Generall a worthie Noble-man called PHILIPPICVS, to whom hee had married his sister. Against whome K. HORMISDA raised greater forces, and made a great man called CARDARIGA his Generall. With whom, after som notable skirmishes and encounters, PHILIPPICVS came to a maine battaile, with power against power, which lasted aboue tenne houres, the one charging the other, in such manner that no aduantage could be seene. But in the end PHILIPPICVS and his troupes had the victorie, and slew a very great number of the Persians, and took two thousand prisoners, which hee sent to the Emperour to *Constantinople*: and the rest escaped by flight, and with them their Generall CARDARIGA. PHILIPPICVS, hauing obtained this notable victorie, marched forwards with his Armie, and sent a good Commander called HERACLIVS, with some selected troupes, with direction to enter as farre as he might into the Persians countrie, he promising to second him. Notwithstanding that CARDARIGA was ouerthrowne, yet was he not discouraged, neither omitted to vse all the meanes and diligence which to a good Generall did belong: and so, gathering together such forces as he could, making, shew that hee would reinforce his Armie, with those small troupes hee had, passing ouer certaine mountaines, in a very darke night he set vpon PHILIPPICVS his Arierguard, wherein the feare was so great, that PHILIPPICVS, as though he had not been victorious, shamefully fled all the whole night long, with no smalle losse and slaughter of his people: in so much that the Persians imagining their flight to haue beene fained (seeing how few they were) dared not to follow the chace, and so rested vntill that the day light freed the one from feare, and shewed the other the aduantage they had lost. But HERACLIVS, whom PHILIPPICVS had sent before, followed his direction with better discretion, and greater diligence: for passing ouer the riuer *Tigris*, with the fame of the late victorie, he took some cities, and did much hurt, and returned towards PHILIPPICVS very rich with the prey and spoiles of the victorie.

Philippicus, Generall against the Persians.

A battaile wherein Philippicus had the victorie.

The shamefull flight of Philippicus.

This being past, and the Romane Armie being gathered againe together, the Emperor commanded PHILIPPICVS, that leauing the Armie with HERACLIVS, he should make his repaire to *Constantinople*, and PHILIPPICVS obeyed his commandement. In his place was sent a valiant and expert captaine called PRISCVS, who being come to the Armie, shewed himselfe so proud and haughtie to the Captaines and men of warre, as they mutined against him, and he was generally so ill intreated by all men, that he was driuen to saue himselfe by flight, hauing receiued such blowes and knockes with stones as he was in daunger to haue been slaine: and they amongst themselues chose (against his will) GERMANVS for their General, who was a man of great account in the Armie. But at that time MAVRICIVS was so oppressed with the warres against CAYANY, and the Auares and against the Slauons in *Slauonia*, in *Missia*, and other prouinces (whereof we will speake hereafter) as he could not then punish so great an insolencie: and therefore as soone as he vnderstood thereof, he held it for most expedient to send backe PHILIPPICVS, for their Gouernor and Generall, and that PRISCVS should

Prisons made Generall against the Persians in place of Philippicus.

should returne. And besides PHILIPPICVS, hee also sent another Noble-man of great estimation, called ARISTOBVLVS, to pacifie the mutinie and rebellion of the Armie, by entreaty, gifts, or otherwise in the best manner he could: which he performed. And so PHILIPPICVS againe vndertook his charge: and returned to warre against MARYZAS a new Generall of the Persians; who with a greater Armie then any of those before named, came against him. Which is an argument of the great wealth and power of the Kings of *Persia*, who being so often ouerthrowne, they still returned with great forces, and that alwaies when they desired peace, the Empire willingly graunted it. And in the end the Emperors were well contented to defend their confines against them, and held it for a matter of great consequence.

Philippicus restored to his charge.

These two great Captaines and Armies came so neere together, that both parties desired to giue battaile, wherein they fought so obstinately, as it was one of the most cruell battailes in the World: and both the one and other partie fought with such obstinacie and courage, that it lasted the greatest part of the day, but the Persians were ouerthrowne; not for that they were eyther discouraged or ranne away, but for that they were almost all slaine. For in the Annales of *Constantinople* I finde written, that three thousand of them were taken prisoners, and two thousand escaped by flight, and that all the rest died fighting, and with them their Generall MARVZAS; so as their Campe was left to the Romanes, who found no man therein to make resistance. And so they spent one whole yeere in frontier warres, at the end whereof King HORMISDA commanded a very great Army to be leuied.

PHILIPPICVS, presuming on his former victories, made no doubt to giue them battaile; and the Persians refused it not, and so they fought neere to the Citie *Martiopolis*; and therein was PHILIPPICVS and the Romanes ouerthrowne, to their great losse and confusion. For which the Emperor was very sorrie, and prouided a new Generall for the East, and sent for PHILIPPICVS to come to *Constantinople*, with direction to leaue the Armie with HERACLIVS, of whom we made late mention, till that another General should come: which was performed. Afterwards ROMANVS was sent, and the King of *Persia* sent another, whose name was BARAS. These two Generals being arriued with their new charges, either of them sought to winne honour against the other; and in diuers incounters, lost many men, burned Townes, and did the greatest harme euery where they could, vntill at last they drew neere, and fought in a ranged battaile, wherein BARAS and the Persians were ouerthrowne, in the fields of *Albania in Asia*, which is a very great Prouince in the East, bordering vpon *Armenia*. HORMISDA was so grieued for this losse, imagining that it happened through the defect of his Generall, as thereby to disgrace him, he sent him a womans Garment, and commaunded him presently to leaue his gouernement. Yet notwithstanding, he had set matters in very good order, and had gathered together his scattered Armie. But he stood in such feare of his King, that the best remedie he could deuise, was to rebell against him; which he might easily effect, for HORMISDA was very cruell, and therefore hated by his subiects. After this (vpon the rebellion of BARAS) VINDOIS, a man of great power (whose brother HORMISDA kept in prison) conspired against him, with many others, which for his cruelty and couetousnesse extremely hated him: and they took him prisoner, and made his sonne COSROES their king. But his other sonne, with his wife, they put to death, and pluckt out his eyes; and afterwards his owne sonne caused him to be slaine: and so ended the raigne and life of HORMISDA. But the cruelties which the sonne vsed against his father, seemed so horrible and odious, that hee presently fell into as great hatred of all men, as his father had been in his life time; in so much that going to fight with BARAS, who as I said rebelled, the greatest part of the men of warre which he led, forsooke him, and went ouer to BARAS. So as COSROES seeing himselfe abandoned, resolued to sue to his enemies for reliefe, and fled into the territories of the Empire, and put himselfe into the power of PROBVS PATRICIVS, who had the guard of the frontiers, through which he passed, where he was very honourably entertained. Wherof when the Emperour MAVRICIVS was giuen to vnderstand, he was very glad, and sent vnto him a very honourable Captaine, whose name was NARSES, and a Bishop, a man of great authoritie and his kinsman, offering him all fauour and aide for the recouerie of his kingdome, and adopted and took him for his son.

Hormisda king of the Persians put to death by his son Cosroes.

Cosroes king of the Persians fled into the Empire.

NARSES, who went for Generall in this action, putting the same in execution, commanded all the Armies and men of warre which the Empire held in *Asia*, to be drawne to an head: and so he and COSROES went to seeke BARAS, who with the courage of a valiant Tyrant staied for them, and fighting was ouerthrowne, and by flight escaped into certaine mountaines.

Baras ouerthrowne in a battell by Cosroes.

After this noble victorie, COSROES recouered all his kingdomes, and he and the Emperor continued great friends: and so ceased the warres betweene the Empire and the Persians, which had continued six yeeres. This happened in the eight yeere of the raigne of the Emperour MAVRICE.

Whilest the Emperour MAVRICE managed these warres in the East, *Europe* continued not in rest nor peace; for besides the miseries and calamities of *Italy* (as I will presently relate) the Hunnes which dwelt in *Hungarie*, and in part of *Noricum*, now called *Bauaria* (whom wee but now cald Auares) after the name of a King of theirs who was called by that name, then raigning ouer them a King called CAYANVS, who was both proud and very valiant, and therewith very mightie, they and he concluded amongst themselues to make warre against the Empire: which they followed with such resolution as it caused no small feare: for entring through the vpper *Missia*, which now containeth the two prouinces of *Seruia*, and *Bassina*, he found so small resistance, as he came into *Thracia*, now called *Gracia* or *Turkey*, for that therein standeth the great citie of *Constantinople*: against whom MAVRICE sent an Armie, and for Generall thereof a valiant and prudent captaine whose name was COMENCIOLVS. These two made cruell warres, and after many skirmishes came to a battaile, which I leaue, being too long to recite; wherein CAYANVS was ouerthrowne with great losse of his people, and so was constrained to retire. But within short space after, he returned againe with no lesse power then at the first, to warre in the marches of *Slauonia*, and MAVRICE sent thither his sonne THEODOSIVS and his father in law GERMANVS, with other Captaines; who had so good successe, that although they lost in some encounters, yet they not only draue them out of that which they had formerly vsurped, but also wholly rooted them out of all *Hungarie*. But MAVRICE either for feare or retchlesnes forslowed those warres, and losing oportunitie (which is seldome recouered) the inconueniences ensued, which we will describe. For a kinde of people called Slauons, a nation inhabiting farre in the north, which vntill that time had neuer been heard of, sent their Ambassadors to the Hunnes Auares (moued thereto, by the newes which they had heard from them) and offered to come to their aid, as in deede they afterwards did, ioyned with them, and did much harme in the lands of the Empire, and out of it, as hereafter we will relate in few words.

Noricum Bauaria.

Warres betweene Cayanus and Commenciolus.

Cayanus & his people driuen out of Hungarie.

The Slauons came to make warres in the Empire.

Let vs now returne to *Italie*, which wee left in peace and at truce with the Lombards: wherein it happened, that as neither partie concluded the peace for any remorse of conscience, or for the feare or loue of God or their neighbours, but for their owne aduantage and priuate interest, and to awaite a fitter time and opportunitie for the warres (as for our sinnes it often happeneth) and as it was not pleasing to God, neither made according to his will, so he pleased not him to maintaine the same: for he sent his wrath and scourge vpon *Italie*, and chiefly vpon *Rome*, as a place which most needed amendment. The first was with raine, which fell in the moneth of September and October, for the space of many daies continually without ceasing, in such sort, that the water was so high, as the riuers and lakes of *Italie* ouerflowed and drowned an infinite number of people and cattell; and the riuer *Tiber* waxed so high, that all the fields which were not hillie and mountainous, were ouerflowne with water; so as all men feared that it would haue procured another generall deluge, particularly in *Rome*, where the riuer *Tiber* did swell so much, that in some parts it was as high, and in some other it exceeded and ouerflowed the walles of that citie, and the water entred in such manner into it, that it spoiled and defaced the greatest part of the buildings neere to the riuer. The cloud afterwards ceasing, the fields remained so filthie, so muddie and so soft, that they could not be tilled nor sowne; by reason whereof a generall famine ensued through all *Italy*. And in like manner through the excessiue moisture of the earth and the aire was so corrupted, as the plague began, which raged in such manner, that many townes were left desolate, and dispeopled; and where they died least, two third parts of the people perished. But in the citie of *Rome* (as all writers affirme) was the greatest affliction: for in the beginning it took away Pope PELAGIVS the second, in whose place succeeded (against his will and perforce) was chosen Saint GREGORIE, who seeing the wrath of heauen, that did mightily denoun prayers to God, and many sermons and orations to the people, exhorting them to amendment of life, and repentance for their sinnes, to the end, that it might please him to cease to with hold his punishment from them. And in this extremitie he ordained the Letanie, which is to this day vsed in the Church.

A wonderfull deluge in Rome and all Italy.

Pope Pelagius the second, famine, and pestilence.

The Letanie ordained to be said in the Church by Saint Gregorie.

Finally the Lord of his mercy took pitie on them, and the plague ceased, and the earth began to be more cheerfull, and to change colour, and to bring forth fruit. But yet this fauour which

the Lord bestowed on them, auailed not to establish any peace or amity among those which escaped this plague: for, the Lombards, hauing gotten supplies of men of warre, without any respect of the feare or loue of God (the time of the truce being expired) renewed the wars with greater furie than at the first. And forasmuch as the Land had been punished with so great calamities, and lay waste and dispeopled, it was an easie matter for them to do great harm among the Imperialists. First, their King ANTHARIS in person went against FRANCILION, who commanded in the City of *Como*, with two other strong fortresses in the Lake of *Como*: and besieging him the space of six moneths, being no longer able to defend the City, he gaue it vp, and went to *Rauenna*; that City hauing valiantly defended it self with much honor the space of twenty yeers.

The taking of this City greatly enriched King ANTHARIS: for, FRANCILION had in that time gathered together and had in it much treasure. Departing from thence with great honour and wealth, he took other places. Whereupon the Emperor MAVRICE, at the intreaty of Pope GREGORIE, and the Exarch SMARAGDVS (who daily solicited him for aid and relefe) sent to CHILDEBERT, who at that time raigned King of *France*, a great summe of money, to the end hee should enter *Italie* with some great power, in his behalf: and the King of *France* promised to doo so, and began to put it in execution. Who coming into *Italie*, the fame of his coming began to work great effect; and some Captains of the Lombards reuolted to him. But CHILDEBERT imagining, that, if the Emperor again recouered *Italie* wholly to himself, he should hardly liue in safety in *France*; he therefore, coming to a composition with ANTHARIS, returned into his Country, without intermeddling in other mens quarels. At his return died ANTHARIS, King of the Lombards: and the principall men of that Nation, falling at variance among themselues about chusing of a new King, at last agreed that hee should bee King whom TEODELINDA (which was the last Kings widow) should take to husband; and she made choice of AGISVLPHVS, Gouerner of *Taurino*, now called *Turin*: and so he was made King, who was as valiant a Prince as any his Predecessors had been before him.

At that time the Emperor deposed SMARAGDVS from the gouernment of *Italie*, and sent thither for Exarch a Knight called ROMANVS (of whom we made mention in the warres of *Persia*) with some companies of souldiers for the defense of *Rome*, and to make warre in other places. ROMANVS, coming in the mean time, whil'st the new King AGISVLPHVS was busied with some of his Captains, who houlding certain Cities rebelled against him; prouided and furnished, with men and victuals, *Padua*, *Mantua*, *Cremona*, and the rest of the Cities which were in greatest danger: and, setting all things there in order, he came to *Rome*; from whence afterwards, with those forces which he brought, and those also which before his coming were in the City, he departed to recouer the Towns and Castles which the Lombards possessed in that Quarter: many of which hee did winne by force, and others voluntarily yeelded themselues.

Whilst the Exarch was busie about these things, the Pope sent three very learned men into *England*; who with their preaching conuerted the King and the Inhabitants thereof to the true faith, which vntill then was not throughly received among them. The like care hee took for *Italie*, and for all the other Prouinces: and TEODELINDA (the wife of King AGISVLPHVS) being a deuout Christian, he perswaded her and her husband to cause their people to leaue their idolatrie; which hee obtained: and afterwards hee intreated him to surrender to the Church the goods and reuenewes which he withheld from it.

About this time grew great contention between the Bishops of *Rome* and of *Constantinople* about the supremacy: for, IOHN Bishop of *Constantinople* alleaged, that to him did appertaine the Papacy, and to be Vniuersall Bishop of the Church, seeing that *Constantinople* was the head of the Empire. Against which, the Bishop of *Rome* opposed himself with all his power; alledging himself to bee CHRIST's Vicar, and Head of the Church: so as there passed many things of the one side and the other about this matter. In this mean time died ROMANVS the Exarch, and another was sent in his place, whose name was GALLICIANVS or GALLICANVS, who was a vertuous man and very valiant: and he presently applied himself to redresse many things which ROMANVS had peruerted and put of order. And although he much desired warre, yet through the counsell of the Pope he took truce: which being expired, he carried himself so valiantly in the warres, that he took the City of *Parma* by assault from the Lombards, and therein took a daughter of King AGISVLPHVS, whom he had by his first wife; and

Contention betwixt the bishops of Rome and of Constantinople for the supremacy.

The Exarch Romanus dying, Gallicanus was sent in his place.

and grew to be so strong in field, that AGISVLPHVS durst not giue him battell. Whereupon, seeing himself ouermatcht, he sent to the Slauons for aid, who were already joyned with the Auares: and GALLICANVS leuying new forces died in *Rauenna*, and SMARAGDVS was again sent thither to be Exarch; who came into *Italy* with so small forces, that his coming did rather encourage, than dismay or daunt, the enemie: which proceeded from this; The Emperor so deadly hated the Popes presumption, that, rather than to endure the same, he was content to lose all *Italie*.

And to this his dislike was ioyned the trouble which the Slauons, who came to his enemies aide, did put him to: for CAYANVS the fierce and proud King of the Auares (the Slauons and their king MVSACIVS being come into *Germany*) ioyned his forces with his enemies, and some Frenchmen came also to them, and entred the bounds of the Empire. The Emperor sent against them one PRISCVS, a captaine of great account, with a mightie Armie, to stop their passage ouer the riuer *Ister*, now called *Danubius*; who warred so aduisedly and with so great valour and discretion, as most times that he fought with them he obtained the victorie. And one night he gaue the Slauons a Camizado, and took their King MVSACIVS prisoner, and slew a great number of them. There afterwards happened many things in that warre, which would be too long to relate: for CAYANVS King of the Auares, as he had many men, and those very expert and accustomed to the warres, besides the multitude of the Slauons, neuer ceased to make cruell warre against the Emperour MAVRICE; yet sometime they tooke truce, which lasted some space: and PRISCVS and he met and spake together concerning an agreement.

Musacius King of the Slauons taken prisoner by Priscus, General of the Emperours forces.

After all this, CAYANVS with his Auares and Slauons entred *Dalmatia*, and did great harme, robbing and spoiling many townes there. But PRISCVS comming to relieue them, he retired to his losse, and altring his course took his way towards *Thracia*: and marching without stay, came within few daies iourney of *Constantinople*. And as the report and feare is vsually greater then the daunger; so hee strake so great a terror into the citizens of *Constantinople*, as they were of the minde to haue abandoned the citie, and to haue passed ouer that arme of the Sea into *Asia*, as the Annales of *Constantinople* doe testifie. But the Emperor MAVRICE (as in truth he was valiant) commanded all the people to be put in Armes, and the gates of the citie to bee shut, and order to be taken in all things that were needfull, vsing infinite diligence; and gaue direction for the defence of the countries through which CAYANVS was to passe.

Cayanus inuaded the Empire.

A great plague in Cayanus his campe, where of seuen of his sons died in one day.

But all this needed not, for at that instant there fell so pestilent a mortalitie in CAYANVS his Armie, that in one day seuen of his sonnes (for he had many) and a great number of other people died of the plague: wherefore he was constrained to return into his countrie: And the Emperour sent for Generall another Captaine, whose name was COMENCIOLVS, who ioyning with PRISCVS, obtained certaine victories against CAYANVS. But he was of so haughtie a minde, and therewith so politicke, that notwithstanding that hee was ouerthrowne, yet within very few daies he euer reinforced his Armie, in such sort that he put his enemies in greater feare, then at the first; and in the end at the request and entreatie of the Lombards which liued in *Italy*, he resolued to warre in *Slauonia*, drawing neere vnto *Italy*: where, although that he found some resistance, yet the Slauons which came with him seised vpon a great part of that countrie, and remained there: and in processe of time it left the name of *Illyricum*, and after their name vntill this day is called *Slauonia*; and so from henceforth we will call it. From this nation (as BLONDVS, VOLATERRANVS, and others affirme) the Bohemians and Polonians are descended: for part of them tooke those countries, and vpon sundrie occasions took these names.

Illyricum called Slauonia.

The origine of the Bohemians and Polonians.

As matters stood vpon these tearms, the Lombards in *Italie* and their King AGISVLPHVS, knowing how much the Emperour hated the Pope, resolued to besiege *Rome*; which they did with a very great Armie, and the Pope was therein besieged aboue one whole yeere, and by his industrie onely the citie was defended, for from the Emperor came no reliefe at all: whereupon he wrote him certaine letters, which are yet extant, out of which is drawne great part of this historie. But notwithstanding all this, the Emperour MAVRICE would not relieue him, but rather wisht his destruction: but yet both he and the citie escaped, and at the yeeres end AGISVLPHVS raised his siege and departed.

It is written, that vpon a day about noone, in the citie of *Constantinople*, in the open market place of that citie, there appeared a man to the Emperor in the habit of a Monk, holding a sword in his hand, who speaking with a lowd voice, said, The Emperor MAVRICE shall die by this sword: and this man presently vanished amongst the people, so as no man could say whence he came, nor who he was. This is written by Pope GREGORIE, which you may beleeue if you will.

Prodigious visions appeared to the Emperor Maurice, prognosticating his death.

They

They also say, that in his steepe he saw a souldier whose name was PHOCAS, who murthered his wife and his children, and afterwards slew him also. With this dreame he was so much troubled, that he presently commanded his sone in law PHILIPPICVS to be sent for, who was charged by him to haue had a determination to rebell against him; and hee (not without great fear) came to him. The Emperor, after hee had desired him to pardon him for the false accusation wherewith he had slandered him, asked him whether hee knew any man of account in the Armie called by the name of PHOCAS: whereto he answered, that he knew a Centurion in the Camp of that name, whom hee had a little before made Pourioier for the Camp. MAVRICE again demanded, what manner of man he was: Quoth he, He is a cholerick, licentious yong fellow; but therewith fearfull, and a coward. Whereto they say, the Emperor (being much troubled and in despair) replied: If he be a coward, of necessity hee must bee cruell, and desirous to shed bloud: and so, shedding many tears, he told PHILIPPICVS what he had dreamt; who was therewith also much troubled. In the mean time there came messengers vnto him, which he had sent to certain religious persons to desire them to pray for him; who in some sort did recomfort him, perswading him to bee of good cheer: for, God would haue mercy on his soule. But yet he neuer ceased to bewail his sinnes, and liued in continuall sorrow and contrition. And PHILIPPICVS perswaded him to vse some great liberality to his Armie and men of warre, thereby to winne their loue, and the better to liue in safety from them. But he followed not his good counsell: and so within fewe daies after, his death was practised, in such manner as followeth.

He commanded his brother PETER, whom he had made Generall of his Armie, against the Slauons in *Slauonia*, that to auoide charge and expenses, in any case he should winter in the same prouince, and lodge his Armie in such villages and other places, where he might most annoy the enemie. Whereto notwithstanding that PETER answered to the contrarie, and entreated that hee might not doe so, alleaging that the Armie should sustaine intolerable trouble and extremitie in those mountaines; yet he continued so obstinate in his command, as PETER of force must obey, although against his will: and the Armie tooke this in so ill part, that without any respect of dutie and alleageance they mutined; and chusing the aforenamed PHOCAS for Generall, they marched against PETER, who was lodged about a daies iourney from thence, and he fled to the Emperour. BLONDVS writeth that the Captaines which fled, were THEODOSIVS, the Emperors son, and GERMANVS his father-in-law. But I heerin follow the Commentaries of *Constantinople*, and ZONORAS, which seem to be more conformable to the truth: for, they write, that the whole Armie sent an Ambassage to THEODOSIVS, willing him to come vnto them, and they would make him Emperor; and if he would not that then GERMANVS should come: but, they refusing, or not daring, to accept their offer, the Armie chose the same PHOCAS for Emperor; and he took his way towards *Constantinople*. Which when the Emperor MAVRICE vnderstood, calling to him his sonne THEODOSIVS, and GERMANVS his father-in-law, with COMINCIOLVS, PHILIPPICVS, and other great Captains, he began to take order for the defense of the City, and to leuie souldiers, and to make preparation for the warres. But, as this reuolt hapned through the permission and ordinance of God: so the people mutined in such manner, that nothing could bee done to any purpose; and there were many great tumults in the Citie. And among the people, and the Emperors owne kinred also, some laid the fault of what was befaln, vpon others; and some were in hope to be Emperors if MAVRICE lost the Empire: and others took part with PHOCAS the new Tyrant or Emperor.

Phocas chosen Emperour.

During this confusion and hurly-burly, PHOCAS, as fast as hee could march, came to *Constantinople*, accompanied with all the men of warre: and MAVRICE, who (vntill then) had euer bin so mightie against all nations, hauing now no sufficient power to defend himself, fled out of the City, and took shipping in a small Bark, with his wife and children, and passed ouer the Streight called Saint GEORGE his Chanell; and, entring into the Citie of *Calcedonia* (which is on the other side) was there ouertaken and apprehended by PHOCAS his souldiers, who was already comn to *Constantinople*. And, being brought back again, PHOCAS commanded him to be put to death: but he first made his two sons, three daughters, and his wife the Empresse, for his greater torment, to be slain in his presence; which he saw and endured with admirable magnanimity: and, as a faithfull Christian, recommending himself to God, he called vpon his holy Name, many times repeating these words; *Iustus es Domine, & rectum iudicium tuum.* And so he patiently suffred death, and had his head stricken off.

The Emperour Maurice fled for Constantinople

The death of the Emperor Mauricius.

Hee

Hee died in the *63.* yeere of his age, and the twentith of his raigne, and in the yeere of our Lord (after moſt writers) *603.* Some write that when he fled from *Conſtantinople*, he ſent his ſonne THEODOSIVS to the King of *Perſia*, there to be kept, and that afterwards he was deliuered into the power of PHOCAS. And ſo ended and was extinguiſhed the whole houſe and linage of the Emperour MAVRICH. There were alſo put to death, by PHOCAS his commandement, the Emperors brother, PETER, and other principall men. In the time of this Emperour there were warres betweene the Kings of *Spaine*, and *France*, and betweene the Saxons and the Sueuians, betweene the French and the Auares, and ſome others: which for that they concerne not my hiſtorie, I omit. In this time alſo the Turkes began to be knowne in the world: for it is found written, that they made warres in *Aſia* againſt the Perſians. Then alſo began the name of the Bulgarians to bee knowne in *Europe*, a fierce people, of whom wee will ſpeake hereafter.

THE LIFE OF PHOCAS, ONELY OF THAT NAME, AND THREE-SCORE AND THIRD ROMANE EMPEROVR.

(***)

603

AFter the manner as I haue before declared, was the Emperor MAVRICE put to death: who, as he was valiant, wiſe, and venturous in the wars, if he had bin bountifull and liberall, hee had been accounted for a good Prince, and had longer enioyed the Empire. For all authors affirme, his couetouſnes and ſparing to haue bin the cauſe of his death, I meane of his corporall death: for the waies and iudgements of the Lord are *vnſearchable and incomprehenſible. And to ſay* the truth, couetouſnes is one of the moſt dangerous and hatefull vices wherewith a Prince can be infected: for beſides that *it maketh* him ill beloued *and odious to his* ſubiects, it is the fountaine and roote of greater euills in thoſe which are rich and mightie: for from thence grow violences, wrongs, rapine, briberie, extortion, crueltie, intolerable taxes, and impoſitions, no reward for ſeruice, condemning the innocent, abſoluing the guiltie for money, coueting other mens goods, vniuſt warre, and ſhamefull peace. Finally, in Kings and Potentates couetouſnes is the mother of all euills, and a vice which maketh their raigne and gouernment ſhort and miſerable; as may be prooued by many examples. And to the contrarie, liberalitie hath been the occaſion that many (notwithſtanding that they were wicked) raigned longer then others. And foraſmuch as I haue not time to make any long digreſſion, I conclude that the couetouſnes and miſerable ſparing of the Emperour MAVRICE, made PHOCAS ſo mightie, as to be able to bereaue him both of his Empire and life. And the ſame vice was afterwards the cauſe of his death alſo: as *we will ſhew you*, as ſoone as *we ſhall haue related* what happened in the Empire. When the Emperour MAVRICE was dead, there was none that durſt

durſt lift vp his hand againſt PHOCAS, and therefore he was generally obeyed of all men (excepting NARSES, the generall commander in the Eaſt, before named.) This NARSES when *he* vnderſtood that PHOCAS had cauſed MAVRICE to bee ſlaine, he with an Armie went into a citie of *Arabia*, called *Edeſſa*; with a reſolution to yeeld him no obedience, but with the aide of the Perſians to make himſelfe ſtrong againſt him.

But PHOCAS was crowned in *Conſtantinople* by the Patriarch thereof with great ſolemnitie, and great ioy and gladnes of the people, who are euer deſirous of innouations: And as they ſuddenly deſire them, ſo they as ſuddenly abhor them. And the like happened in *Rome* vpon the newes of his election: for the Romanes hated MAVRICE, for the enmitie betweene him and the Pope whom they loued. As ſoone as Pope GREGORIE vnderſtood that PHOCAS was made Emperor, he wrote vnto him a notable epiſtle, which vntill this day is extant; wherein he admoniſhed and counſelleth him what he ought to doe, to be a perfect Emperor.

The firſt thing that PHOCAS did, was to ſend into all the prouinces and nations of the Empire, priuiledges, exemptions and kind letters, with new garriſons and ſouldiers where need required: all which he did with ſuch expedition and in ſo good order, that he made himſelfe well beloued of his ſubiects, and reſpected and feared by ſtrangers: but both in the one and in the other it continued but ſhort ſpace. And to GERMANVS who was Pretor and gouernor in the Eaſt, he ſent commandement preſently to goe and beſiege NARSES who rebelled againſt him. In the meane ſeaſon, AGISVLPHVS King of the Lombards (who in the troubleſome time wherein PHOCAS was choſen, and before his election, had taken the cities of *Cremona*, *Mantua*, and *Volturnia*, and therein had done irreparable harmes, aſwell in the walles and buildings of the citie, as among the citizens, the inhabitants, and their goods) for feare of the new Emperor concluded a truce with SMARAGDVS the Exarch, and with Pope GREGORIE, and with all *Italy*, for one yeere. And from thenceforth to be the better able to liue in ſecurity, he ſought to match his eldeſt ſon ADOALDVS with the daughter of THEODOBERTVS King of *France*. And ſo PHOCAS raigned in great proſperitie the firſt yeere; vntill hee began to diſcouer his baſe condition, and little worth, together with his extreame couetouſnes, and negligence in all things; by meanes whereof he became little regarded and eſteemed by all men, whereof enſued warres and troubles. In the ſecond yeere of his raigne died Pope GREGORIE, and SABINIANVS ſucceeded him, who alſo tooke truce for another yeere with AGISVLPHVS, which was afterwards prolonged for other three yeeres more, by Ambaſſadors ſent by AGISVLPHVS to the Emperor PHOCAS. And in the ſecond yeere alſo of the raigne of PHOCAS, began the warre againſt the Perſians, which in all mens iudgement was leaſt to be feared, conſidering how greatly COSROES King of *Perſia*, ſtoode bound to the Emperor MAVRICE, and to the Empire, for reſtoring him to his kingdome. The cauſe of of this warre is written ſo diuerſly, that I therefore leaue to ſet it downe: in the beginning wherof, GERMANVS the Generall in the Eaſt, leuied an Armie to make head againſt him, and they fought a battaile, wherein GERMANVS was ouerthrowne, and the greateſt part of the Imperiall Armie ſlaine: he being wounded eſcaped by flight, and within eleuen daies died thereof. When PHOCAS vnderſtoode of this loſſe, he then graunted the peace, which we ſpake of, to the Lombards, and procured the like with the Auares, with the Hunnes, and with the Slauons. With great diligence and little diſcretion, he ſent the greateſt part of his power into *Syria*, for the warres in the Eaſt, vnder the conduct of very good Captaines; and commanded LEONTIVS, and MAGNATES, who were two of them, to make warre vpon NARSES; who vpon the faith and ſecuritie giuen vnto him yeelded himſelfe: but PHOCAS breaking his faith and promiſe, made him moſt cruelly to be burnt. His Armie in the Eaſt had yet another battaile with COSROES, and was againe ouerthrowne with great diſhonour and confuſion. Whileſt the Emperors Captaines loſt theſe battailes, there grew very great tumults and factions in *Conſtantinople*, and in many other cities in *Aſia*; which roſe of very light and friuolous occaſions. Which were, that as in auntient time, in *Rome*, and afterwards in *Conſtantinople*, they vſed certaine ſports and games of running with chariots, and on horſe backe, after a kinde of turneying; as heretofore in the life of DOMICIANVS we haue declared: ſo now ſome clothing themſelues in greene, and others in gray, the common people which ſaw the ſame (as their manner is) affected ſome the one colour, and ſome the other; and this ſo much encreaſed, that (as in times paſt there had been great ſcandales, and murthers done vpon the like occaſions) ſo it pleaſed God to permit, that in the time of PHOCAS, the matter grew to that extremitie, as there were infinite ſlaughters and murthers committed, in *Syria*, in *Egypt*, in *Graecia*, and in many other prouinces:

Warre with the Perſians.

Phocas violating his faith made Narſes *to be burnt.*

uinces: which the Emperor by his letters and commandements was not able to preuent. For notwithstanding that he was very cruell, and did wrongfully put many to death; yet was there small account made of him; for all men knew the basenes of his mind, and his disordinate vices, and couetousnes, and how that he applied himselfe to nothing, but to his pleasure amongst women, and to seeke new meanes to encrease his tributes, and to heape vp money: by reason whereof euery where were tumults, confusions, and riots; and the princes and nations bordering vpon the Empire knowing this, determined to seise vpon such part thereof as they could. CAYANVS with the Bauarians and Hunnes, comming from *Noricum* (by them called *Bauaria*) and from the countries of *Hungarie* and *Austria*; after they had enlarged their teritorie, concluded to make warre vpon the Lombards (which was the onely thing that kept the Empire in peace) and fighting a battaile with a great Armie, and a Captaine of them, the Bauarians obtained the victorie. After which CAYANVS took by force a citie called *Forum Iulij*, which hee wholly destroyed, and hauing done much harme and taken great spoiles in the prouince of *Venice*, he returned to his kingdome. Then the Slauons who before had made themselues Lords of a great part of *Illyricum*, in this time took all *Illyricum*, and *Dalmatia*, which now containes all the coast and countrey from *Friuli* to *Durasso*, by them called *Slauonia*. In this meane time, COSROES King of *Persia* was not idle, but entred with a mightie power into *Mesopotamia*, and took it all, and part of *Syria*, where, in battailes and conflicts, he wholy defeated the legions and Romane Armie. On the other side, his men of warre made themselues Lords of *Armenia*, and *Cappadocia*, and did much hurt in other prouinces of the Empire. Whilest these things passed in these parts; In *Africa*, which of long time (euen since the death of the Emperour IVSTINIAN) had been in peace, and in the seruice and obedience of the Empire; HERACLIVS whom some call HERACLIANVS, who for the Emperor PHOCAS was gouernour thereof, seeing his pusillanimitie and euill gouernment, began to leaue his seruice and to doe what best pleased himselfe, without any respect or regarde to his decrees or commandements. And to the end the mischiefe should be generall, in the citie of *Antioch* in *Soria*, the Infidels rose against the Christians, and slew a great number of them, together with the Patriarch of that citie; vpon whom PHOCAS commanded great punishment to be inflicted. Finally, in all the prouinces there was great disorder and little iustice, and those prouinces which bordered vpon the enemies were spoiled, and a great part of them lost. And the matter came to this issue, that one of these two things of necessitie must ensue; which were, that either the Empire must be rent in sunder, and wholly lost, or else PHOCAS must die. Whereupon the principall Captaines, and his chiefest friends, seeing it expedient for the common good, and the estate of the Empire, conspired against him, and resolued to kill him. Among which was his greatest fauourit PRISCVS, who by letters agreed with HERACLIVS (who gouerned *Africa* and rebelled, and to whose daughter PRISCVS was maried) to kill him, and make his sonne HERACLIVS which was his wiues brother, Emperor. There were also confederates in this treason (if it may be said to be treason to kill a tyrant and a traitor) PATRICIVS, and other principall men. And as PRISCVS was in great credit with PHOCAS, so he fained to reduce his father in law HERACLIVS to his seruice; and vnder this pretext, hee first brought his brother in law HERACLIVS to *Constantinople*, for a pledge and assurance of his fathers loyaltie. This treatie was double: for his father was presently to come to *Constantinople*, with the greatest power that hee was able to make, vnder colour to passe into *Asia*, against the King of *Persia*; and according to this rumor he did so, and came with a very great Armie, and suddenly landed in *Thracia*, which coast is now called *Romania*. And his sonne who remained in *Constantinople* with the fauour and in companie of PRISCVS, and many others, entred the palace and slew PHOCAS; and then presently arriued his father with his forces, and according to the agreement betweene them, young HERACLIVS was made Emperor, and generally obeied. In the manner of PHOCAS his death, authors which write thereof make some difference: but they all concur in this, that hee was slaine through the conspiracie of the Captaines, and great men before named; in the eight yeere of his raigne, and of the incarnation of our Sauiour CHRIST six hundred and eleuen, without leauing any sonne to succeede him in the Empire.

Mesopotamia, Armenia, and Cappadocia taken from the Romanes by the Persians.

Hard conditions for an Emperor.

Phocas slaine by Heraclius which after him succeeded in the Empire.

THE

THE LIFE OF HERACLIVS, ONLY OF THAT NAME, AND THREE-SCORE AND FOVRTH ROMANE EMPEROVR.

(***)

THE ARGVMENT.

HEraclius *hauing slaine the tyrant* Phocas, *without any contradiction was made Emperor, who found the Empire very weake and in great combustion. In the beginning of his gouernment, the citie of Ierusalem was taken by* Cosroes *King of Persia; and the crosse of Christ which was left there by* Helena *mother to* Constantine *the great, was caried away. He obtained victorie against* Iohn Campsinus *a Captaine of his, which rebelled against him, and made himselfe a tyrant ouer part of Italy; by another of his Captaines whose name was* Elutherius, *who by reason of this victorie grew so proud, that he also dared to rebell, and to call himselfe King of Italy; but he was presently slaine by the same Captaines which tooke his part. And hauing concluded a peace with the Bauarians, he made his sonne* Constantine, Cæsar, *and his companion in the Empire; and leauing him (for that he was very yong,) vnder good keeping in Constantinople, he went against* Cosroes, *who had taken from him a great part of the Empire. To which warre he went himselfe in person; and hauing giuen his enemie two great ouerthrowes, he constrained him to flie. When he had expelled* Cosroes, *and recouered many countries of the Empire, he made peace with* Cosroes *sonne, who rose against his father, for an iniurie receiued from him; which peace was a great helpe to the Empire, and very hurtfull to* Cosroes: *but by meanes thereof, the sonne bereaued the father both of his kingdome and life. In these times began the seck of Mahomet, against which Heraclius in the beginning made no resistance, making no account thereof: but afterwards he began to feare the same when he could not suppresse it. This Emperour made a great exchange from vertue to vice; so as when he grew old, he became superstitious, an hereticke, and libidinous, giuing himselfe to pleasure, as a young man, when it had been more requisite and more honorable for him to haue liued gracely, as an old man; and took to wife a young woman, giuing himselfe more to carnall delight, then for his yeeres, and the dignitie of so mightie an Emperor was fit. But falling into the dropsie, he died suddenly, when he had raigned twentie yeeres.*

AS the life and conditions of PHOCAS were odious to the world, and his raigne so vnhappie and infortunate, that the Imperiall sceptre and dignity was likely to haue wholly falne and to haue come to ruine; so all men reioiced at his death. And forasmuch as HERACLIVS was the actor and executioner thereof, they very peaceably and ioyfully receiued him for Emperor; who was a man fortunate in the warres, and obtained many noble victories, and possessed the Empire many yeeres, although that in the end many things happened contrarie, for his sinnes and little constancie in the Christian faith; as in his historie we will relate, as briefly as possibly we may. PHOCAS and those of his partie being put to death, HERACLIVS was with great ioy and solemnitie crowned in *Constantinople*, by the hands of SERGIVS, Patriarch thereof; his father HERACLIVS being there present, with PRISCVS and other great men, who had bin confederates in the conspiracie against PHOCAS. And vpon the same day he solemnized his mariage with a great Lady, whose name was EVDOXIA, who afterwards in the second yeere of his raigne died in childbed, of a sonne called CONSTANTINE: and he married for his second wife with a neece of his owne called MARTINA, which also bare him a sonne called HERACLIVS.

In what state Heraclius found the Empire.

This Emperor HERACLIVS found the Empire in such combustion, and so rent in peeces, as it seemed impossible to continue. The affaires of the East were in such case, as wee told you, where COSROES had defeated all the armies, and entring into the Empire, daily tooke townes and forts. In the prouince of *Arabia Petrea*, which bordreth vpon *Egypt* and *Iudea*, the Sarazins rebelled, with whome accursed MAHOMET afterwards made himself very mightie. CAYANVS and the Bauarians which inhabited *Bauaria*, *Austria* and *Hungarie*, seeing the Empire so weakened, come into *Thracia*, and made warres there. In *Illyricum* or *Slauonia*, the Slauons were of great power: and in *Italy*, although there was peace with the Lombards (for they were defeated and weakened by the ouerthrowes which they had receiued from the Bauarians and Slauons) yet there wanted not combustions and tumults: for PHOCAS before his death had bereaued SMARAGDVS (oftentimes before named) of his Exarchat and gouernment, and had sent thither another Captaine called IOHN; who comming to *Rauenna*, with his wife and family, and a great number of Iudges and officers for all *Italy*, PHOCAS was by that time dead; and IOHN being more earnest in demanding tributes, and other exactions then hee ought to haue been, the people were therewith so much incensed as they slew him: and so *Italy* remained without a gouernour. And at that time the Church of *Rome* being without a Bishop by the death of Pope BONIFACE, and by reason of discord among the Clergie, that seat being voide the space of eight moneths, a Captaine which liued in *Naples*, called IOHN CAMPSINVS, who gouerned that citie with the territorie thereof, determined to rebell and make himselfe Lord of *Pulia*, *Calabria*, *Campania*, and of a great part of that countrie, which at this day is the kingdom of *Naples*; imagining that the new Emperour should haue enough to do to defend or to recouer the rest, and so he might make himselfe King of *Italy*.

HERACLIVS comming to the Empire so torne and dismembred; to encounter with so many extremities, in the begining vsed not such diligence, as was requisite, neither had hee power or meanes. For as all Authors write he found the Empire so disarmed & vnfurnished of men of warre, as there were neither old souldiers, neither experienced legions left, but they were all slaine and scattered. Neuertheless hee began to make Captaines, and to leuie men of warre, and sent CRISPVS with such forces as he could get, together with such as his father brought him out of *Africa*, into the prouinces of *Asia* the lesse (now called *Turkie*) to guard and defend the same; seeing they were not able to giue battaile to the Persians: and hee caused his father to returne into *Africa*, which was all that the Empire peaceably enioyed, together with *Sicilia* and *Sardinia*; and he himselfe remained in *Constantinople*, procuring peace with the Bauarians and their King CAYANVS, by all possible meanes, as well by gifts as entreatie. But these things were so long adoing, that COSROES King of *Persia*, as master of the field, taking some Cities by surprise, and others by force, came conquering all *Syria*, and from thence into *Palestina*, and so to the Citie of *Ierusalem*; not the old *Ierusalem*, for that (as is already said) was destroied and laid waste by TITVS and VESPASIAN, but to that which the Emperour ADRIAN new builded, in the same place, or at least neere vnto it, as already is declared; which then was a great and an excellent City. And entring it by force he vsed great cruelty, and did much harme to the Christians; so as therein (as it is written) were slaine 80000 persons; and taking the wood of the crosse of Christ, which HELEN mother to CONSTANTINE the Great had left there, and carrying it thence with him, he set it with great reuerence vpon the top of his chaire, or royall Throne, made of fine Gold, set with many Iewels and Pearles. He likewise carried with him prisoner ZACHARIAS the Patriarch of *Ierusalem*, who was an excellent Prelate.

The Citie of Ierusalem taken by the Persians.

This taking of *Ierusalem*, some Authors write to haue happened about the end of the raigne of the Emperour PHOCAS: but the most certaine and true opinion is, that it befell in the time of HERACLIVS, wherein I place the same. CRISPVS who was sent by the Emperor, and then was in the prouince of *Cappadocia* in *Asia* the lesse, endeuoured to leuie souldiers, and to prouide (so much as in him lay) for the defence of those Countries, against the great power of the Persians: but it auailed not at that time. And for as much as it was bruited that the Persian meant to goe into *Egypt*, and thence to make a conquest of *Africa*; HERACLIVS father to the Emperour being then in the City of *Carthage*, leuying a great number of men of war, departed thence, marching along the Sea coast, to goe into *Egypt* to make head against the Persians; where we will leaue him, and tell you first what ensued after that IOHN CAMPSINVS rebelled with the City of *Naples*, and all that Prouince.

The Emperour being much moued with his audaciousrebellion, sent a Captaine into *Italie*, whose

whose name was ELEVTHERIVS, with a good number of souldiers; which captaine was of a great and noble familie, and very wise and expert in the warres. He as soone as he arriued at *Rauenna* with his fleete, was receiued end obeyed there; and vnderstanding who they were which had conspired in the rebellion and insurrections past, he punished some of them, vsing greater clemency then seueritie. And therewithall hee speedily assembled such forces as remained in the gouernement of *Rauenna*; with which, and with those which hee brought with him, he purposed to take his way against CAMPSINVS, who lay in *Naples*; and by the way went to *Rome*, where he was well entertained and honoured by DEVS DEDIT, who then was Pope. And marching towards *Naples*, CAMPSINVS considering that by prolonging the wars he daily lost, and the Emperors partie encreased; with the greatest and best power that he was able to make he took the field, and neer to the citie of *Naples* they two fought a cruel battell; but ELEVTHERIVS obtained the victorie, although very hardly; for CAMPSINVS fought valiantly, and died fighting.

Eleutherius *sent by the Emperor against* Iohn Campsinus.

Campsinus *ouerth rowne and slaine by* Eleutherius.

After this battell, ELEVTHERIVS with small difficultie recouered all that CAMPSINVS had vsurped, and returned with victorie to *Rome*: and for his better securitie, and to bring to effect such things as he had proiected (which we will presently tell you) he practised to prolong the peace with AGISVLPHVS King of the Lombards, which was concluded for other ten yeers. And he procured and leuied money, wherewith he payed and contented his souldiers and men of warre: for which his doings so valiantly and so speedily accomplished, the Emperor HERACLIVS sent him the authoritie and title of Exarch and Gouernor of all *Italie*; wherewith he came to *Rauenna*, which was the seate of the Gouernors, leauing all *Italie* in peace and in quiet subiection (*Lombardy* excepted, and the rest which the Lombards possessed) by meanes whereof he grew so proud and so ambitious, as without the feare of God, or respect to the Emperor, knowing himselfe to be greatly beloued by his souldiers, he rebelled against his soueraigne Lord, and tooke vpon him the title of King of *Italie*, and presently departed with his Armie from *Rauenna* towards *Rome*, meaning to make himselfe Lord of all the countrie. But it pleased God to giue him speedy punishment: for the same Captains which aduanced him, and vpon whom he had grounded his disloyaltie; the same I say, to shew themselues loyall to the Emperor, within few daies iourney from *Rome* slew him, when he nothing suspected any such matter; and the Armie approued his death; and they altogether returned to *Rauenna*, and sent his head to the Emperor to *Constantinople*; who being aduertised of what had passed, was very well pleased with what they had done. Then he sent for a new Exarch, a Noble Constantinopolitane, called YSANTIVS, who was very well entertained. And at the same time died the valiant AGISVLPHVS king of the Lombards, and his son ODOALDVS being a childe of tender age, was made their King; and the wife and Christian Queene THEVDELINDA his mother, took vpon her the gouernement, and gouerned that kingdome very wisely and discreetly, and obserued and renewed the peace made with the Italians, and the Imperialists; and so *Italie* remained for some space in rest. But in the warre against the Persians, matters hapned to the contrary: whereof we will make a briefe relation, and what end it had.

Eleutherius *rebelled and called himselfe king of Italy.*

Eleutherius *slaine, and his head sent to the Emperor.*

The death of Agisulphus king of the Lombards

HERACLIVS the Emperors father, who was Gouernor of *Africa*, marching with great power towards *Egypt*, to make head against the Persians, being very ioyfull, and of great power, by the way died of an infirmity. By his death all was out of order and came to nothing: for there was not any man amongst them capable of the gouernment, or fit to leade an Army. This hapned in the sixt yeer of the raigne of the Emperor HERACLIVS; who all that time remained in *Constantinople* giuing himselfe to pleasure and ease. When the King of *Persia* vnderstood of the death of HERACLIVS the gouernour of *Africa*; with the greatest haste hee could make, hee sent a very mightie armie into *Egypt*; and as that kingdome was vnfurnished of men of warre, and the Persians became victorious, so in few daies they made themselues absolute Lords thereof: and the same yeere passing further, they conquered *Africa* euen to the citie of *Carthage*; for no citie neither people were of power able to make head against them. Which HERACLIVS vnderstanding, hee sent Ambassadors to King COSROES, with milde words entreating him for peace, desiring him to desist from shedding so much bloud, and to rest satisfied with what he had done. To this Embassie the Infidell made answere, so hautily, and with such pride, that among other things he sent him word, that he would grant no peace to HERACLIVS, except he would renounce the Faith of IESVS CHRIST, and adore his Idols. With this answer the Ambassadors returned, and the Persians the yeer following (prosecuting their warres) besieged the Citie of *Carthage*, and tooke it, with the marches thereof,

The death of old Heraclius.

The insolent answer of the king of Persia to the Emperor Heraclius.

The City of Carthage taken by the Persians.

and leauing gouernours and Garrisons in that countrey, returned into *Asia* most richly loden with spoiles.

HERACLIVS hauing obserued how much of the Empire hee had lost, resolued with himselfe to goe in person to recouer the same, or to lose the rest; whereto the Bauarians and their King CAYANVS, were a great hinderance. But to the end that the reader may the better vnderstand the matter, let him know, that these Bauarians (in former time called Hunnes Auares) of a long time called their Kings CAYANI, as the Egyptians called their Kings PHARAONES, and as many other nations gaue their Kings ordinarie and peculiar names. I say then, that CAYANVS returned with his forces to infest the countrie of *Thracia*, which till then had free passage. And this was the cause that the Emperor HERACLIVS was detained two or three yeers, after that which hapned in *Africa*; vntill at length he sought all waies and means to come to a peace with CAYANVS, although to his dishonor & with losse of reputation. Finally, it was concluded and confirmed with great othes and promises: and so leauing all *Italie* and *Grecia* in peace, he resolued to march against the Persians, and to that end he named and ordained for CÆSAR and his companion in the Empire, his sonne CONSTANTINE, to make his abode in the citie of *Constantinople*. And forasmuch as hee was very yong, hee appointed SERGIVS, Patriarch of *Constantinople*, and BONOSVS a wise and noble gentleman, for his gouernours and tutors. Which being ordained, preparing the greatest power and munition that hee was able, with many praiers and solemne processions, he departed from *Constantinople* with great solemnitie, and embarking himselfe with his people, hee passed ouer into those prouinces which were vnder his obedience in *Asia*, and entertained into his pay many other nations. And forasmuch as his souldiers were but newly raised, hee thought it not fit presently to march vntill that they were better practised and trained. Which being done, calling vpon the Lord for aide, he entred into his enemies countries. This his iourney was so much bruited and obserued by all the nations of the world, as there was no man but had an especiall eye thereto.

Heraclius *made his sonne* Constantine, Cæsar.

Heraclius *in Asia.*

COSROES K. of *Persia*, being well informed, how valiant & good a captain HERACLIVS was & how resolute an armie he led, resolued not to giue him battel, but retired himselfe within his countrie, and made all the victualls to bee withdrawne and carried away, and the trees to bee cut downe, and laid athwart the waies where hee supposed the Emperor would passe. And on the other side, hee sent an huge armie of very expert old souldiers, vnder the leading of a captaine called SAVARAGVS, or SALVARVS (for in these names the authors euer vary) to the end that hee should charge the Emperor; either on the flanke or on the backe, who with great resolution and in good order marched against King COSROES; and by the way recouered and wonne many cities. But holding it for no assured course to leaue so great an armie behinde him, hee tooke another way, and fought out SARAVAGVS; and hauing passed the great mountaine *Taurus*, the two armies approched the one neere the other, not far from a riuer: before which time there passed many conflicts and other accidents between them, which I cannot possibly set down at large. The conclusion therof was, that they came to blowes: and as the Persians of long time had been victorious, and made small account of the Romans (I alwaies call those Romanes which were of the Emperors armie: for although that the seate of the Empire was in *Grecia*, yet the Emperors euer tooke a glory to bee called Romane Emperours, and their armies, the Romane armies) and as the Imperialists holding themselues for disgraced and dishoneſt, had a great desire to bee reuenged (the presence and great valor of the Emperor being a great helpe thereto) both the one and the other fought with so great courage and obstinacie, as the battaile continued long, and was very cruell. And although that in the beginning it was very doubtfull, yet in the end the Emperour obtained the victorie, and made great slaughter of his enemies. With this victorie the Imperialists were so much incouraged, as they abandoned the feare, which vntill then had possessed them; and the Emperor was wonderfull ioyfull to see himselfe victorious. And forasmuch as winter drew on, he purposed to retire himselfe, being loden with exceeding rich spoiles, and many prisoners; intending to returne the next spring with greater force, which was in the eleuenth yeere of his raigne.

A battaile betweene the Romans and the Persians, with the successe.

But on the contrarie side, COSROES was very sorrie, and much grieued; and imputing the fault to his Generall, deposed him from his charge, purposing to haue caused him to be slaine, and made another Generall, called SAIN, or SATHIN, a very valiant man and of great account: and gathering together the remainder of the last Armie, he commanded him to raise one

one farre greater; and that he should follow the warre with a greater resolution and vehemencie. The Emperour who had not shaken off all care that was needfull, although he would willingly haue accepted of peace, conditionally that he might haue had that restor'd which was taken from him (which he attempted, but could not obtaine) after that he had made his accustomed praiers to God, courageously returned to the warres. And as this SAIN desired to excell his predecessor SARAVAGVS, and to recouer what he had lost, without delaying of time, he went to meete the Emperor, and desiring to come to a battaile with him, he drew his Armie neere vnto his; which wanted neither force nor courage to fight.

The next day in the morning (seeing themselues so neere together) they began to set their people in order: but their troupes of either side were so great, as they spent almost one whole day. Whereupon they took truce, vntill the next day, to auoide fighting by night: so resolute was either partie, and so they slept in the same place, and in the same order as they were set. The next morning by sunne rising, the one Armie began to moue toward the other; and there began one of the most bloudie and cruell Battailes that had been seene, which continued most part of the day without any signe of aduantage or victorie of either side, fighting at equall hand: but by that time the Persians had so oppressed the Romanes, as they began to shew their weaknes, and the Emperour was in feare to haue been ouerthrowne: but it pleased God miraculously to relieue him, for suddenly fell so much raine and haile, with so terrible winde and tempest, beating vpon the backes of the Romanes, and in the faces of the Persians, which did so much trouble them and put them out of order, that in a very short space they were broken and ouerthrowne, and turning their backes ranne away. The Emperour HERACLIVS remained with the victorie, maister of the field, when he had slaine thirtie thousand of his enemies in the battaile; although with no small losse of his owne people; hauing obtained two so great and notable victories against the Infidels. The Emperour sent to make all this knowne in *Constantinople*, in *Italy*, and in all the other prouinces of the Empire; for which euery where was made great ioy: and in the meane while he himselfe was not idle; but reinforcing his Armie, and encouraging his people, he recouered a great part of *Syria*, and *Mesopotamia*, which he had lost; part in his owne person, and part by his Captaines, and he still followed his victorie, vntill that the great waters, by reason of the winter staied him and forced him to returne, and to winter that yeere in the prouince of *Albania*. COSROES King of *Persia*, as he was a mightie prince, and his dominion great, so the losse of these two battailes, was not such as to bereaue him of meanes againe to make head against his enemie: for gathering together his whole forces, he leuied men of warre, and issuing his treasure, raised a greater and a more mightie Armie, then any of the former; and made a prudent and resolute Captaine called RAZATENES Generall thereof: who being very valiant, was not afraid to draw neere to the way, where he knew the Emperor was to passe the nex spring.

A truce for one night betweene the Persians and the Romanes.

A miraculous victorie.

Finally, after many skirmishes and effusion of much blood, and such like casualties of the warre, HERACLIVS putting his whole trust in God, sought to come to a battaile, which the Persian refused not; so as with equall mindes, and in a manner, with equall force and Armies, two squadrons first began the fight in the morning, and afterwards others, and in the end all, and this battaile continued vntill about sun-set: wherein the Imperialists in power and courage surpassing the Persians, constrained them to turne their backes, and to yeeld themselues for ouerthrowne. And RAZATENES as a good Captaine, failing in no part of his office, died fighting, for that he would not liue being ouercome; after that many thousands of men were slaine and wounded of the one side and the other. In these three great battailes, and in many other of lesse account, it is written, that the Emperor himselfe in person, shewed great valour, especially in this last, where he slew with his owne hand, three men of great esteeme which he encountred in sundrie places of the battaile, besides others which hee slew and wounded of lesse account.

The Persians the third time ouerthrowne by the Emperour and their generall slaine fighting.

By meanes of this victorie, HERACLIVS grew so powerfull, and COSROES so weake, and his forces were so much diminished, that daring no longer to defend that which hee had vsurped in *Armenia*, and *Mesopotamia*, he abandoned the same; and passing ouer the riuer *Tigris* fled into *Persia*: HERACLIVS also passed that riuer, and ouerranne the countrie burning and spoiling great cities. In this manner conquering the kingdomes of COSROES, and COSROES not so hardie as to defend the same, but by flight hiding himselfe; for his refuge and defence in his life time he made his second sonne whose name was MEDARSES, against all equitie and reason, equall with himselfe in his kingdome; for he had an elder sonne, a man of

Cosroes abandoning what hee had vsurped fled into Persia.

greater spirit, and of more discretion, called SIROES; and (as it often happeneth to the wicked) by the same meanes whereby he thought to haue defended his kingdome, he lost it, together with his life: for his eldest sonne took this iniurie done to him by his father in so ill part, as he practised to bereaue him both of life and kingdome. To which purpose he began by Letters and secret messengers, to treate with the Emperour, entreating his fauour, and to bee at peace with him: in requitall whereof, when he should be established in the kingdome, hee promised to yeeld vnto him what he should require, if it were in his power. In conclusion, briefly to set down the Composition, they agreed vpon these conditions: That hee should resigne to the Emperour all those lands and countries which his father and predecessors had vsurped in the prouinces of *Asia*, and all that which they had gotten by conquest in *Africa*, and all the treasure of his fathers royall house. And that he should resigne the two inuincible fortresses, which the Persians held in the principall passages of the riuer *Tigris*, with the crosse, and the Patriarch which they brought from *Ierusalem*, and that hee should bee a perpetuall friend and allie to the Emperour.

Cosroes made his second son equall with him in his kingdome, whereby he lost the sonne together with his life.

This league being concluded, SIROES was so magnanimous, and therewith so well beloued, as within few daies, with the aid and fauour of HERACLIVS, and such forces as hee sent him, he gat both his father and his brother into his power, whom hee caused to be slaine; and throughly performed al that which he had agreed vpon with HERACLIVS; and so enioyed the kingdome in peace, although of lesse power then his father was. And HERACLVS returned, leauing all the prouinces of the Empire restored and furnished, and all the passages of the riuer *Tigris* fortified, the most ioyfull and honoured Prince that then liued in the world. Being come to *Ierusalem*, he sent his Captaines into *Africa*, which he wholly recouered, and reduced the same to a quiet gouernement. This was in the sixt yeere after that he began the warre in his owne person, and the sixteenth and seuenteenth of his raigne; although in these computations there be euer some difference betweene authors. When he came to *Ierusalem*, hee restored ZACHARIAS the Patriarch thereof, and the crosse which had been fourteene yeeres in the power of COSROES, and came into the citie bearing the same vpon his shoulders, with the greatest ioy, feasting and solemnitie that could be made: and this restitution of the crosse was so highly esteemed, as it was afterwards solemnized euery yeer vpon the fourteenth day of September, which is called the exaltation of the crosse.

Heraclius restored the crosse to Ierusalem. The exaltation of the crosse.

In those daies the false Prophet MAHOMET, the deceiuer and seducer of the greatest part of the world, with his illusions and tromperies, in the countrie of *Arabia* drew many to his sect, and grew a mightie tyrant; whom HERACLIVS might then easily haue defeated: but making small account of him, he contented himselfe with the taking of a certaine people from him called Sarazins, which falsely boasted themselues to be descended from SARA, ABRAHAMS wife; who were also called Scenites, and liued in the fields, as the Arabians doe at this day: and giuing them pay, the Emperour sent them into other prouinces, which at that time seemed to haue been a sufficient redresse. Hauing taken order for his affaires in those quarters, he returned to *Constantinople*, whither hee came with the greatest triumph that could be made. Herein is some difference: for some authors write, that before his going to *Ierusalem* he returned to *Constantinople*: but it importeth not whether were the first; but in the end the Emperour came to repose himselfe in *Constantinople*, with very great honour and reputation amongst his subiects, and was by all other Kings and Princes at that time much beloued and feared.

The succesſe of the false Prophet Mahomet.

The Emperor Heraclius came victorious and triumphant to Constantinople.

In *Italie* all was in peace with the Lombards in those daies, ODOALDVS raigning with his mother THEVDOLINDA; and she dying, the subiects making no account of him, for that he was a very childe, denied him their obedience, and chose ARIOLDVS, who was of the bloud royal: and he maintained the peace with the Empire in as ample manner as did ODOALDVS and THEVDOLINDA. HERACLIVS hauing so good succesſe in all things, as aforesaid, prosperitie (as ordinarily it worketh in many men) made him proud and careleſſe, forgetting God, and those workes and exercises of pietie whereby he had attained to that prosperitie. For in steede of prayer and contemplation, he gaue himselfe to pleasure, to augurie, southsaying and diuination, prognosticating things to come, by superstitious and vnlawfull Arts and meanes; and from one to another fell into hereſies: for being seduced by two wicked Prelates, the one called PIRRHVS, Patriarch of *Alexandria*, and the other a Bishop called CIRVS, he came to beleeue that there was a will onely in Christ, and so consequently hee denyed the two natures, diuine and humane. Neither could the admonitions and Letters of Pope HONORIVS auaile to diſſwade him from that hereſie, who banished PIRRHVS into *Africa*. It pleased

Heraclius became an heretike.

pleased God to permit, in his secret & incomprehensible judgement, that MAHOMET began so to prosper and preuail in his proceedings, that HERACLIVS began to stand in fear of him, of whom in former time he made small account: for, he had daily news, that he leuied men of warre, which came vnto him as well out of *Arabia*, as out of *Persia*; some deluded through his allurements and suggestions; others, to enioy the great liberty which hee gaue them to rob and steal: for, these were the miracles wherewith in the beginning he planted his diueliſh sect. And it followed that the Sarazins, which we said HERACLIVS had gotten from him, by reason of the Emperors ill pay and entertainment, mutined, and went to MAHOMET into *Arabia*. So as he went out of *Arabia felix*, where he first gathered head; and, making himself Lord of the three *Arabiæ*, went into *Egypt*, and afterwards into *Syria*, and into *Mesopotamia*; and had so good succesſe, that with those Sarazins, and such other forces as he could get, hee resolued to make himself King of *Persia*. Whereto, this was a great help; for as much as that Kingdome was much wasted and weakned, as well by ciuill diſſension, as through the great slaughter made therein by HERACLIVS: and besides this, the Inhabitants of meer lightnes reuolted to MAHOMET.

Mahomet his succesſe.

There raigned at that time in *Persia* a great man whose name was HORMISDA, allied to the fore-passed Kings: for, SIROES (who was HERACLIVS friend) raigned but one yeer in that Kingdome; and after him his sonne ADHESSER likewise but a yeer. By the death of which two, HORMISDA attained to the Kingdome; but not in peace, nor without great tumults and contradictions.

At that time MAHOMET marched towards *Persia* with his Sarazins, and much other people; against whom came HORMISDA: and they two fought a very great battell; wherein HORMISDA was ouerthrowne and slain. Yet some write, that MAHOMET was first ouerthrowne. This onely battell, and the illusion and deceit of his sect and superstitious religion, brought all *Asia* vnder his obedience, together with all *Africa*, *Babylon*, and all the other Prouinces subiect to the mighty Kings of *Persia*. And he wholly subuerted that Empire; so as from that time forwards it had not any title of a Kingdome: but all those Nations lost their names, and from thenceforth were called Sarazins and Mahometists, after their false Prophet and Leader; whereas in truth they ought to haue bin called Agarenes, Ismaelites: for, MAHOMET descended from ABRAHAM, by AGAR a bond-woman, and his son ISMAEL.

The originall of the Sarazins & their succesſe.

The Emperor, vnderstanding of these victories, applied not himself to resist the course thereof with such magnanimity as he ought to haue done, notwithstanding that he knew he returned into *Syria* and *Palestina*, with a resolution to take *Ierusalem*: but hee sent thither onely to fetch from thence the Crosse of CHRIST, and to bring it to *Constantinople*: from whence afterwards in processe of time it was brought to *Rome*. MAHOMET then came, and took many great Cities in *Syria*, wherein he found small resistance; and, among them, the City of *Ierusalem*, publishing himself euery where to be the Prophet of God. Yet some write, that *Ierusalem* was not taken by MAHOMET; but, by his Succesſors, after his death: but it imports not greatly whether it were taken by him or others.

Within fewe daies after these victories, MAHOMET deceased, being of the age of two and fortie yeers: but, leauing disciples of his wickednes, his sect and superstition died not, nor took any end; but continueth vntill this day, and will continue vntill it shall please God for his mercies sake to cure this contagion. For, his Succesſor remained, a great Arabian Captain called CALIPHA: and him others succeeded, who conquered *Africa*, and other Countries; as in the processe of this Hiſtory shall be expressed.

The death of Mahomet.

Calipha, Mahomets succesſor.

While these things passed in the East; in *Italy*, notwithstanding that there was peace with the Lombards, as it is often seen that forrain peace breeds ciuill warre; so MAVRICE CARTVLARIVS, who was President of *Rome*, making small account of the Emperor, or of his Exarch ISANCIVS, rebelling made himself a Tyrant. Against whom, ISANCIVS came from *Rauenna*, and after many aduentures apprehended him, with many other his confederates; and, carrying him to *Rome*, smote off his head: and shortly after this, ISANCIVS died. And the Emperor HERACLIVS sent a Noble-man, cald THEODORE GALLIOPA, to be Gouerner of *Italy*. But none of all these things could moue the minde of HERACLIVS to leuie any Armie against the Sarazins; he gaue himself so much to his pleasure and licentious liuing, marrying in his old age with his brothers daughter, who was a yong damsell, called MARTINA: and so it pleased God that vpon a time he was taken with the dropsie; whereof hee died suddenly, when he had raigned thirty yeers, in the yeer of our Lord 641. Others say, that hee died

The death of Heraclius.

died of a diſeaſe called *Priapiſmus*, a ſtrange ſickneſs, and ſuch as with modeſty cannot be expreſſed. He left behinde him two ſonnes, and one daughter, which hee had by his firſt wife. His daughters name was EPIPHANIA: one of his ſons was called HERACLIVS; the other, CONSTANTINE, whom he made CÆSAR, when he went to the wars in the Eaſt againſt the Perſians. By his ſecond wife he had one ſonne, a childe of ten yeers ould, called HERACLIVS alſo. And ſo ended this Emperor: of whom it may be ſaid, that two Emperors might well haue been made; one very good, and the other paſſing ill, conſidering the contrariety in his actions.

At what time the Emperor HERACLIVS died, the Empire of the Eaſt was much decaied; for, all the Prouinces of *Syria*, *Meſopotamia*, *Egypt* and *Arabia*, were in the power of the Infidels. In *Italy*, THEODORE GALLIOPA was Gouerner: and in *Lombardie*, through the death of ARIOLDVS, ROTARIVS was King. The Slauons poſſeſſed *Illyricum*: and the Hunnes and Bauarians held *Hungarie*, *Bauiere*, and *Auſtria*. In *Spain* raigned the Gothes: and the French proſpered in *France*; and in *Germany* ſundry other Princes. So as the Empire contained *Thracia*, the Prouinces of *Gracia*, the Iles of *Sicilia* and *Sardinia* and the greateſt part of *Italie* in *Europe*; and in *Aſia*, *Armenia*, *Aſia* the leſſe, *Cilicia*, *Pamphilia*, *Galacia*, *Bythinia*, *Cappadocia*, and other Prouinces, with all *Africa*: which I haue ſet down of purpoſe, to the end the Reader may the better vnderſtand what ſhall be ſaid heerafter.

THE LIFE OF CONSTANTINE THE THIRD OF THAT NAME, AND THREESCORE AND FIFT ROMAN Emperor; And of his Brother HERACLIANVS.

(**)

641

IN the Hiſtory of the liues of the two ſonnes of the Emperor HERACLIVS, PAVLVS DIACONVS and BEDA ſeem to diſſent from other Hiſtoriographers; firſt placing the Empire of HERACLIANVS, who was yonger than CONSTANTINE, and ſonne of his ſecond wife MARTINA: but I follow the opinion of other authors. The Emperor HERACLIVS beeing dead and buried, there was no open contradiction that might hinder his eldeſt ſon, born of his firſt wife EVDOXIA, who died in childe-bed of this CONSTANTINE (which CONSTANTINE had a yong man to his ſonne, called CONSTANS) from obtaining the Empire; aſwell for that he was made CÆSAR in his fathers time, as alſo for that in right he ought to haue it, being his fathers eldeſt ſonne, and of full age; and alſo for the hope which they conceiued that he would proue a good Prince. He was then preſently accepted and crowned with great joy and ſolemnity; but to the great diſcontentment and grief of his

his mother in law MARTINA; whoſe wickednes did ſo ſhorten the raigne of her ſonne in law, as there can be no worthie action written of him, that hee either did, or that paſſed in his time; ſauing that he gaue good ſignes and ſhewes of a good Emperor, and began to be beloued by his ſubiectes; which encreaſed the hatred of that miſchieuous woman his ſtepdame; and he repoſing his truſt in hir, ſhe gaue him poiſon in his meate, whereof he died in the fourth moneth of his raigne: and they alſo ſay, that it was done by the direction and counſell of PETER the hereticall Patriarch of *Conſtantinople*. The Emperor CONSTANTINE being thus wickedly made away; the murthereſſe MARTINA, with ſuch fauour and aide as ſhe procured, made her ſonne HERACLIANVS Emperour, brother to him whom ſhe had poiſoned, being of the age of eleuen yeeres; and ſhe took vpon her the gouernment: but this villany could not long continue, for the Nobility deteſting ſo deteſtable a fact, roſe againſt MARTINA and her ſon, when he had raigned ſcarcely two yeeres: in which time I finde not any thing written to haue been done of importance; and therefore I cannot diuine ought, ſauing that in this yeere the Sarazins took the city of *Ceſaria*, which they had beſieged the ſpace of ſeuen yeeres; and therein ſlew ſeuen thouſand ſouldiers of the Empire. The Senate and Nobility ioyning with CONSTANS, ſon of the deceaſed CONSTANTINE, and Nephew of the Emperor HERACLIVS, made him Emperor; apprehending MARTINA and her ſonne HERACLIANVS: and ſo ended the vnluckie and vnfortunate raigne of thoſe two brothers, which ſcarcely merit to be accounted amongſt the Emperors. When as the mother and ſonne were apprehended, the mother had her tongue cut out, and the ſonne his noſe cut off, and both were exiled into the prouince of *Cappadocia* in *Aſia* the leſſe. Alſo PIRRHVS the Patriarch which came from baniſhment out of *Africa*, and came to intrude himſelfe into theſe counſels, died likewiſe, as an hereticall Wolfe clad in ſhepheards rayment; and in his place was choſen PAVL, who in the end proued like to his predeceſſor. Which befell in the yeere of our Lord ſix hundred fortie fower.

The Emperor Conſtantine the third put ſo-ned by his ſtep-mother Martina.

Heraclianus ſucceeded his brother Conſtantine in the Empire.

Heraclianus and his mother Martina were throwne out of the Empire, he hauing firſt his noſe cut off and her tongue.

THE LIFE OF CONSTANS, THE SECOND OF THAT NAME, AND THREESCORE AND SIXT Romane Emperor.

(**)



THE making of CONSTANS Emperour (whom ſome call CONSTANTINE) by the Senate of *Conſtantinople* (which we may call Romane;) and the death of his vncle HERACLIANVS, of whom we now left writing, was all at one inſtant: and the great wickedneſſe vſed by MARTINA in poiſoning his father, made the raigne of the ſonne more firme and aſſured. But CONSTANS proued not ſuch a one as they hoped, and as indeed was needfull for the preſent eſtate of the Empire; for he was infected with the Arrian Hereſie: and concerning the affaires of the Eaſt, he contented himſelf to make head againſt MAHOMET'S ſucceſſors, by placing garriſons in the paſſages of *Cilicia*, to keep them from entring into *Aſia* the leſſe; and ſo they remained Lords of thoſe prouinces which they had gotten in the Eaſt. Pope THEODORE vnderſtanding that PAVL the new Patriarch of *Conſtantinople* held

6 24

Conſtans by ſome called Conſtantine.

held some erronious opinions of the Christian faith, wrote vnto him certaine louing monitory Letters, perswading him to amendment, and to conforme himselfe to the truth. But when hee perceiued his labour to be in vaine, he proceeded otherwise against him, and depriuing him of his dignitie, he commanded him to be banished: but the new Emperor would not permit it, but rather shewed himselfe to be of the same opinion; which made a generall confusion euery where; for the head being sicke, the rest of the members ill execute their office.

In *Constantinople* and in *Grecia*, the catholike Christians were much afflicted with the new heritickes; for that the Emperor took their part; and in *Asia*, they held warres with the Mahometicall Sarazins. In *Italy*, although there were peace with the Lombards, through the good gouernment of the Exarch THEODORVS, and the care and endeuour of the Pope, yet the diuell after his accustomed manner sowed tares among the good seede; which was, that by the meanes of some of his disciples, he perswaded ROTHARIVS King of the Lombards to leane to the opinion of his ancestors, which was the Arrian heresie; and the more earnest the catholike Christians were in resisting the same, with so much the greater obstinacie he placed in euery citie an Arrian Bishop, where before had been catholike Bishops. Pope MARTIN who succeeded Pope THEODORE, against the new heresie held by the Emperour and some prelates in the East, assembled a councell of one hundred and fiue Bishops; wherein they which held those opinions, were condemned and proclaimed heretikes, and he depriued the said Patriarch and sundry Bishops of their prelacies and dignities: wherewith the Emperor CONSTANS was highly offended, and did that which hereafter shall be declared. On the other side, the Pope by all meanes sought a reformation in the Lombards, which hee could not effect during the life of ROTHARIVS; for he made warre against the Imperialists, after they had liued many yeeres together in peace: which warre was very resolutely begun with great preparation, by ROTHARIVS of his part, and by the Exarch THEODORE of the other side. The Exarch comming from *Rauenna* drew his forces to an head in the citie of *Bologna*; for now the cities of *Italy* by reason of their long peace and rest, were growne rich and populous; and ROTHARIVS leuied no lesse an Armie in the citie of *Parma*; and the one taking his way against the other, they came to ioyneneere the citie of *Modena*: where (as SIGIBERTVS and PAVLVS DIACONVS doe report) after some encounters and skirmishes, they fought a very cruell battaile; wherein the Romanes were ouerthrowne, and seauen thousand of them slaine; and the Exarch THEODORE escaped by flight.

A counsell held in the time of Pope Martin.

Warres betweene the Lombards and Imperialists.

The victorie of the Lombards.

ROTHARIVS hauing obtained this victory, came to the coast of *Genoa*; and assaulted and tooke many Cities, which vntill then he could not doe, and so marched victorious, vntill that THEODORE the Exarch gathering together those which were scattered, leuied a new Army; wherewith he entertained the enemy, and victualled his frontier Garrisons. The Emperor CONSTANS vnderstanding hereof, tooke no care to relieue his Exarch, but being very much offended with Pope MARTIN, he put THEODORE out of the gouernment of *Italie*; and in his place sent another called OLIMPIVS (as very an Hereticke as himselfe) giuing him direction, to seeke to bring all the Bishops in *Italie* to hold of his opinion; and if that he could not bring it to passe, that then he should vse his best meanes to get the Pope into his hands, or to kill him. With which commission and resolution being arriued in *Italie*, he departed from *Rauenna*, and tooke his way towards *Rome*, vnder colour to goe visit the Pope; accompanied with many Souldiers and men of warre; first procuring an agreement and truce with the Lombards. Being come to *Rome* he sought how to apprehend the Pope, but being vnable to effect the same, he agreed with a desperate bold Souldier to kill him, vvhich tooke no effect.

During the time that these things passed in *Italie*, the Infidels (MAHOMETS successors) were growen so mighty, as they now contented not themselues with *Egypt*, and those prouinces which they held in the East; but preparing a great Fleet in *Alexandria* in *Egypt*, they inuaded the Ile of *Rhodes*, and took it, and afterwards other Ilands in those Seas; and from thence came spoiling and robbing through all the Leuant Seas, euen to the Ile of *Sicilia*, wherein they took some townes vpon the coast; and landing their Armie, there burnt and spoiled the countrie in the maine land: whereof when OLIMPIVS the gouernour or Exarch of *Italy* was aduertised, within whose gouernment *Sicilia* was contained; comming first to an agreement with the Pope, he took his way towards *Naples*; whither he had commanded to be brought, the greatest number of men and ships that could be gotten from all parts of *Italy*: and finding himselfe sufficiently furnished, he went to seeke his enemies, resolute and in very good order: and they vnderstan-

Spoile made by the Sarazins.

derstanding of his coming, assembled themselues, with resolution to fight with him; which he refused not: And so, when as the two Nauies came within sight one of the other, they set themselues in order; and each Generall animated and encouraged his people, and the fight began with great furie, and was maintained with such resolution, as many thousands of men of the one and other side were slaine. Notwithstanding, in the end the victorie seemed to encline to the Imperialists; yet before they could obtaine it, they had lost so many men and ships, that although the Exarch might haue driuen the enemies out of the Iland, and haue recouered what was lost; yet he was so beaten and distressed, as it seemed not that he had ouercome. And (as Historians affirme) he endured so great toyle, and was so tired in the battaile before and after it, as he fell so extremely sicke, that within few daies he died.

The death of the Exarch Olimpius.

The Emperor CONSTANS vnderstanding of this victorie; Being then in great care and suspence, forgetting to amend his leud life, to leaue his hereticall opinion, and to giue God thanks for this victorie, he grew very proud, resoluing againe to procure the destruction of the Pope: and to that end gaue the charge of the gouernment againe to THEODORE, from whom he had taken the same. In the end he sent THEODORE into *Italy*, with a secret charge, to doe that which he afterwards performed, and I will discouer: and for his consort and companion therein, another aduenturous fellow whose name was PAVLVS PELLARIVS. In this time died ROTARIVS King of the Lombards; and another called RODOALDVS succeeded him; who shortly after falling in loue with a great mans wife, and being taken with her; was slaine by her husband; and ARRIOPERTVS succeeded him. All which obserued the peace with the Empire. And the new Exarch THEODORE comming into *Italy*, and with him his friend and companion, was very well entertained afterwards in *Rome*: for from the first time of his being there, the people were well content with his gouernment. Remaining certaine daies in *Rome* with his people, and concealing his purpose, he went one day to the palace, as though he had gone to visit the Pope; and seising thereon, apprehended him, and deliuered him to his associate PYVL: who presently departed with him towards *Rauenna*, and speedily took the Sea and went to *Constantinople*, where the Emperor held him for certaine daies prisoner, and then banished him to *Cherson* in *Pontus*, which was in the confines of the Empire; where he afterwards died, when he had been Bishop of *Rome* six yeeres. A little before this, died the king of the Lombards ARRIOPERTVS, who (as I said) succeeded RODOALDVS.

Theodore sent into Italy.

The death of Rotaris king of the Lombards, whom Rodoaldus succeeded.

Pope Martin apprehended and sent to Constantinople.

Pope Martine died in exile.

This ARRIOPERTVS left behinde him two sonnes, which were but young, the one called PERTHERITVS, and the other GVNDIBERTVS; betweene which (each desiring to be absolute) there grew dissension and discord: and GVNDIBERTVS which was the younger rose with *Milan*; the elder brother which ought to haue been King, remaining in *Pauia*, then the head of that kingdome. When this came to the knowledge of one GRIMOALDVS, a great Captaine of the Lombards, Duke and Gouernour of *Beneuent*, and other townes; he leauing his son ROMOALDVS with a good garrison therein, came to the citie of *Pauia*; which he entred by force, and drawe out the young King PERTHERITVS, and took such order in all the rest, as the two brethren were driuen to abandon their countrie; and he remained in their place a mightie King.

The death of Arriopertus king of the Lombards.

Grimoaldus made king of the Lombards.

The Emperor CONSTANS in *Constantinople*, surmizing that by meanes of the wars which the Lombards made amongst themselues, he comming with any great power might driue them out of *Italy*; this his desire hee resolued to put in execution, and to that effect made his sonne CONSTANTINE his companion in the Empire; that he might remaine in *Constantinople*. And so preparing a great fleete by Sea, and a great Armie by land; he came into *Italy* to the citie of *Tarentum*; where landing his men, he marched therewith to ioyne with the ordinarie companies which THEODORE commanded. GRIMOALDVS the tyrant King of the Lombards (more like a wise and prouident Prince, then one that was any way fearefull or a coward) had by that time leuied al the power that he was able to make, both to defend himself and to offend his enemie. After many aduentures in this warre, the Emperour went to besiege RIMOALDVS the sonne of GRIMOALDVS in *Beneuent*, and did put him and the citie to great distresse: shewing himselfe very valiant; he published that he came to restore *Italy* to her former libertie, and that he would againe make *Rome* the seate of the Empire; alleaging that it was greater reason to honour the mother, then the daughter. Whether this were fained, or in earnest, I know not; but I am sure the Kings soonne being besieged, sent to his father for aide, who (as I said) was not careless thereof, but daily increased his forces, that hee might bee able to fight with the Emperor. But he staying longer then RIMOALDVS would (for so was the son called) he

The Emperor Constans made his sonne Constantine his companion in the Empire.

The Emperor Constans in Italy.

he wrote certain pitiful Letters to his father, by one who was husband to her which had nurſed him at her breaſt: whom the father, meeting vpon the way, ſent back again to certifie his ſonne of what he had ſeen, and to tell him that he came to viſit him. This man, ſeeking to gette into the City, was apprehended by the Emperors ſouldiers: and beeing brought into his preſence, and examined, and his reports found conformable to that wherof he was otherwiſe aduertiſed, the Emperor being in great fear, reſolued not to abide his coming; deſiring firſt to do ſome notable exploit, whereby he thought to haue taken the City; but it hapned contrary to his expectation: which I haue thought good to relate for an example to others which are ſeruants and vaſſals to Kings and Princes; which was thus:

CONSTANS, promiſing great matters to his Nurſe, requeſted him to go to the wals; and that, calling the beſiged Prince, he ſhould aduiſe and counſell him to giue vp the City, for that his father was not able to relieue him. And heerwitnall he threatned the Nurſe, that if hee did not ſo, hee would preſently cauſe him to bee ſlain. The Nurſe, ſeeing that there was no other way left for him to encourage the Beſieged, faining a deſire to ſatisfie the Emperor, promiſed to perform his command. Whereupon the Emperor, the next night following, commanded him to be brought neer to the wall, with a guard which held him faſt bound: and hee, coming thither, called aloud to thoſe within, willing them to call ROMOALDVS to him, for that there was a man which much loued him, deſired to ſpeak with him. ROMOALDVS, as ſoon as he was aduertiſed heerof, came to the wals, and with a loud voice asked who would ſpeak with him. His Nurſe, knowing him well by his ſpeech, and hee him alſo, anſwered: It is the Nurſe which bringeth you an anſwer from your father; who willeth you to be of good cheer: for, this day he arriueth at the Riuer *Satrico*, and within theſe three daies will bee heer with an infinite Army. I can ſay no more: for, I am in the enemies hands, who already begin to murder me: I recommend vnto thee my wife and children.

The loyalty of a Nurſe.

Hauing ſaid theſe words, thoſe which were within the City were therewith greatly encouraged: and thoſe without were ſo much deſpited, that they preſently ſlue him, by the Emperors commandement: who, not daring to ſtay any longer (to his great ſhame and diſhonor) raiſed his ſiege from before *Beneuent*, and took his way with his Army towards *Naples*. GRIMOALDVS, being comn with a very great Army, ſent an excellent Captain cald VITOLA, with the beſt and moſt choice men of the Army to purſue the Emperor: and hee, marching a great paſe, ouertook him at the paſſage of a riuer called *Caloro*. The Emperor, being already paſſed with the greateſt part of his Army, VITOLA charged his arieregard: and there beganne a fierce battell; wherein the Emperors people (for that they could not be ſeconded by reaſon of the riuer) were ouerthrowne, and the moſt part of them ſlain: and ſo the Emperor was driuen to retire to *Naples* both with loſſe and diſhonour.

Being to depart from *Naples* to *Rome*, he commanded a Captain of his whoſe name was SABVRVS, born in *Naples*, that he with twenty thouſand choſen men ſhould ſtay behind to guard that City and Prouince: who more hardy than wiſe (the Emperor being gone) with the Army aforeſaid drew ſo neer to the Lombards, that the Kings ſonne, ROMOALDVS, deſiring his father to giue him leaue, came with his forces to fight with him; in ſuch ſort, that with equall deſire of both the Captains the two Armies joyned, with Enſignes diſplaied: and, after great ſlaughter of men of the one and other ſide, the Lombards obtained the victory, and following the chace ſlue SABVRVS the Generall, and many of his men. The Emperuor with all his troops was ſolemnly receiued into *Rome*, as well by VITILIANVS who then was Pope, as by the Citizens and Inhabitants thereof; but he continued there but twelue daies: and when hee had viſited the whole City; not as an Emperor and their Lord, but rather like an enemie, hee commanded to be carried out of the City all the beſt ſtatues of Marble and Metall, of moſt excellent and curious workmanſhip, and much gold and ſiluer, and other rare things: all which being brought aboord his Ships and Gallies, he commanded them preſently to depart; and he himſelf went from *Rome* to *Naples*, without making any prouiſion againſt the Lombards: by reaſon whereof, they became mightier than before.

The victory of the Lombards.

The Emperor came to *Naples*, purpoſing to paſſe ouer into *Sicilia*: and, being paſt with much people, he went to the City of *Syracuſa*, now called *Sarragoſſa*, hauing (to no purpoſe) all his Army together in Arms, as though hee had meant to haue done ſome great exploit; ſo as men greatly ſuſpected it, and were of ſundry opinions. But he did it to no other end, than, vnder colour to repair the harms which he had receiued, with exceſſiue greedineſſe to gather the rents and ſeruices of all the Prouinces of the Empire; and to impoſe new taxes and tolls in *Africa*, in *Italy*,

Italy, in the Iles of *Sardinia* and *Sicilia*, and in all the reſt of his dominions: which as it vſually happeneth vnto all Princes which doe ſo without iuſt cauſe or reaſon, he grew to be extremely hated through all the Empire; and was afterwards the cauſe of his death. He remaining thus in the Ile of *Sicilia*, continually feaſting and banketting, neuer leauing to require loanes and impreſts, and to lay new impoſitions vpon the people, raunſoming and pilling them through out all the Iland, and in *Africa* and *Italy* in like manner; and being hated of all men, the Sicilians aduentured vpon a day (he being in a bath) to kill him; by the direction and commandement of a Captaine of his called MEZENCIVS, or as others write, MEZENCIVS and MAGVENCIVS, a bold audacious fellow and well beloued, more for the conſtitution of his body (which was very comely, tall, and well proportioned) than for his valour or nobilitie.

Conſtans ſlain by the Sicilians in a Bath.

This happened in the ſeauen and twentith yeere of his raigne, and in the yeere of our Lord, ſix hundred ſixtie and eight. CONSTANS left behinde him three ſons; CONSTANTINE who remained in *Conſtantinople*, for CAESAR and gouernor, HERACLIVS and TIBERIVS. About this time in *Italy* dyed King GRIMOALDVS, whom we but now ſaid to haue made warres with the Emperor; and he being dead, thither came out of *France*, whither before hee had fled for refuge, PARTHARIS, or PARTHERITVS King ARRIOPERTVS ſonne, whom GRIMOALDVS had throwne out of *Pauia*, and depriued of his eſtate, as we haue alreadie related.

THE LIFE OF CONSTANTINE THE FOVRTH OF THAT NAME, AND THREESCORE AND SEVENTH ROMANE EMPEROVR.

(***)



THE Emperour CONSTANS (as I haue ſayd) was ſlaine in *Sarragoſſa* in *Sicilia*: and as ſoone as he was dead, MEZENCIVS who cauſed him to be ſlain, or (after ſome) whom he himſelfe ſlue; with the fauour of thoſe which aſſiſted him in that action, tooke vpon him the title of Emperour, and for the preſent, all the reſt of the people of *Sicilia* approued and confirmed the ſame; more for the deſire of innouations which are euer pleaſing, than for any good liking they had to his perſon. Whereof the Emperors ſon CONSTANTINE was ſoone aduertiſed, who then remained in *Conſtantinople*, and held the name of Emperour, and had done ſo euer ſince his father departed thence; and was therwith ſo much perplexed & in ſuch feare, conſidering the ſtrangeneſſe of the accident, as he for the time not onely had not the heart to doe ought in reuenge of his fathers death, but was alſo in feare to haue loſt the name of Emperor, which he then held; and therewithall ſcarcely durſt maintaine what he poſſeſſed in *Gracia*. The like in a manner befell THEODORE the Exarch or gouernor of *Italy*: for notwithſtanding that hee had a good troope of ſouldiers, well trained, and of good experience; yet he durſt not ſeeme to bee greatly grieued for the death of his ſoueraigne LORD, neither to attempt ought againſt MEZENCIVS. The cauſe was for that

Mezencius made Emperor.

all the people greatly reioyced at his death; for he was generally hated for his couetousnesse.

In this confusion all things passed for some daies; all men expecting the successe of the new tyrant; not daring to declare themselues either for the one or other partie; for he had with him many good men of warre. But as his entrie was by treason, and grounded vpon an ill foundation; and in him were neither the vertues nor merites requisit in an Emperor; the Captaines and men of warre began to murmur as what hee had done, and to wish his death; which was speedily published, and it gaue all men occasion to take heart, and to seeke reuenge for the treason and murther committed vpon the person of the dead Emperor CONSTANS. The first were the Italians; and so THEODORE the Exarch began to stirre, leuying and mustering forces, therewith to passe into *Sicilia*, as he did; and the companies which were in the prouinces of *Africa* did the like; whereto the peace with the Sarazins and other nations, was a great helpe; for it seemeth, that CONSTANS being in *Sicilia* so accompanied with men of warre, they durst not make warre against him. These great forces comming into *Sicilia* against MEZENCIVS, and he being slenderly supported by his owne people, was in short space taken and slaine; and many of his friends which were with him, were taken and carried prisoners to *Constantinople*, to the young Emperor CONSTANTINE; who presently after this victorie began euery where to bee obeied and held for Emperor, and tooke vpon him the resolution and courage of a Prince. Some also write that he went into *Sicilia*. And notwithstanding that afterwards hee prooued a good and vertuous Emperour; yet in his beginning he committed a most cruell fact, which was; to put to death his younger brothers, thereby to liue assured that they should not seeke to depriue him of the Empire: and some also write that he caused the toppes of their noses to be cut off: but the truth is, that he commanded them to be slaine; and so he became Lord of the whole Empire, without any difficultie.

Mezencius slaine.

Constantine made Emperor.

But the Sarazins, Mahometists, and PHADALAS or SOPHIAS their King, seeing this combustion, and the fit oportunitie to inuade the Empire, by reason of the before recited accidents in *Sicilia*, and also for that it seemed that CONSTANTINE was not yet firmely settled in his throne; they as closely and couertly as might be rigged a mightie nauie at *Alexandria* in *Egypt*; with a resolution to inuade *Thracia*, and *Grecia*: and if the dissension happened which they expected, then to take those prouinces: but afterwards as matters proued better in *Constantinople* then was hoped for; they altered their determination, and inuaded *Sicilia*, which was lest ill prouided of men of war: and they came with such force and power, as they entered the cities of *Sarragossa*, and some other towns; where robbing and spoiling, they continued certaine daies: and it seeming to them an hard matter to hold those places, carrying away with them an infinit number of prisoners and great richesse of gold, siluer, and other iewels; they returned to *Alexandria*.

The Sarazins made warre in Sicilia.

In the Constantinopolitane Commentaries I find this warre written more at large; where it is affirmed, that they first made warre on the borders of *Thracia* and *Grecia*, the space of many dayes, and tooke many places; and that in the end being repelled thence by the Emperor, they went to *Sicilia*, so writeth ZONARAS: but after the first manner, writeth PAVLVS DIACONVS, an Author neere to that time, and afterwards others of lesse antiquity. I sometimes set downe the sundry opinions of Authors (although it shall not beneedfull alwayes to doe so;) to satisfie the curious Readers, that they may not condemne my History, finding therein any thing contrary or differing from that they shall read in some others. But although that I doe not alwayes thus, let them rest assured that I follow an Author, which writeth it as I relate it; for in the diuersity of opinions, I follow that which seemeth to bee most true and probable, weighing all coniectures: and when I cannot or desire not to doe so, I briefly set downe both opinions; as now I haue done. That which to mee seemeth to be the most certaine, is, that they first inuaded *Sicilia*, and did as I haue related; and afterwards raysing greater power through their successe and victory, there ensued that which these Authours set downe, which is, that they a long time made warre on the Coast of *Gracia*, and the confines of *Constantinople*; where they tooke many places; out of which by the diligence and valour of the Emperour, they were driuen by force: this warre lasted full sixe yeeres.

Victory of the christians against the Sarazins.

All authors affirme that CONSTANTINE herewith not contented, sent a great Armie by land against the Mahometicke Sarazins, into the prouince of *Soria*, which is the auntient *Syria*, which fought with all their whole power, and the Christians obtained the victorie; and of the infidels were slaine thirty thousand. And they were brought to such distresse, as their Prince or King, whose name was MAVIAS, sent to intreate the Emperor for peace, offering very profitable and honourable conditions; and thereby bound himselfe to pay yeerely to the Emperor, a great number of pounds or markes of golde; and for the present, to release many thousand prisoners, which he held captiues: whereupon the peace was graunted and confirmed by CONSANTINE, to ease himselfe of that trouble; that he might apply himselfe to the reformation of some other matters concerning the Christian faith; for hee was concerning what hee ought to beleeue, a very good Christian. This was concluded in the tenth yeere of his raigne.

Mauias King of the Sarazins sought to the Emperor Constantine for peace.

But there presently ensued another trouble and a warre equall to the former; which was; that a certaine people of the prouinces of *Scithia* (the fountaine of many others before mentioned) called Bulgarians; not those which I heretofore spake of, but others, of the same name and nation, came downe into *Thracia*, being in number aboue one hundred thousand persons; and they began to make warre in the Empire, with a desire to take some good countrie, wherein they might dwell and inhabit, as many other nations before them had done. For the Northren countries are barren and ill inhabited; yet by reason of the cold, men multiplie and encrease in them exceedingly; as we daily see by experience, and PAVLVS DIACONVS noteth the same. The furie wherewith this people came, was so great, as they did infinite harme; and they made themselues Lords of some especiall countries; which being made knowne to the Emperor (in whom there wanted not the courage of a valiant Prince) he raised his forces, and in his owne person went to defend his subiects; and the war for some daies was very sharpe and cruell; and the Bulgarians sought to fight with him in the plaine field: which he (presuming much of his people) as a valiant Prince, refused not; so as they sought with banners displaied, which battaile was exceeding terrible. But it seemeth that through some his ill direction, or the great force of his aduersaries, the Emperour was ouerthrowne, and many of his people slaine, and he himselfe was constrained to vse the common remedy of those which are ouercome, which is to flie, by that meane to escape and to saue his life. And as in the battaile he had done what he was able; so afterwards gathering his people together, he retired with great good order and discretion. But it pleased God that at what time, as it seemed, and when it was feared, that the Bulgarians would haue brought the Empire into great distresse, meerely of their owne accord they sent to the Emperor, and suing for peace desired him to giue them some place where they might inhabit, and they would become his friends, yea and his subiects: whereto he gaue eare (*considering his present estate,*) *with a very good will. And so treating of the matter for a certaine* space, the prouince of the lower *Misia* was assigned vnto them, and was (after their name) called *Bulgaria*: wherein they haue quietly and peaceably inhabited, vntill that of late yeeres they were subdued and conquered by the Turkes; a new scourge and plague to the Christians, after MAHOMET.

Warres betweene the Emperor and the Bulgarians.

A battaile betweene Constantine and the Bulgarians, wherein he was ouerthrowne and put to flight.

The Bulgarians sue to Constantine for peace.

The province of Seruia giuen to the Bulgarians, and therefore called Bulgaria.

While these things passed in *Sicilia*, in *Grecia*, and in *Asia*, which was during the space of tenne yeeres; in *Italy* although there were peace betweene the Lombards and Italians, yet there failed not other miseries and persecutions: And there happened so great and so many tempests and alterations in the air, as it seemed that the foure elements had conspired against mankinde: for the windes were so furious and violent, as they ouerthrew many buildings, and rent vp many trees by the rootes: and the raine likewise was so great and tempestuous, as it destroyed all their tillage, as well for bread-corne as all other kind of hearbs and seedes: And therewith fell an infinite number of thunderbolts, and fires from heauen, which slew a great number of people: and the earth with these so great alterations became so corrupt, as there ensued many contagious diseases. Wherfore the people repenting them of their sinnes, made their prayers and supplications to God, that it would please him to cease these so great calamities: but yet the reliques thereof remained a long time after.

Wonderfull alteration of the elements in Italy.

At this time died Pope DEODATVS, and by reason of his death the seate was voide foure moneths: making a new election in *Rome*, DONVS onely so called, was chosen Pope, who was held for a Saint, and liued two yeeres and a halfe (as saith PLATINA). In his time THEODORE Archbishop of *Rauenna* wholly submitted himselfe to the Church of *Rome*, whereas some of his predecessors, with the fauor of the Exarchs or gouernors had before him denied the same. Others (amongst which is BLONDVS) affirme, that this hapned in the time of his successor AGATHVS, who liued two yeers & a half: in which time, although but short, he treated with the Emperor concerning a general councel to be held, principally against the heresy of the Monothelites, which was dispersed ouer all the Churches of *Grecia*, which confounded the

A Councell held in Constantinople.

two Natures in CHRIST, Humane and Diuine; affirming that in him was but a will only. And so for this time the Greeke Church remained vnited with the Latine: but it pleased GOD afterwards to suffer it to come (as wee now see) into the power and subiection of Infidels.

In this Councell were many other matters handled concerning the reformation of the Church and the Ceremonies thereof; and this was the sixt of those Councels vvhich for their excellencies were so renowned and famous, and among the rest called Vniuersall. Great was the reputation which the Emperour CONSTANTINE purchased to haue celebrated this Councell in his time, and to haue finished so holy a worke. Within few dayes after, Pope AGATHVS dyed, by whose authority it had been called; and LEO the second borne in *Sicilie* succeeded him, who was worthily aduanced, being learned, eloquent and of a holy life: he ordained the Paxe to be giuen in the Church, which is obserued in the Church of *Rome* vntill this day. He being dead, BENEDICT the second succeeded him: with whose election the Emperour was so well pleased, as after he had confirmed the same, he renounced the right and custome which the Emperors held to confirme the election of Popes; to the end that from thenceforth, as soone as by the Clergy they were chosen, they might vse their authority, without any need of the Emperors confirmation, or of their Exarchs or gouernours, as of long time they had vsed.

CONSTANTINE liuing in this prosperity, had peace with the Sarazins; and the Prouinces of *Africa*, and the Ile of *Sicilia* were in quiet, and so was *Italie*: for the Lombards being at variance and dissension among themselues, very firmely maintained the peace with the Empire: and the estates of *Græcia* with the territorie of *Constantinople*, were all in very quiet subiection. But this good forme and manner of gouernment, was disturbed by the Emperours death, which shortly after ensued, when hee had raigned seuenteene yeeres, and had protected and defended the Empire which he inherited, with iustice and equity, reforming exsours in the Christian Religion, as aforesayd. And thus it was, that falling grieuously sicke in *Constantinople*, and the incurableness of his disease being in short space bruited abroad through the World (as vsually it happeneth) in some parts his death vvas published before that hee was dead: vvhereof GIZET King of the Sarazins, vvhom they called AMVRATES, beeing aduertised, and beleeuing the same to bee true, with all haste leuied a very great Army both by Sea and Land, which hee forth-with sent from *Egypt*, and conquered all the coast of *Africa* to *Carthage*: wherein, by reason of the Emperours death, hee found no sufficient resistance.

Warres made by Gizet King of the Sarazins.

The warres of *Africa* proceeding in this manner, the Emperour dyed before hee was able to prouide for the same, as hee would haue done if hee had liued. Hee departed out of this World in the yeere of our Lord, fixe hundred fourescore and sixe; his wiues name was ANASTASIA, by whom hee had lawfull Heires; of which IVSTINIAN and IVSTIN succeeded him in the Empire; as presently shall be declared.

The death of the Emperor Constantine.

THE

THE LIFE OF IVSTINIAN, THE SECOND OF THAT NAME, AND THREESCORE AND EIGHT ROMANE EMPEROVR.

(***)

THE ARGVMENT.

THis Emperor attained to the dignitie being very young: in the beginning of his raigne he made warres against the Turkes, and constrained them to sue for peace: which for that he maintained not, it so hapned that losing a battaile in the second war, he was driuen to sue for peace: and returning home with disgrace was deposed from his Empire, hauing his nose and his eares cut off: and in his place Leoncius, *a captaine of his was made Emperour. Afterwards another of his Captaines, whose name was* Tiberius, *rose against* Leoncius, *and deposed him from the Empire, and condemned him to perpetuall imprisonment, with a determination to haue put him to death with greater torment. Which* Tiberius, *was likewise driuen out of the Empire by* Iustinian: *who with the aide of his father in law the King of Bauaria, returned and reconcred the Empire; whereinvsing extreme crueltie against the fauourites of* Tiberius *and* Leoncius: *finally moouing warres against the Bulgarians, wherein he had but little good successe, he was compelled to returne home, to his great shame and dishonour. And beginning to stand in feare of one* Philippicus, *whom* Tiberius *had banished, and seeking meanes to kill him;* Philippicus *rebelled against him, and being made Emperor came to a battaile, wherein both* Iustinian *and his sonne* Tiberius *miserably ended their tragedie, represented in this scene of the world with such varietie of fortune, as neuer any other Emperour was so much tossed and turmoiled as hee was: and hee gouerned the Empire at both times six and twentie yeeres.*

A rule in Rhetorike.

IT is a rule in Rhetorike, obserued by great Orators, in the beginning of what they purpose to treate of, whether in writing, or pleading; to procure the attention, and willing audience of their hearers, or readers: which is principally done when they extol or magnifie that which they haue to say; letting them know that it shall be very pleasing or profitable: for with a desire to know some great matter, or moued with the greedinesse of profit, or allured with the hope of the delight and contentment which is promised; they attentiuely heare, or willingly reade what is proponed: yet the author must alwaies be carefull to performe what he doth promise, and that in his speech he come not short of the expectation held of him.

Comming now to write the life of the Emperour IVSTINIAN the second, sonne to the Emperour CONSTANTINE the fourth; with an imagination to bee found true in what I shall say, and that he which shall reade the same shall not be deceiued, I entreate the reader to be attentiue. And although I tell not wonders and marueilous things happened in the heauens and on earth: yet truly he which with attention shall reade the historie of fifteene yeeres succeeding, shall see a pleasant and strange Comedie, which Fortune, or (to say better) the world represented in those times. The principall and chiefe parts whereof, we may say, were acted in the

Iustinian his life.

person of IVSTINIAN; who sometimes as an Emperour, and sometimes as a priuate man, came vpon the stage: I may very well say so, seeing that hee was twice chosen and obeyed, and twice also vtterly depriued and bereaued of his Empire: so as it seemed hee went in and out, making a shew vpon the theatre of the world: and with him other two or three Emperors or tyrants, which were in his time: as LEONCIVS, TIBERIVS, and PHILIPPICVS: which like actors in a tragedy did nothing but put off and on their maskes: for sometimes you should see them come in with a nose, and sometimes noseless: sometimes by force, and sometime by fauour; the one supplanting the other. Finally, I say that in my opinion, this historie seemeth to be like an old wiues tale, or a fained fable, only to depaint some strange aduentures, or great misfortunes, it being for certaine a most true history: from which may be drawne a notable example of of the inconstancie and vncertainty of the estate of this life, and lightly to account thereof; and to the end that men leaue to toyle and to take such care for the obtaining of riches and soueraignitie; and that they grow not proud when they haue attayned the same, neither be greeued or dismaied when they lose them, but alwaies account them for doubtfull, without any firme continuance: considering what perill and daunger they vndergoe in getting them, and how little assurance they haue to enioy them.

Comming now to our historie, it passed thus: After the death of the Emperor CONSTANTINE, as he held the Empire in good order and gouernment in his life time; so his sonne IVSTINIAN after his decease found no difficultie, but was gladly receiued and obeyed of al men: and notwithstanding that he was very young, being but sixteene yeeres old, yet he began peaceably to gouerne his Empire; sauing that in *Africa* in the time of his fathers sicknes, and after his decease, the Sarazins became Lords of a great part thereof.

In the beginning of his raigne hee commanded great forces to be leuied, for the defence and recouerie of *Africa*; and as to a new Prince, so many and so good men of warre made repaire vnto him, as the Sarazins stood in feare of him. Wherefore VALDVLA their King and Captaine which succeeded GIZITES (the authors differ much in these names) sent to him for peace: and for as much as he offered very large conditions, IVSTINIAN graunted the same for ten yeeres. The first of which was, that he should restore all that which hee held in *Africa*; which was the Citie of *Carthage*, and all that which lieth betweene that and *Egypt*, neere vnto the Sea side, besides other contributions of money and horses, which were to bee paid vnto him yeerely: and this peace being confirmed, there was generally peace through the whole Empire, without any suspicion of warre: yea and some Historians report, that there was an vniuersall peace through all the world: so as neither the Kings of *France*, *Spaine*, nor *England*; neither the Princes of *Germany*, or the Kings of the Bauarians, of *Slauonia*, of *Misia*, of *Bulgaria*, neither the Hunnes which inhabited *Hungarie*, among themselues had any warres, or were at contention with any others: The like was in the estates and Prouinces of the East. Which peace and concord IVSTINIAN through pride and euill counsell disturbed, by warring contrary to his promise and agreement made with the Sarazins which hee began very resolutely with great preparation: and after that he had sent LEONCIVS for his Generall, he went in person and did much harme, and recouered some Countries in *Soria*, and entred *Mesopotamia*; where the Sarazins reinforcing their troupes, and repairing their Armies, gathered together an infinite number of them, and came to giue him battaile: which the yong Emperor refused not; but yet after great slaughter of his people he was ouercome, and driuen to flie, and to abandon what he had recouered, being brought to such extremitie, as he was forced to sue and entreat them for peace: which after many treaties and demands was concluded, & the Sarazins for that time remained in quiet. In this time died THEODOR Exarch or Gouernor of *Italie*, and in his place was sent another prime man called IOHN, and Pope CONON aforesayd also dyed: after much controuersie about the election of a new Bishop, for an Archbishop called THEODORE, and another called PASCAL, sought to haue been Popes, and with money had bribed the Exarch IOHN, to assist them with his voice and fauour; the matter being likely to haue come to blowes, they all agreed to chuse one whose name was SERGIVS, borne in the Citie of *Antioch* in *Syria*, who was chosen and obeyed for Pope: yet afterwards there were some tumults about that matter, which concern me not.

Iustinian contrary to his league, made warres against the Sarazines, and what ensued,

In those daies died CYMPERTVS, who then was King of the Lombards, and there succeeded a sonne of his called LIMPERTVS, of whom we haue not made any mention, for that they liued in peace with the Italians and the Emperors subiects. The Emperor IVSTINIAN being returned out of *Asia* to *Constantinople*, with great losse and disgrace for the warre aforesaid

said; repairing his losses received, and making new prouision with little discretion and worse direction, resolued to begin the war againe: wherein he had no better successe then in the former: And this was against the Bulgarians which inhabited *Misia*, with whom his father had made a perpetuall league of amity; and IVSTINIAN (as a light inconstant young man) breaking the conditions, entred their Country with a great Armie, with such power and fury, as neither the Bulgarians, nor their King durst take the field to give him battaile; but retired, and abandoning many places, fortified themselues in the strongest; which so much emboldened the Emperour, as he prosecuted this warre with lesse heede and circumspection, then so important a case required: which when the Bulgarians perceiued, recouering courage, they assembled a multitude of men: & cutting off all victuals from the Emperors Army, & stopping the passages of certaine riuers, they brought him to such extremitie, that although he would retire, he found so great danger and difficultie therein, as he was compelled to sue to them for peace, against whom, of his owne minde, voluntarily and without reason he had made warre; which they granted, vpon condition that he should restore to them all the prisoner, and the Townes and other things which hee had taken: And that hee should personally sweare, well and faithfully to maintaine the same, as well by himselfe as by all his Princes and chiefe Captaines.

Warre made by Constantine against the Bulgarians.

Constantine sued to the Bulgarians for peace.

IVSTINIAN returning from this iourney, with no more honour then from the first, caused a new Councell to be assembled in *Constantinople*, to disannull that which in the former had been determined, concerning certaine points in religion: The Pope being herewith discontented, sent his Legates to hold his place there, and to see what the Councell would treate of: wherein by the Emperors authoritie there were some things handled against the resolution of the last Councell: wherof the Pope being advertised, he reproued and disannulled what was there concluded; and confirmed the last Councell, and sent commandement to dissolue the present. Wherewith the Emperor was so highly displeased, as hee presently sent ZACHARIAS the Commander Generall of all his men of warre, to *Rome*, with commission to apprehend the Pope, and to send him to *Constantinople*.

The Pope began to contend with the Emperor.

Pope Sergius disannulled the Councell assembled by the Emperor, Constantine.

ZACHARIE being arrived in *Italy* about this exploite, notwithstanding that he dissembled the matter, yet was it soone discouered, and SERGIVS had so wonne the hearts of the people, that all the companies which lay in *Rauenna*, and the marches therof, and in other parts of *Italie*, came with all speede to *Rome*, with intent to haue slaine ZACHARIE, and to haue released the Pope, whom ZACHARIE had already seized on. When ZACHARIE vnderstood with what furie these men of warre came against him, despayring of any other remedie, he yeelded himselfe to the Popes mercie, whom he then held prisoner: And the Pope pardoning the offence, protected him, and hid him in his Palace; then sitting in his Throne, holding a great state, he attended the comming of the Armie which came from *Rauenna*, together with the Roman people: who very earnestly desiring him to deliuer ZACHARIE into their hands, he made an Oration vnto them, perswading them to moderate their displeasure, seeing that he had pardoned the offence: whereto they all consented, and ZACHARIE, being brought into his presence, had leaue to depart, although with much shame and disgrace. And the Pope so cunningly handled the matter, that he brought the Emperour into such hatred, and made him so odious to the people, as their whole studie was how to depose him from the Empire: and as they were all willing thereto, the effect easily ensued.

IVSTINIAN hauing represented (as I said) the first act of the Tragedie, a great Captaine called LEONCIVS before mentioned, whom he had of long time held prisoner, resolued to rebell against him: and hauing secretly conferred of the matter with GALLICANVS the Patriarch of *Constantinople*, and with his other friends; vpon a day hee suddenly came from his house, accompanied with many armed-men; and gathering men together against the Emperor, he went to the Prisons, and set all the prisoners at libertie; and the people very willingly accompanying him, he went to the Emperours palace, where he easily apprehended him: And proclaiming himselfe Emperour, depriued the other of his Empire; and he was crowned with great ioy of the people, which euer delighteth in nouelties, but chiefly with the change of Princes, and great Magistrates; for the present estate doth never please them, they euer commend that which is past, and still desire a new.

Leoncius rebelled against the Emperor.

LEONCIVS was crowned, and IVSTINIAN had his eares and his nose cut off, and some say his tongue also, to make him seeme vgly and the more to be abhorred; and having brought him to this estate, he banished him for euer, to the Citie of *Chersona* in *Pontus*, the further-

Leoncius made Emperor.

thermoſt bounds of the Empire. Which befell him in the tenth yeer of his raigne, and in the yeere of our Lord GOD 696, yet ſome ſay more; where let vs leaue him for ſome ſpace, whileſt that LEONCIVS may in the meane time act his part of the Tragedy which we promiſed.

The great hatred which the people bare againſt the Emperour IVSTINIAN, was the chiefe occaſion that moued the Tyrant LEONCIVS to rebell and take vpon him the name and ſtate of Emperor: for IVSTINIAN was brought into ſuch hatred with the people, that they would haue accepted of any man that had dared to attempt to haue made himſelfe Emperor; and much ſooner of LEONCIVS, who was a valiant and expert man of warre, and had held great charges and offices. In the beginning all things ſucceeded according to his deſire; for IVSTINIAN had neither the heart nor meanes, during his baniſhment, to reſtore himſelfe; neither was there found any reſiſtance or contradiction in any other man in the Empire: and ſo LEONCIVS began to enioy his Empire in peace. But the Sarazins or Agarenes and HADIMILECH their King, who already had a reſolution to ſubuert and wholly to ruine the Empire; ſeeing the diſſenſion therein, and not holding the ſtate of LEONCIVS firme, with a great and mightie Armie from *Egypt* (as at other times they had done) they inuaded the Prouinces of *Africa*, and took many Cities and ſtrong holds therein: againſt whom LEONCIVS, with no ſmall feare and care, ſent a ſingular Captaine called IOHN; but he gaue him no ſuch Army as he might be able to giue his enemies battaile; by reaſon whereof, he was conſtrained by policie and ſtratagems, to maintaine the warres; ſo as he defended the Countrie for ſome time, daily ſoliciting the Emperor, to ſend him ſuch ſupplie of ſouldiers, as therewith he might be able to fight with them: and ſeeing that neither by Letters nor meſſengers he could obtaine his ſuite; vpon a time when he thought his abſence might be leaſt prejudiciall; leauing his Army in the beſt order he could, and a very good Captaine called TIBERIVS ABSIMARVS for commander in his place; he tooke his way towards *Conſtantinople*, to conferre with LEONCIVS about the ſending of ſome better ſupplie for the warres of *Africa*, and comming ſuddenly thither, he found not that prouiſion which he expected and was neceſſarie; and therefore was driuen to ſtay longer then was expedient; for the Emperor buſying himſelfe about other matters of ſmall moment, tooke leaſt care for thoſe things which were of greateſt importance.

The Sarazins inuade Africa.

The Army in *Africa* ſeeing his long abſence, began to murmur againſt their Captaine, for ſo leauing them; and likewiſe againſt the Emperor LEONCIVS: and from murmuring in ſpeeches, they became ſo audacious, as to perſwade TIBERIVS ABSIMARVS, (who was left for their commander, to make himſelfe Emperor; and he was preſently created and obeyed by the whole Armie. And as ambition and deſire to command is a thing which chiefly inflameth the hearts of men; ſo TIBERIVS to his owne ruine, accepted that which they offered him; as hereafter this Hiſtorie ſhall make manifeſt. But as he was neither careleſſe nor a coward; ſo he ſpeedily, when he had taken vpon him the title of Emperor, reſolued to get the poſſeſſion and gouernement thereof; and preparing with the greateſt haſte that might be to take the Emperor LEONCIVS vnprouided, he departed from *Africa*, abandoning the ſame to the Infidels, which was the cauſe that afterwards it was wholly loſt: and he with a very good fleet brought his people to the coaſt of *Grecia*; where, with the aid and fauour of his friends and kinred which were on Land, he took harborough, and came to *Conſtantinople*, wherein LEONCIVS had fortified himſelf, thinking to defend the ſame: whereupon they came to blowes, without any juſt cauſe of either ſide; for, hee which came to depriue the Tyrant, did it to the end to bee ſo himſelf: but in the end he preuailed, and TIBERIVS entred by force, and became Lord both of the City and of LEONCIVS; although not without much trouble, and ſlaughter of many men. And vpon LEONCIVS he commanded the ſame puniſhment to bee inflicted which he had giuen to IVSTINIAN; which was, To haue his noſe and ears cut off; and to be committed to perpetuall impriſonment; with an intent to haue ſhewed him greater cruelty; LEONCIVS hauing raigned theree yeeres only: which was about the yeere of our Lord ſix hundred ninety and nine. After this manner LEONCIVS left the Theatre, and TIBERIVS played his part, during the time that LEONCIVS was in priſon, and IVSTINIAN baniſhed; and vntill ſuch time as IVSTINIAN returned to the ſtage, which was as ſoone as TIBERIVS had acted his part.

Abſimarus *created Emperor.*

The loſſe of Africa.

Leoncius *depoſed by Tiberius.*

Leoncius *had his noſe & eares cut off.*

In ſuch manner as I haue declared, TIBERIVS tyrannized the Empire, and as it may be coniectured by Hiſtories, had continued long, if he could haue beene contented, and not haue attempted

attempted more than was fit for him to haue done; ſo as he himſelf wrought his owne confuſion. The firſt thing he did after that he was Lord and abſolute, was, To command many of LEONCIVS his friends to bee either ſlain or deſpoiled of their goods; as Fauorites of a Tyrant. And truely he had reaſon on his ſide, if he had had authority to haue inflicted ſuch puniſhment, and had not himſelf been guilty of the ſame crime, and been a Traitor and a Tyrant to him to whom he had ſworn fidelity, as to his Emperor; and alſo to the Commander who left him in his place; puniſhing the treaſon wherein he himſelf had been a partaker, and had approued the ſame. And this his holy zeal extended it ſelf ſo farre, that a great familiar friend of his whoſe name was PHILIPPICVS, and who had greatly aided him in his enterpriſe, and to bring him to that eſtate, onely for ſaying that vpon a night in his ſleep he dreamt that an Eagle alighted vpon his head (imagining that to prognoſticate him to be an Emperor) he was by his commandement apprehended and baniſhed into an Iland, where hee could haue no conference or ſociety with any body; notwithſtanding that hee was a Noble Gentleman, and of high parentage: from whence he afterwards ſent him to the City of *Cherſona*, whither the depoſed Emperor IVSTINIAN was alſo baniſhed. We will tell you heerafter what hapned to this PHILIPPICVS: for, he was one of the Actors in this Comedie.

Philippicus *baniſhed for a dream.*

TIBERIVS, hauing executed theſe his cruelties, ſent his brother HERACLIVS with an Armie to aid the Armenians, who in antient time had been ſubject to the Empire, and now rebeld againſt the Infidels; where he won a great battell, and ſlue a great number of them: but it ſeemeth that he did not long enjoy the victory; for, the Infidels in proceſſe of time preuailed, and their Empire greatly encreaſed. In *Italie* alſo there fell diſcord and diſſenſion between the Lombards and Italians, who had liued together a long time in peace. The cauſe whereof was, for that TIBERIVS, through the death or abſence of IOHN the Exarch aboue-named, ſent into *Italie* for Exarch or Gouerner, a Chamberlain of his called THEOPHILATVS; wherewith all *Italie* was much grieued: for, the greateſt part thereof now pretended to bee ſubject to the Pope; or at leaſt hated the gouernment and Empire of the Greeks. THEOPHILATVS came not to *Rauenna* as his Predeceſſors vſed to doo, but landed in *Sicilia*, from thence to come to *Rome*: which when it was publiſhed, all the companies which lay in *Rauenna*, and in other places, came to *Rome*, attending his coming; rather as an enemie, than as their Generall: and ſo being arriued, if IOHN which at that time was Pope had not protected him, hee had been ſlain. But through his fauour he had liberty to depart and go to *Rauenna*, beeing out of hope to do what he had projected; for, in *Rome* they would not obey him. Whereupon he procured the Lombards to make war againſt the Romans, or at leaſt againſt thoſe Cities which the Romans held neereſt to *Rome*; principally *Beneuent*: whereof was Duke and Gouerner a great man cald SISVLPHVS, who was therewith much annoyed: but the Pope repaired all his loſſes with his riches and treaſure; and, buying peace, the eſtate of *Italie* recouered reſt and quiet. But our Lord would not permit TIBERIVS to reſt in peace: for, wexing jealous of the Emperour IVSTINIAN, which earleſſe and noſeleſſe liued an exile in *Cherſona*, or, as ſome ſay, vnderſtanding that IVSTINIAN intended to procure aid to recouer the Empire, whereof hee was diſpoſſeſſed by the Emperor LEONCIVS, hee began to practiſe his death; and to that effect ſent ſome to deal with the Inhabitants of that City.

Theophilatus *Exarch of Italy.*

Tiberius *fought to put Iuſtinian to death.*

IVSTINIAN being aduertiſed hereof, and ſtanding in great feare of his life, in the beſt manner he could, took ſhipping; and ſailing ouer the Sea called *Euxinum* or Ponticum, landed in *Europe*, and came to the King of the Bauarians, who was a very mighty Prince; by whom he was not only well receiued, but was alſo maried to his ſiſter or daughter. And he appointed him an houſe and eſtate, promiſing him all aide and fauour to reſtore him; ſo as there began to be a great alteration throughout all the Empire, ſeeing that IVSTINIAN was now to returne to play his part vpon the Theatre of this world. TIBERIVS being aduertiſed hereof, tooke it to heart (as indeede he had reaſon) and imagining that he ſhould preuaile little by force, he practiſed to ſee whether money would take effect, which commonly can doe more then eyther ſword or launce; and to that effect dealt with CAYANVS (for as I ſaid ſo the Bauarians called their King) to deliuer IVSTINIAN into his hands; for whom he would giue him a great ſum of mony. And this couetous and inconſtant King, greedy thereof, agreed with him vpon the ſumme, and promiſed to accompliſh his deſire: and being ready to haue put it in execution, by chance IVSTINIAN had intelligence thereof; and ſo alone purſued by him which was either his father in law, or his brother in law, he eſcaped by flight. About one yeer after that hee had long wandred, he went to the King of *Bulgaria*, whoſe name was TREBELLIVS; who pittying

Iuſtinian *fled to the King of the Bauarians, with whom he made alliance.*

Tiberius *practiſed with the King of the Bauarians to deliuer* Iuſtinian *into his hands for money.*

Iuſtinian *ſaued by the King of*

pittying his calamitie, gaue him great entertainement; and in short space made so great prouision of men and armes, as he took his way with him towards *Constantinople*; where were many which desired his returne, for the hatred they bare to TIBERIVS. To be briefe, in short time and with little difficultie, although with some effusion of bloud, he came to the Imperiall citie, and entring it by force TIBERIVS fled: but being afterwards ouertaken and brought backe into his power, he committed him to that prison wherein LEONCIVS was, whom hee had deposed and cut off his nose and his eares: and making them both to be first carried through all the publike streetes of the citie, he caused them openly to be slaine, after that TIBERIVS had raigned seauen yeers. Such are the rewards which the world giueth to those, who to beare sway and to commaund, forget God. And so ended these two mightie Emperors, or more properly, proud tyrants. And IVSTINIAN, not content to execute his wrath vpon those two alone, caused TIBERIVS brother to be hanged; and many of the friends to both of them, to be either spoiled or slaine: the Patriarch GALLICANVS, who conspired with LEONCIVS against him, had his eyes pluckt out. And they further report of him, that as often as hee would haue wiped his nose (if he had had it) he caused some of those which had been followers of his enemie LEONCIVS to be slaine. And so the banished Emperor IVSTINIAN recouered his throne and Empire; and returned againe to the theatre, to act the rest of his tragedie, which was nine yeeres after that hee had been cast out of it; in the yeere of our Sauiour IESVS CHRIST 706.

the Bulgarian, by whose aide he returned to Constantinople, and put Leoncius and Tiberius to death.

Iustinian made Tiberius his brother to be hanged.

Iustinian made the Patriarch of Constantinople his eyes to be put out.

Iustinian returned to his Empire.

Presently after that IVSTINIAN saw himself restored and settled in his Empire, hauing executed such cruelties, as the like had seldome bin heard of, vpon those he supposed had offended him; he sent great and rich presents to TREBELLIVS King of *Bulgaria*, who had holpen him to recouer his Empire, with a very solemne and pleasing ambassage: but as it shall hereafter appeare, he continued but a while so, gratefull. He also sent for his wife THEODORA, daughter of CAYANVS King of the Bauarians, from whose Court he fled; who liued in a certaine place absent from her father: for as some write, she aduertised her husband of the treason which her father pretended against him. And she being come, he made her to be honoured as Empresse and Augusta: and his young sonne whom he had by her in the time of his exile, he caused to be chosen and called Emperor. Other matters concerning his gouernment and execution of iustice, were corrupt and out of order: for as the Princes were wicked, so were the subiects; for such as is the head, such are the members: so that so farre as I can coniecture, these were the most miserable and lamentable times, that euer the Christian Common-wealth endured since CHRIST was borne; GOD permitting it for a punishment of the wicked, wherewith the world did then abound; and for the greater reward of those which suffered amongst them: for besides the wars & troubles of the tyrannizing Emperors, there was so little faith and feare of God, that the Church lost then all the prouinces of *Africa*, wherin, in steede of Christ perfect God and man, MAHOMET is adored and worshipt vnto this day, without recouery. Which to relate in such manner as it passed, I neither haue time, neither find I it distinctly written: but that after that TIBERIVS went thence with the name of Emperor, and deposed LEONCIVS from the Empire; the Sarazins seeing the countrie abandoned, came out of *Egypt*, *Arabia*, and other Prouinces of the East, and made a conquest thereof; finding so small resistance, that within the space of foure yeers they became Lords of all the Countries, from *Egypt*, vnto the Prouince of *Mauritania Tingitania*, and to that which now is *Ceuta*, *Tangiar* and *Arzila*; wherfore we call those of *Mauritania*, Mauri or Moores and Arabians, for that they came out of *Arabia*; being 170 yeers after that *Africa* was recouered from the Vandales, and had serued and been subiect to the Empire. And within ten yeers after, with the ioy of their victorie (DON RODRIGO then raigning King in *Spaine*) they being ayded by a traiterous Earle called DON IVLIAN, and others, they came ouer into *Spaine*, and in threee yeers conquered almost all the countrie, slaying in battaile King RODRIGO, and the most part of the Gothes, excepting some few which liued in the Mountaines of *Biscay*, *Galicia* and *Oniedo*: from whence afterwards (although abandoned by the Christian Kings and Princes) they haue by little and little, not without great trouble and effusion of much blood, recouered their countrie: and finally about 100 yeers since, the Infidels were driuen out of all *Spaine* by King FERDINAND and Queen ISABEL. So as if other Christian kings had done their parts as well as the Kings of *Spaine*, it is to be thought that Christendome had not been so much diminished, but had againe recouered what it then lost, and had been restored to that greatnes wherein it was in the time of some antient Emperors. But seeing it is the iudgement of God, we will leaue it to him, and returne

The Infidels conquered Africa.

The conquest of Spaine by the Infidels Moores.

turne to our Historie, which is of the Emperors onely. IVSTINIAN being in *Constantinople*, executing his cruelties against the friends and kinsfolks of TIBERIVS and LEONCIVS, it so hapned that the subiects to the King of *Bulgaria*, which had beene so much his friend, fell at oddes with some of the Emperors subiects of *Thracia*, a prouince of the Empire, wherein standeth *Constantinople*, about parting their bounds: which when he vnderstood (forgetting the benefits receiued) vpon this small occasion he raised an Armie against TREBELLIVS King of *Bulgaria*, and entring his Countrie, ruined many places, and committed great spoiles: wherwith the King, being greatly moued, gathered such forces together as he could, and came to fight with the Emperor; and they two fought a cruell battaile, wherein the Emperor was iustly ouerthrowne, and fled out of the Countrie of the Bulgarians: and so this warre was ended to his dishonor. But as God neuer made any thing without some goodnes; so this Emperor euer respected and reuerenced the Church of *Rome* and the Pope, namely CONSTANTINE who then was Pope, after the two IOHNS, the sixt and the seuenth, which succeeded SERGIVS, who went to *Constantinople* to see the Emperor, and by the way met with IOHN TOZOCOPOS, who came to be Gouernor of *Italy*; and comming to *Rome* would haue taken vp the Church rents and goods, but he was resisted by the Popes ministers; some of which he slew: wherefore he grew so hatefull, as he was driuen to go to *Rauenna*; where for the same cause, or the hatred which they bare against the Exarchs and former gouernors, the people vpon a day mutined, and killed him. The Pope was with great honor receiued by the Emperor, and when they had seene one the other, the Emperor prostrated himselfe vpon the Earth, and so much abased himselfe, as to kisse the Popes foote, with wonderfull shew of obedience: for as it may be gathered by this Princes doings, he was both fearefull and reuengefull, which are vices vsually going together. Hence it sprang, that in his greatest prosperity, he began to stand in feare of PHILIPPICVS, who liued in exile in *Pontus*, by the commandement of the tyrant TIBERIVS; and for no other cause, but for saying that he had dreamt of an Eagle. And IVSTINIAN desired also to be reuenged of the City *Chersona*, alleaging for his reason, that the Citizens had abused him when he lay there in the time of his banishment: wherfore he commanded a great Army to be leuied, and a Nauy to be rigged, to go and ruine that City, and to kill PHILIPPICVS, who liued there merrily and well content with his banishment, if they would haue suffered him to haue been at rest. But it pleased God to order matters in such sort, that what IVSTINIAN did to assure himself in the Empire, was the cause of his ruin, and the losse therof: for PHILIPPICVS vnderstanding that he came against him, and acquainting those of *Chersona* therewith, who also expected their owne destruction, he resolued to take vpon him the name of Emperor, and to die like a souldier fighting. Before which there passed other matters, which I omit: but the conclusion is, that seeing no other remedy, they all consented together, and the Army and Captains, sent by IVSTINIAN against *Chersona*, for taking him reuolted to PHILIPPICVS, who by his surname was called BARDANIVS. And he seeing himself fitted with power for his purpose, insteed of being assailed, resolued now to giue the assault; and therfore in great haste, with a very great power, he went towards *Constantinople*, where IVSTINIAN expected him: for after that he vnderstood what passed, he had raised a new Army; and encamping himselfe about twelue miles from the City, attended the comming of PHILIPPICVS: who as soon as he arriued set himself in order of battell, and IVSTINIAN did the like; and they fought the greatest part of the day very resolutely: but in the end the victory remained with PHILIPPICVS, and IVSTINIAN was ouerthrowne and slaine in the battaile, and together with him his son TIBERIVS, being but a very child, with much people of eyther side. And so ended the cares and Empire of the most vnfortunate Prince IVSTINIAN; seeing that in his time were so many disasters and calamities: whose life and acts were such as I haue shewed you. And if the Reader haue attentiuely obserued what I haue written, I guesse he will not holde me for a lyer, in that which I said in the beginning, that the Historie of his time, for the variety of changes which then hapned, was as a fained Comedie; or to say more properly, a Tragedy, consideringe the beginning and end thereof. Hee died in the yeere of our Lord 712 little more or lesse, and in the 27 yeere after he first began to raigne.

Iustinian made warre vpon the King of Bulgaria, and was ouerthrowne in battaile.

Iustinian and his sonne slaine in a battaile against Philippicus.

THE LIFE OF PHILIPPICVS, ONELY OF THAT NAME, AND THREESCORE AND NINTH ROMAN EMPEROR.

(*)

712

THE Emperor IVSTINIAN being ouerthrowne and slaine, PHILIPPICVS called also BARDANIVS or BARDANES, remained Emperor: of whom there is little to be written, for that he enioyed the Empire so little, and for that the Authors which I follow, make small mention of him. And of that little which we know of him, the first is, that as soone as he came to *Constantinople*, and was there sworne and crowned, he began to hold certaine doubtfull opinions of the Christian faith, aswell concerning the Diuinity of Christ, as some other matters, contrary to the resolution of the sixt generall councell, holding with the Monothelites: and hereupon he assembled certain Bishops in *Constantinople*, banishing CYRVS the Patriarch thereof, and in his *Rome* placing a Monke called IOHN. And therewith not satisfied, he wrote his Letters and sent an Ambassage to the Pope, requiring him to approue his opinions. Which the Pope not onely refused to doe, but for answere, commanded him vpon great curses and excommunications to renounce the opinions which he held: and in *Rome*, in the Cloysters, and the Porches of Saint PETERS Church, he commanded the Conclusions of the sixt generall Councell to be written, to the end that all men might know and beleeue the same. Whereof when the Emperor was aduertised, he presently commaunded that painting and writing to be rased and defaced, and the like to be done to all the crucifixes, images, and pictures of CHRIST, of our Ladie, and of the Saints, which he affirmed were not to be adored, or to be set vp in Churches. But his commandements were little regarded by the Pope, or the Roman people; for by a generall decree they proclaimed him a schismatick and an Heretick: and the Pope further commanded that in their diuine seruice he should not be prayed for, neither should there be any mention made of his name in any publike act or proclamation; which was executed accordingly: by meanes whereof he became odious and hatefull to the people of *Rome*, and generally of all *Italy*, wherein the Empire and gouernement of the Greekes began to be of small authority; by reason of the great power of the Lombards, and the great commaund and Authoritie of the Popes. For as much as the Emperors were contrary to them in some points of Religion, the people abhorred them, and denied to be their subjects: but PHILIPPICVS, notwithstanding the Popes fulminations, would not be diuerted from his determination; wherfore and for some other occasions, certaine principall men secretly conspired against him; the chiefe of which, was one ANTHEMIVS; which succeeded in this manner. The Emperour resting himselfe vpon a Whitsonday euen, after certaine disports on horsebacke, vsed in those times; the conspiratours violently rushing into his lodging apprehended him, and carrying him thence to another place pluckt out his eyes; and leauing him blind and imprisoned, refusing to kill him, they depriued him of his Empire, when he had raigned but one yeere and a halfe: and they aduanced the same ANTHEMIVS to the Empire, and gaue him to name, ANASTASIVS. This happened in the yeere of our Lord, seauen hundred and fourteene.

Cyrus Patriarch of Constantinople banished by Philippicus.

Philippicus excommunicated by the Pope.

Philippicus being deposed, had his eyes put out.

THE

THE LIFE OF ANASTASIVS, THE SECOND OF THAT NAME, AND THREESCORE AND TENTH ROMAN EMPEROR.



714

IF the malice and libertie to sinne in those times had not taken such roote, ANASTASIVS had beene an excellent Emperor, and had well gouerned the Commonwealth; for he was a vertuous and iust man, and of a deepe vnderstanding and iudgement: But by reason of the former gouernement, the wicked were so accustomed to the libertie of ill dooing, as they could not endure to be ruled by any one that should minister and execute iustice. For, as in a body diseased and so full of corrupt Humors, that the naturall vertue is therewith oppressed and ouercome, being vnable to resist the humor, no Physick can preuaile or worke any effect, but is rather loathsome and cast vp againe: euen so it happened to ANASTASIVS, and to THEODOSIVS the third also, who was his successor: for men were then so hardened and nousled in doing ill, and so accustomed to escape without any punishment for the same, as it seemed an hard and intolerable matter for them to endure their good gouernement, for the small time they liued in subjection: as in their places shall appeare.

Anastasius his chiefest care.

As soone as ANASTASIVS was Emperor, of two things he tooke especiall care; the first and principall was for the Christian faith and religion, wherein some of his predecessors had erred: the other was to take order for the defence of the Empire, which he found ill guarded and out of order.

Touching the first, he sent his Letters and Ambassadours to the Pope, whereby he protested to beleeue and to hold that faith which the Church of *Rome* beleeued: and approuing and ratifying the generall Councells, hee commaunded all his subjects to hold and beleeue the same. And as concerning the Empire, knowing that the greatest harme that it receiued was from the Sarazins (MAHOMETS Disciples) who then had conquered all *Africa*; against them only he resolued to employ all his whole force and power, seeing that hee could not obtaine the peace which he had first procured. And thereupon hee speedily leuied Captaines and Souldiers, and made a man of great esteeme (whose name was LEO) Generall of his Armie for the defence of the frontiers against *Soria*, for from thence the Infidels inuaded *Asia* the lesse. And for the Seas, he rigged a very great fleete, and therein shipped

ped his mightie Army with an intent to sayle into *Egypt*, and to make a Conquest thereof, attempting first, the Citie of *Alexandria*. All which being set in order, and sufficient prouision made of all things necessarie, the Emperor being very ioyfull, hoping that some great exploite would haue beene done, the fleete departed from *Constantinople* and sayled to *Alexandria*, where the feare wherewith the inhabitants were striken, was greater than the hurt they receiued. For, the Imperialists, hauing besieged the Citie, through want of certaine necessaries (either in deede or fained) raised their siege, and returned to their shippes, sayled to the Isle of *Rhodes*, and some say to *Phœnicia* in *Asia* the lesse, to make prouision of Engines, and other necessaries, which they said were needefull for the battering of *Alexandria*, and other Townes. Whereof when the Emperor had intelligence he was greatly displeased, and reprehending his Captaines, sent them new prouision of all things necessarie, commaunding them presently to returne to the warre which they had already begunne. But in that age militarie Discipline was as much decayed and corrupted as other Sciences; and as I said in the beginning, The people being accustomed to liue licentiously after their owne fantasie, and being discontented with the gouernement of a good Emperour, the Armie mutined, and agreed among themselues to leaue their enterprise against the Infidels, and to turne head against the Emperour ANASTASIVS. And taking land in *Asia* the lesse, the greatest and chiefest part of the Armie marched ouer land: and imagining, that without an head and leader, the Army could hardly be well gouerned, they made choice of one to be their Emperour, whose name was THEODOSIVS, a man of meane parentage, but yet honest and of good behauior, and well knowne to them all, for he had been treasurer or receiuer of the Exchequer, and of the reuenues of the Empire: Who, for his good conditions, was well beloued of all men, and him they chose and made Emperour against his will.

Theodosius *chosen Emperor.*

In my judgement hee had reason to refuse it: For in truth the estate of the Empire and the faith and obedience borne to the Emperours in those times was such as not onely those which were vnworthy ought not to accept of the Empire, but euen those also which were capeable, and most sufficient and of greatest power, had reason by all waies and means possible to eschue the same.

ANASTASIVS vnderstanding of the Rebellion of his men of warre, and how they had chosen THEODOSIVS for their Emperour, made little account thereof (for hee disdained him for the baseneſse of his birth, and the small experience he had in the warres) neuertheleſse he raised a great power, and went into *Asia* to seeke him: and meeting him neere vnto the Citie of *Nicea*, the principall Citie in *Bythinia*, they fought a battaile, wherein through the secret judgement of God, ANASTASIVS was ouerthowne and taken prisoner, when he had raigned one yeere and three moneths onely; yet some say three yeeres: And the new chosen THEODOSIVS obtayned the victory, together with the Empire; and ANASTASIVS being deposed, remained prisoner and in his power, whom he made a priest. Which after the computation of ABBAS WESPERGENSIS, and of MATHEVV PALMERIVS, was in the yeere of our Lord, seuen hundred and seuenteene; PHILIPPICVS being yet liuing, whom ANASTASIVS had depriued of the Empire; so as he was his companion both in estate and fortune.

Anastasius *taken prisoner by Theodosius.*

It seemeth that in the time of this ANASTASIVS, the Infidels made an end of the conquest of *Spaine*.

THE

THE LIFE OF THEODOSIVS, THE THIRD OF THAT NAME, AND THREESCORE AND ELEVENTH ROMAN EMPEROR.



THEODOSIVS seeing himselfe such as hee neuer thought to haue been (obeyed, and sworne Emperor, without any resistance or contradiction) went to *Constantinople*: and as he was noble in bountie and goodnesse, so he lost no iote of his good conditions, by being aduanced to the greatnesse and height of the Empire, but rather seemed to haue encreased the same. First he would not suffer ANASTASIVS to be put to death, neither to be any way grieued in his person; but onely to be assured of him, he caused him to be made a priest, and gaue him exhibition, wherein he continued vntill the time of the Emperour LEO, when by perswasion of a certaine captaine he sought to haue recouered the Empire: which cost him his life, as hereafter we wil recount, if so it shall be expedient. THEODOSIVS hauing set matters in order for the generall, he particularly commanded the images and pictures which PHILIPPICVS had caused to bee raised and defaced, to be repaired and new made; and in other matters concerning religion, he commanded his subiects to obserue and hold that which the councels had decreed, and the Church of *Rome* maintained, and so made shew of a pleasing Emperor. But fortune neuertheleſse shewed herselfe his enemy; for *Leo* whom his predecessour ANASTASIVS had made Generall for the defence of *Asia* the lesse against the Sarazins, and who yet had not done him any homage; vnder the pretence and colour to restore his master ANASTASIVS, ioyned himself with ARTAMASDVS another captain, which in the confines of *Armenia* commanded the ordinarie garrisons of the Empire, and they both with all their whole power came against THEODOSIVS; and comming to *Nicomedia* they apprehended a son of his which was there, and from thence marching forwards he began to vsurpe the name of Emperor. Against this force and violence wherewith LEO came; THEODOSIVS durst make no resistance; but vpon assurance that hee should not bee put to death, or receiue other wrong in his person, he yeelded himselfe into his hands, and chose to liue a religious life in a Monasterie, and taking the habit remained therein, before that one yeare was expired, after that (against his will) he had been made Emperor: so as now with him there were three Emperors which liued deposed. The first was PHILIPPICVS, whom ANASTASIVS had cast in prison, and had pluckt out his eyes, whose end what it was I finde not written: the second was ANASTASIVS, whom (as I said) this THEODOSIVS made to take religious orders and habit: and now the third was the same THEODOSIVS, who yeelding himselfe to LEO, made choise rather of a religious life than to stand to his defence. Wherein if voluntarily hee did it, or at least endured it with patience, (as is most likely) seeing that he was made Emperour perforce and against his will, truly he was in the right, and chose the better part and left the worse to LEO, which was the Empire: which he most wickedly gouerned, as hereafter shall appeare. This was in the yeere of our Lord seuen hundred and seuenteene.

717

Theodosius *made Anastasius to become a priest.*

Leo *entitled himselfe Emperour.*

Three Emperors liued at one time deposed.

Theodosius *became a Monk.*

THE LIFE OF LEO, THE THIRD OF THAT NAME, AND THREESCORE AND TWELFTH ROMANE EMPEROVR.

(***)



WHilest that these Emperors of a yeeres standing, as Constables of Countrie villages, or (to speake more properly) Tyrants, did striue to subuert one another, they had no care to make head against the Sarazins and Infidels, which daily increased, and grew more mightie, so that Christendome was now despised and oppressed: for besides that which happened in the Empire, which now was of small force in the Kingdomes of *France* and *Germany*, were also warres betweene the French and the Burgonians, and likewise betweene the Frizons and the Sucuians, and betweene the Saxons and the Bauarians, and other Nations too long to be recited in this Historie. At which time CHARLES MARTEL in *France* (through the fame of his noble acts) grew to be very much esteemed, and conquered and subdued some, or the most part of all these said Nations. This CHARLES MARTEL was Pretorian Prefect, or rather High Constable of *France*, which was the highest dignity in that time next to the King; who by reason of the insufficiency of King CHILDERICVS, who afterwards was deposed, and of his owne great valour (although the other had the name) he had the authority of King. And in *Italy* also were some iunouations, so as the Infidels daily more and more preuailed: and hauing conquered the greatest part of all *Spaine*, they extended their power thence into *France*, and tooke *Catalonia*, and afterwards *Narbone*, and besieged *Auignon*; which was within the bounds of the Gothish kings of *Spaine*. But those countries being afterwards recouered by the Kings of *France*, they continued in their subiection. These heathen Princes also conquered the Iles of *Maiorica* and *Minorica*, and other Islands in that Sea, with the Isle of *Sardinia*. Presently after that THEODOSIVS was deposed from his Empire, and that LEO the third of that name, was receiued and established, being vnworthy thereof; ZVLEMON (whom some call after another manner) King and Captaine of the Sarazins, and now Lord of *Asia*, of *Africa*, and of *Spaine*, making small account of LEO, or of the decayed and weakened Empire; resolued with himselfe wholly to subuert the same; And to that effect vsed all the meanes and deuices possible, to leuie men and prouide shipping, to goe or send against the great Citie of *Constantinople*, together with all *Thracia* and *Gracia*. The prouision which he made was so great, that some authors affirme, he had in his fleete three thousand saile of shippes, and an incredible number of men of warre, which he sent vnder the conduct of two Generals, the one called MASGILDVS, and the other SOLIMAN.

The originall of Charles Martell.

Zulemon king of the Sarazins made warre against the Empire.

These Armies came into Europe, and passed the Streight of *Constantinople*, without any resistance: for although that the Emperor LEO had intelligence of their comming, yet was hee not able to raise so great power as might suffice to keepe them from landing. Wherefore hee thought

thought it a better course to defend the City; and so suffred himself to be besieged, rather than to abandon it to the enemies, who made themselues Lords both of Sea and Land, and besieged the City round both by Land and by Sea, for the space of three yeers continually. And notwithstanding that the Besieged valiantly defended it, yet it was thought for certain, that it would haue been lost, if in the Besiegers had been such valour and policie as was to haue been expected in such men: but, through a desire to rob, they dispersed themselues so ouer the land, that they were thereby greatly endamaged, and the City was the lesse distressed, and had the better oportunity to prouide such things as were wanting. And particularly some Captaines with part of this Army, seeing that no man made resistance against them, wandred vp & downe the Countrey ouer all *Thracia*, killing and robbing vntill they came into *Bulgaria*, which in antient time was called the lower *Misia*: for defense whereof, the King of that Countrey sent so good an Army, that he not onely defended his Frontiers, but ouerthrew his enemies, and slue of them (as some Historians haue written) two and thirty thousand. But their power was so great, that all Christendome stood in extreme fear of them, and held the Emperor LEO and all *Gracia* for lost.

Constantinople besieged by the Sarazins.

Bulgaria whilome cald lower Misia.

At that time there was so much ambition and so little charity among Christians, that they could not be induced to giue ouer the warres and priuate contentions among themselues: for, in *Italie* the Lombards inlarged their dominion, and took all such towns as they could get either by force or policy. The Frenchmen and other Princes did the like; and euen their owne Captains and seruants failed them in this extremity: for, SERGIVS, who was Pretor or Gouerner for LEO in *Sicilia*, houlding the Emperor for lost, with the consent of some others chose one GREGORIE for Emperor; and, making him to change his name, they called him TIBERIVS: what end he made I will tell you hereafter. Onely the Bulgarians assisted the Empire: for, in truth they had interest therein, considering the danger that hung ouer their owne heads if the Sarazins preuailed. And the Christians which in *Constantinople* were besieged, made such praiers and supplications, that it seemd the Lord took compassion of them, and protected them: for, no humane power was sufficient to haue resisted so great forces. Which, as Historians affirm, was manifestly a diuine miracle, that in so long time as the siege lasted, the whole Empire had not been lost, comparing the garrison which was within to defend the City, with the multitude and power of those which besieged it: to whom, by Gods appointment, befell so many misfortunes and disasters, that without any mans help they were ruined. First, in the time of the siege died their King ZVLEMON, whom they also called AMVRATH; and about the chusing of a new King they fell at so great variance and dissension among themselues, that they were disordred, and the Besieged greatly recomforted; vntill at the last AMINTHAS HVMAR was chosen, who followed the warre more faintly and retchlesly than before: and there afterwards followed such colde weather, such storms, and so many plagues of famine and pestilence among them, that the greatest part of them died, as well by Land as by Sea. Besides this, there followed so many tempests and violent windes vpon the seas, that in the best and safest harbours their ships were ouerset and cast away; in such sort, that the Infidels were so much diminished and decaid, that the City of *Constantinople* was not only freed and deliuered from that siege, but also fewe of them escaped with their liues from before it: for, of three thousand saile which they brought thither in the beginning, so fewe returned with their people, that it seems to be a matter incredible: and, besides those that were cast away by foul weather at sea, the Historians write, that very many of their ships were burnt by one mans industry. Finally, all that great multitude and number of men and shipping, which seemed to haue been sufficient to haue ouerrun the whole world, and to haue laid the same waste, in little more than two yeers was lost and consumed: and LEO remained the sole absolute Lord of all that which before he possessed; who shewed not himself so thankfull to God for his so great benefits as he ought to haue done. He had also no lesse good hap against TIBERIVS a Tyrant, which rebelled in *Sicilia*, who in short space was brought to confusion: for, the Emperor LEO sending from *Constantinople* the Captain of his horsemen called PAVL, with the title and authority of Gouerner of *Sicilia*, and with Letters to the Captains and souldiers there; PAVL by a stratagem got into the City of *Syracusa*, now called *Sarragossa*: where he shewed his authority to those of the City & of the Army; and they all, knowing that the Emperor whom they held for lost, was aliue and at liberty, obeyed his command; and with such fauour receiued and entertained their new Captain, that they apprehended their new King, and deliuered him into the power of this PAVL, who put him to death: and SERGIVS the Pretor of *Sicilia*, who was the Author and Ori-

Gregory cald and chosen Emperor.

The death of Zulemon, King of the Sarazins. Aminthas Humar chosen king of the Sarazins.

Tempest, famine and pestilence, fell in the armie of the Sarazins by sea and land.

Paul put Gregory to death.

Originall of this rebellion, fled into *Italy* to the Lombards; and so that Iland remained in peace and obedience to the Emperor.

The Emperor LEO being freed from so great distresse and oppression, ought truly to haue applied himselfe to the seruice of God, and to haue rendred thankes for the same, and to haue relieued his poore subiects and vassals, of the losses and harmes by them sustained: but hee to the contrarie, vnder colour to recouer the charges which he had been at, laid new impositions and taxes vpon the people, and tooke order that the Churches should haue been ransacked; against which Pope GREGORIE, to the vttermost of his power, opposed himselfe. By reason whereof (dislike growing betweene them) the Emperour sought to haue made away the Pope, or to haue taken him prisoner; and to that end he sent thither for Gouernour one MARINVS, and afterwards the Exarch PAVL, where there happened many accidents which I omit; vntill that at last the Pope found reliefe where he neuer thought to haue had any, which was in LEVTPRAND King of the Lombards. After this, the Emperor seeming desirous to beat peace with the Pope, requested him to cause the images to be taken from the Altars, and to bee put out of the Churches and temples, in such manner as he had done in *Constantinople*: whereto the Pope making a presumptuous answere, with great authoritie sent his Letters and Buls through all Christendome, excommunicating the Emperour, and commanding the images to be honoured and had in reuerence. The pontificall command of this Pope GREGORIE, was of such authoritie, and the Emperour was thereby brought into such disliking with the people, as most of the cities in *Italy*, and the men of warre in *Rauenna* tooke part with the Pope against him; and there was so great debate and dissension in *Rauenna*, that they slew the Exarch PAVL, and desired the Pope to depose the Emperor LEO, and to chuse another in his place. This dissension gaue occasion and oportunitie to the Lombards (contrarie to the peace) to take the citie of *Bologna*, and many other cities and townes in that quarter. Which the Emperor perceiuing, he desired and practised the Popes death or imprisonment, and to that end sent a new Exarch or gouernour into *Italy*, called EVRISTIVS; who landing at *Naples* (to be neere to *Rome*) endeuoured either by force or policie to execute his commission, writing letters to many his friends in *Rome* and else-where, to that effect: which put the Pope and his friends in great feare and perplexitie, seeing themselues of the one side oppressed by the Emperor, and on the other standing in feare of the Lombards. Wherefore they sought by all meanes to be at peace with them: which LEVTPRAND their King in consideration of his owne aduantage and benefit, granted, and came to *Rome*; hauing occasion to passe by it with an Army against certaine Captaines which rebelled in *Spoleto* and *Beneuent*; so as the Emperors practice was the second time made frustrate, but he had his will in throwing downe and burning all the images: and for as much as the Patriarch GERMANVS would not consent thereto, he deposed him from his prelacie, and placed another in his roome. Matters standing in this estate, Pope GREGORIE died, who was the second of that name; and another of the same name borne in *Syria*, succeeded him, who commanded a generall councell to be assembled in *Rome*, whither came many Bishops: and therein the vse and veneration of images was againe approoued and ratified, and the Pope proceeded against the Emperor, in such manner, that he was excommunicate and Anathematized by the councell. In that time hapned many terrible earthquakes, whereby many cities in *Asia* the lesse, and in *Gracia*, were ruined: and the Sarazins came out of *Syria* into *Asia* the lesse, doing much hurt, and tooke certaine cities in *Cappadocia*. Before this, the Emperor made his eldest sonne being a young man, whose name was CONSTANTINE, CÆSAR, and nominating him his successor, married him to the Kings daughter of *Bauaria* called YRENI. This seemeth to haue passed in the seauenteenth yeere of his raigne, all which time with the rest of his Empire, which was in all foure and twentie yeeres, he gouerned with greater rigor then beseemed a King or an Emperor: and notwithstanding that he wanted neither valour nor policie to maintaine himselfe in the Empire; yet matters were carried with such violence and couetousnes, that in his time were great warres. In *Italy* the Lombards took many cities, and besieged *Rauenna*: and the people within it, once againe slew their Exarch or gouernor. In *Asia* the lesse the Infidels entred the countrie, and robbing and spoiling the same, carried away an infinit number of captiues, and made conquest of a great part of the countrie. And all the prouinces thereof, with *Gracia*, *Italy*, the Isles of *Sicilia* and *Creta*, now called *Candia*, which were in his subiection, were greatly oppressed with tributes, imprests, and other intolerable exactions; in such manner, that many reioiced at his death: which happened in the yeere of our Lord seuen hundered and one and fortie, he dying of a *Dysenteria*; and in his place remained his son CONSTANTINE

Leo sought to kill or imprison Pope Gregorie.

The Emperor Leo excommunicated by the Pope. The Popes fulminations.

The Emperor sought the Popes death.

The kingdome of Antichrist erected. The Emperor Leo excommunicated by the councell held in Rome.

Leo made his sonne Constantine Cæsar and his successor in the Empire.

The death of Leo, Emperor of Constantinople.

STANTINE the fift of that name; who was very like to his father. The house and kingdome of *France* in these daies greatly encreased; through the valour and wisdome of CHARLS MARTEL; who conquered and annexed to that Kingdome the Countries of *Freezland*, *Saxonie*, *Austria*, *Burgundie*, and other great estates. The City of *Venice* was now very great and famous, and began to be gouerned by Dukes.

THE LIFE OF CONSTANTINE, THE FIFT OF THAT NAME, AND THREESCORE AND THIRTEENTH ROMAN EMPEROR.

(***)

THE ARGVMENT.

CONstantine, *being established in the Empire, made present preparation for the warres against the Iustelcin Egypt; but he was molested and hindred by Artausius a Tyrant, who took Armes against him, and intituled himself Emperor: wherefore he returned, notwithstanding that hee was alreadie arriued at Alexandria, and took Constantinople by force, and punished the tyrant, although not with such seuerity as his offense deserued. At that time,* Aistolphus *King of the Lombards making warre against Rome, Pope* Stephen *sued to the Emperor for aid: but hee prouided no such Army as the importance of the case required; thinking to pacifie* Aistolphus *by Letters and Ambassages. Whereupon the Pope, seeing the delay and little regard of the Emperor, called the French into Italie to relieue him; and they, coming, twice freed the City of Rome from the hands of the Lombards: wherewith* Constantine (*vnderstanding what the Pope had done*) *was displeased, and sent him an Ambassage promising succours; which came not in time: for, the French, being already passed the Alps, had compelled* Aistolphus *to render the Cities which* Pepin *gaue to the Church of Rome. A Councell was called in Rome, and the Emperor was condemned for an Heretick about the pulling down of Images: and at that time also ended the Kingdome of the Lombards vnder* Desiderius *their King. And* Constantine, *making warre against the Bulgarians, fell sick of a kinde of Leprosie, called Elephantia; and, dying, left the Empire to his son* Leo, *when he had gouerned the same 35 yeers.*

NOtwithstanding that LEO was but a bad Emperor, and therefore ill-beloued; yet, as soon as hee was dead, his sonne was receiued and obeyed, in hope that he would haue proued better than his father, or else for that in his fathers time he was growne so mightie, that they durst not attempt to make choice of any other. But he proued so good a scholar to his father LEO, that in all things hee excelled and surpassed him much, and liued longer than he; so as these seem not to bee the liues of Emperors which we now relate, in comparison of those which are past: but, like as in great vessels wherein wine or some other good liquor hath been kept, as it consumeth, so it becometh of a worse taste, and in the bottom there remain some lees and dregs; so befell it in the Eastern Empire, wherein had been verie great and mighty Princes, whose beginning was such as

741

you

you haue seen, and whose end we may say drew neer; seeing that within fewe yeers the title & dignity of the Empire was transiated from them to the French and Germans; notwithstanding that in *Gracia* there remained Emperors a long time after.

Presently after that CONSTANTINE was crowned; to giue some signe of a future good Emperor, hee prouided a great Armie and a Nauy, therewith to go in person into *Egypt*: and Pope ZACHARY, vnderstanding thereof, sent him two Ambassadors to congratulate his coming to the Empire, according to the custome of his Predecessors; disswading him from his fathers opinions, and exhorting him to beleeue as the Church of *Rome* did: and hee therewith sent him in writing the Articles which he would haue him to beleeue.

Pope Zacharie sent his Legats to Constantinople with Articles to be held and beleeued.

These Ambassadors staied so long vpon their way, that, when they arriued at *Constantinople*, the Emperor was already departed with his fleet towards *Egypt* against the Infidels, thinking to haue surprised the City of *Alexandria*, and afterwards to haue conquered the whole Countrey: for, in that Kingdome, and in other Prouinces which were but lately lost, liued many Christians, which continued therein a long time; and in some Cities were Bishops, by the permission of the Sarazins.

Within fewe daies after the Emperor was embarked, an eminent man which remained in *Constantinople*, whose name was ARTHAVSTVS, being assisted by many which took his part, rose with the City, and was called Emperor: whereof CONSTANTINE was speedily aduertised, euen at such time as with his fleet hee was comn within sight of *Alexandria* in *Egypt*. Hauing certain notice thereof, without any longer stay he returned towards *Constantinople*: and ARTHAVSTVS, who was in possession thereof, put himself in Arms, with much people to defend the same. But CONSTANTINE, landing, besieged the City, and, entring it by force, apprehended the Tyrant, and commanded his eies to be pluckt out, and to be perpetually banished: which in my opinion was too small a punishment for so great a treason: but then was vsed so much disloyalty, that it was not punished accordingly as it deserued. This beeing soon ended (although not without bloudshed) he heard the Popes Ambassage, finding his Ambassadors there in that confusion: which he answered with good words, but without performing what they required; persisting in his opinion concerning the abolishing of Images, and other points which his father held; and therewith hee desired that the Church of *Rome* should doo the like: which put the Pope into a great agony, as well by reason heerof, as of the tyranny and wars of the Lombards. And the Emperors succours failing, it pleased God to send it from other parts; all which, from the root and ground, passed in this manner:

Arthaustus took vpon him the name of Emperor.

Constantine put out Arthaustus eies.

At that time the Christian faith and religion flourished in the Kingdome of *France*, principally among the Princes & great Lords thereof; wherein by the death of CHARLES MARTEL, who as we said was high Constable of that Kingdome, his two sonnes, whereof the one was called CARLOMAN, and the other PEPIN, remaining in their fathers place, came to the gouernment as absolute Lords of the whole Countrey. Which Kingdome was then much greater than now it is (although it be yet very great): for, besides that which the French now hould, they then possessed a great part of *Germany*; as, *Austria*, *Saxonie*, *Flanders*, *Burgundie*, *Suesia*, and other Prouinces. The elder of these two brethren (which was CARLOMAN) making no account of the would, wherein he had such part, determined to leaue it, and went to *Rome* to Pope ZACHARY, who gaue him Church-orders; and he became a Monk of the Order of S. BENEDICT, wherein he continued and died. His brother PEPIN remained alone in the gouernment of the Kingdom of *France*, and did many noble feats of Arms, inlarging that kingdome against the enemies thereof; and he gouerned the same so well, that there was no speech or mention made of King CHILDERICK. Wherefore, forasmuch as in truth the King was a man of small discretion, and altogether incapable of the gouernment, Pope ZACHARIE deposed him from the Kingdome, and confirmed and approued the election of King PEPIN, as, THOMAS AQVINAS, ROBERT GAGVIN, and PAVLVS EMILIVS, French Historiographers, write. CHILDERICK became a religious man, and in him ended the line and lineall descent of the Kings of *France*, extract from the bloud of the famous Francons: and the Crown passed to the line of this PEPIN, wherein it continued almost two hundred and forty yeers, vntill such time as there happened another change; as shall bee declared when time and place shall permit. This PEPIN was father to CHARLES the Great, who afterwards was Emperor: wherefore it behoues me heer to make mention of him.

Carloman became a Monk.

Pope Zacharie deposed Childerick King of France from his crown.

The state of *France* standing in this maner, in *Italy* died Pope ZACHARIE, and STEPHEN the second of that name succeeded him: in the beginning of whose Papacy, AISTOLPHVS was King of the Lombards; and, as we may say, of all *Italie*: for, his brother RACHISIVS, who was King, became a Monk of the Order of Saint BENEDICT. This new King, seeing the small care the Emperor took for the affairs of *Italy*; breaking the peace whereto hee himself was sworn, raised a great power (as a man that had sufficient means) and cruelly harried the Land, and then besieged, battered, and took the City of *Rauenna*, which of long time (excepting *Rome*) had been the principall City of all *Italie*, and the seat of the Exarchs or Gouerners: and he also wonne many other Towns, which vntill then had valiantly defended themselues; so as there remained no more but the City of *Rome* and the Territorie thereof: for, in a manner all *Pulia* and *Calabria* were held by them. Which when Pope STEPHEN the Second saw, he sent to giue the Emperor to vnderstand thereof; plainly manifesting to him, that if hee did not speedily send relief, all *Italie* would come into the power of the Lombards.

Rachisius, king of the Lombards renounced the kingdom, and became a Monk.

The Emperor in this case made not such prouision of an Army and men of warre as the necessity of the cause required, and sent but onely an Ambassador to the King of the Lombards; and other Ambassadors were sent by the King to the Emperor, and long treaties and many speeches were spent about the matter: but AISTVLPHVS, without respect of any person, sent to the Pope, requiring him to giue vp the City of *Rome* into his power; if not, that hee would then come and take it by force, and cut off the heads of all such as he should finde therein. The Pope seeing this, after long consideration and consultation had about the matter, with the consent of the whole City, seeing there was no other remedy, resolued to send to PEPIN King of *France* for relief; which was done with the greatest secrecy that could bee, hee seeking by other means to entertain King AISTVLPHVS with presents & promises. The King of *France* willingly heard his Ambassage, and promised to doo what he required; and therewith sent to the Pope, counselling him for his more safety to come into *France*.

King Aistulphus his message to the pope.

In the mean time returned the Ambassadors which were sent to the Emperor to Constantinople; who brought no other relief, but direction for the Pope to go in person to King AISTVLPHVS, and to entreat him for peace. The Pope, hauing already fully determined of his journy, must of necessity passe through AISTVLPHVS dominions, and therfore resolued to do both; and so departed from *Rome*, accompanied with the Ambassadors of both the Kings, and of the Emperor, and came to *Pauia* where the proud King AISTVLPHVS then lay; but could not come to any composition with him: for, he required to haue the dominion and rule of *Rome* and the rest of *Italie*, and that they should yeerly giue him a certain peece of gold for euery head. And notwithstanding that they treated of peace, yet he daily made preparation for the warres: soas the Pope, in the best manner he could, took his leaue of him, and by long journies came into *France*, houlding his way towards King PEPINS Court; who commanded his eldest sonne CHARLES, who afterwards was Emperor, that as soon as he were com into *France*, he should conduct and accompany him; and he himself afterwards came three miles from *Paris*, where he then held his Court, to meet him: and, alighting from his horse, he kist the Popes foot, and would ride no more; but led the Popes horse by the bridle. And in this manner, with too great humility, he conducted him to his Palace; where he was magnificently receiued, and royally entertained: and there he confirmed King PEPIN's election, and so anointed and crowned him King of *France*.

King PEPIN, after many matters which passed about this business, resoluing to relieue the Pope, caused an Armie to be leuied: but hee first sent Ambassadors to King AISTVLPHVS, to treat with him concerning a settling of peace; offering him reasonable and honourable conditions. Whereto he answerd with greater pride than befitted him: for, making small account of King PEPIN, hee reposed his chief trust in the multitude of his men. The peace beeing broken, and the warre resolued, PEPIN commanded his troops to march; whose Vauntgard, in passing the Alps, fought with AISTVLPHVS his forces which guarded the passages: which being broken and scattered, the King passed with his whole Armie; and, AISTVLPHVS, staying in the Plains with the rest of his power, and vnable to make head against him, was forced to retire: whom King PEPIN pursued, vntill he had shut him vp in the City of *Pauia*, where (being Master of the Field) he besieged him: during which siege, many rapines, robberies and outrages, were committed. Pope STEPHEN seeing what ill was befalln, notwithstanding that he apparantly saw the victory, and that hee himself was the procurer of the war, yet he laboured for peace, and dealt with AISTVLPHVS to that effect, perswading him to resigne what he had taken, and to binde himself by oath to maintain the peace, and to giue hostages and security for the obseruing of the same.

Warres between King Pepin and Aistulphus King of the Lombards.

Peace between Pepin and the Lombards.

AIS-

AISTVLPHVS being thus beſieged, and hearing theſe newes, in outward ſhew praiſed God, faining great humilitie and thankfulnes to the Pope; and extolling him, he promiſed and ſware to his moſt obedient ſon, and ſo a peace was concluded: for King PEPIN pretended nothing, but reſtitution to be made to the Pope, and the quiet of the Church of *Rome*: and as it ſeemed that he had effected the ſame, taking with him fortie men of account, which AISTVLPHVS deliuered vnto him for hoſtages and pledges, for the performance of his promiſe, he within a certaine prefixed time, raiſed his ſiege from before *Pauia*, and returned towards *France*, leauing a great Noble-man called VERNERIVS to ſee the conditions performed: whereof the Pope holding himſelfe aſſured, departed alſo towards *Rome*; and AISTVLPHVS accompliſhing ſome matters of ſmall importance, with faire words deferring the principall (which was the rendring of cities and townes) temporized, vntill that King PEPIN was returned into his countrie. Afterwards contrarie to his oth, he would performe nothing of what he had promiſed, but went to *Rauenna*, and thither ſent for the greateſt part of his forces; and continuing his pretended purpoſe, within a very ſmall time after, took his way towards *Rome*, where the Pope was; and encamping himſelfe before it, held it beſieged the ſpace of three moneths; in which time (as all hiſtories beare record) hee did greater harme in the fields and teritorie thereof, then had been done before in three hundred and fortie yeeres, by the Viſogothes, the Oſtrogothes, the Heruli, the Lombards themſelues, or any other nation. In the beginning of this ſiege, what paſſed I haue not time to ſet downe; but that the Pope ſent his Ambaſſadours downe the riuer of *Tiber*, and thence by ſea to king PEPIN into *France* who was then the Popes only refuge, to entreate him to come to his reliefe; whom they found buſie in making preparation for his voiage, notwithſtanding that they had not requeſted him: but with their comming farre greater haſte was made. Whereof when AISTVLPHVS had intelligence, he raiſed his ſiege from before *Rome*, and came into *Lombardy*, with an intent to haue ſtopped king PEPINS deſcent from the Alpes; where we will leaue them for a while, to the end hereafter to make an end of the ſtorie. And let vs now ſpeake of *Conſtantine*, of whom this Hiſtorie treats, whom wee haue not without reaſon forgotten: for in truth it hath bin to giue light to the reader, to vnderſtand the cauſe and reaſon why the Pope tranſported the Empire into the Weſterne parts, and firſt into the houſe of *France*; for which cauſe it was requiſite to declare what is ſaid, and what ſhall be ſpoken hereafter: for although it be not directly of the Emperours, yet it is very expedient for the hiſtorie, and the cleerenes and order of what we ſhall write hereafter. I ſay then that CONSTANTINE was not idle all the while that theſe things paſſed in *Italy*, but attempted to make warre againſt the Infidels, ſomtimes in *Egypt*, and ſometimes in *Syria*, but euer with ill ſucceſſe.

Rome beſieged by the Lombards.

His Empire was alſo much diſtreſſed and weakned, by reaſon of a great peſtilence, which fell among the inhabitants in thoſe parts, which was ſo terrible, that it was feared the land would haue been diſpeopled; which, as HVGO FLORIACENSIS writeth, began in *Calabria*, and from thence paſſed into *Sicilia*, and afterwards into *Gracia*, and to *Conſtantinople*, afflicting thoſe countries. So as it is thought and held for certaine, that if there had not happened to ariſe new and vnexpected enemies againſt the Sarazins, the Eaſt Empire had beene in great danger to haue beene loſt. But in the time of this calamitie the Turkes deſcended, in a moſt huge multitude, out of *Scithia Aſiatica*; for being in a manner innumerable, and in a cold and barren countrie; moued thereto through the fame of the wealth of *Aſia*, they came into the prouince of the Alanes, and afterwards into the countries of the *Colchi*, and from thence deſcended into *Armenia*; and laſtly into *Perſia*, and ſo into *Aſia* the leſſe, ſpoiling and ſubduing thoſe countries: in ſuch ſort that the Mahometiſts could not attempt ought againſt the Chriſtians, neither were of power ſufficiently able to defend themſelues, and therefore concluded a peace with them: and ſo the Turkes remained Lords of a great part of thoſe prouinces, and afterwards receiued the accurſed ſect of MAHOMET, which they found in the countries by them ſubdued.

The origine of the Turkes.

The Sarazins being much troubled in this warre, ſuffered CONSTANTINE to liue in peace. But the Turkes did him much harme, for they took from him certaine prouinces in *Aſia* the leſſe and therein, and in the reſt of *Aſia*, continued a long time after, mixed with other nations, hauing no rule or dominion, but liued obſcurely, vntill that about two hundred and fiftie yeeres afterwards, (as when time ſhall ſerue wee will tell you) one amongſt them whoſe name was OTTOMAN, began the dominion and Empire which they hold this day. This nation of the Turkes (ſetting a part all other opinions) had their originall beginning in *Scithia* in *Aſia*: Of all the ancient writers, onely PLINY in his ſixt booke, and POMPONIVS MELA in the end of

Ottoman King of the Turkes.

of his firſt booke, make mention of them, and place them amongſt the Sarmates in the confines of *Scithia*, ouer the Caſpian paſſages in the *Hyperborean* mountaines; and they ſay that they liued diſperſed in the fields, by that which they could get by hunting; ſo as they were vnknowne (yet ſome mention was made of them) vntill this their deſcent in the time of CONSTANTINE the fift; and ſo for almoſt other fiue hundred yeeres, there was no great account made of them. The opinion of thoſe which ſay that the Turkes deſcended from the Troianes, is meerely falſe, and ſhall not needs to be reproued, or impugned, for that it is ridiculous, and not to be regarded: for what is before ſaid is true. But returning to my ſtorie, I ſay that the affaires of the Eaſt remaining in this eſtate, and the Emperor knowing that AISTVLPHVS King of the Lombards had beſieged *Rome*, and that the Pope had ſent to the French King for aide, and that hee made preparation to come to relieue him; being greatly grieued therewith, in great haſte he ſent two of his fauourites to the Pope, requeſting him not to retaine the ſuccours of *France*, for that hee himſelfe would aſſiſt him. But this tooke no effect, for as much as they ſpake too late, and alſo for that the Pope and ſtate of *Rome* had no good conceite or hope of him: ſo as the Emperors Ambaſſadours ſtaied not in *Rome*, but went to the French court, where they ſought to haue diuerted the King, and to haue diſſwaded him from going into *Italy*. But King PEPIN relented not, but rather with a greater and better Armie paſſed the Alpes; in which paſſage were many skirmiſhes, and many men were loſt of the one ſide and the other. But in the end AISTVLPHVS durſt not abide the battaile: but ſetting al matters in the beſt order that poſſibly he could, he retired himſelfe into the citie of *Pauia*, which was the head and royal ſeate of that Kingdome; wherein King PEPIN againe beſieged him, and he preſently began to treate of peace, offering to render whatſoeuer he had taken. The Emperors Ambaſſadors ſolicited, that *Rauenna* and all that gouernment might be reſtored to the Emperor, and the reſt to the Pope: Whereto King PEPIN anſwered, that he came to that war, onely for the defence of the Church of *Rome*, and that all that therein was conquered, ſhould be her inheritance, and no bodies elſe. Finally, a peace was concluded: and AISTVLPHVS, before the ſiege was raiſed, rendred vnto the Pope, *Rauenna*, and all the cities which in thoſe warres he had taken, in that Exarchate, or out of it; amongſt which were *Bologna*, *Mantua*, *Ceſena*, *Modena*, *Rezzo*, *Parma*, *Placentia*, *Ferrara*, *Fauencia*, and many other cities and townes, whereof King PEPIN made to the Church of *Rome* a perpetuall donation; as a thing by him conquered and gotten.

King Pepin came the ſecond time into Italy.

King Pepin his donation to the Church of Rome.

The Emperors Ambaſſadors ſeeing this (being out of hope) returned, and the peace was confirmed. So as the gouernment and dignitie of the Exarches was wholly ended and extinguiſhed in *Italy*, the which had continued one hundred threeſcore and fiftreene yeeres, and the Popes remained ſole Lords of all thoſe countries, and poſſeſſed the ſame together with the citie of *Rome*, and the reſt. King PEPIN being returned into *France*, King AISTVLPHVS which deferred the deliuerie of certaine places, thinking to haue effected ſome innouation, was ouertaken by death, the manner whereof is written diuerſly. And after his deceaſe one DESIDERIVS, a great man among the Lombards, was choſen for their King; who was Duke of *Hetruria*, now *Tuſcane*. And notwithſtanding that ſome great men perſwaded RACHISIVS, brother to AISTVLPHVS, who of long time had been a Monk, to take vpon him the name and title of King, yet this took no effect: and DESIDERIVS, with the fauour of Pope STEPHEN, to whom he promiſed to be a perpetuall friend, remained King; and ſo the peace was eſtabliſhed. Pope STEPHEN applied himſelfe to the gouernment of his Church, and the eſtate thereof. But when he was moſt buſie about thoſe matters, hee was taken with an infirmitie; whereof he died, and PAVL the firſt of that name, a Romane borne, ſucceeded him.

The death of King Aiſtulphus.

In the mean while that K. PEPIN made warres againſt the Lombards in *Italie*, the Emperor CONSTANTINE endeuoured to put the Images out of the Churches, and made peace with HADALIA King of the Sarazins, to the end that he ſhould induce the Chriſtians to doe the like, which were in *Armenia*, *Paleſtina*, *Soria*, and in all the other Prouinces in his ſubiection; which were infinit, and continued in thoſe countries a long time after, and it is ſayd that many liue there vntill this day. This Emperor is reported to haue reſtrained the liberty of the Monks and Prelates very much, without reſpect to their immunities and priuiledges; amongſt which he cut off the head of CONSTANTINE the Patriarch of *Conſtantinople*, for oppoſing himſelf againſt him, and therewith ſuppreſſed certaine Monaſteries.

The Emperor made peace with Hadalia King of the Sarazins.

Conſtantine cauſed the Patriarch of Conſtantinople to be beheaded.

In this time there grew warre and diſſenſion betweene him and THESSALIVS, King of *Bulgaria*; who entred *Thracia*, and did much harme, ſpoiling and waſting the lands of the Empire; againſt vvhom CONSTANTINE leuied an Armie, and fighting with him obtained

Wars betweene Cõſtantine & Theſſalia King.

of the Bulgarians, and the ſucceſſe thereof.

tained the victory; and THESSALIVS returned by flight, with loſſe of many of his men; for which diſgrace, and for his euill carriage in the battell, his people roſe againſt him, and ſlue him; and choſe another called SABINVS for their King: who, to make the Emperour his friend, conſented and agreed with him to deface and caſt the Images out of the Churches; wherewith his Subjects were ſo much diſcontented, that, if hee had not eſcaped from them by flight, they had ſlain him: but he went to the Emperor, and was there protected; and the Bulgarians choſe another for their King, whoſe name was PAGANVS.

At this time, CONSTANTINE made his eldeſt ſonne, called LEO, his companion and ſucceſſor in the Empire: this LEO was afterwards abſolute Emperor, and the fourth of that name.

The death of King Pepin, Charles ſurnamed the Great, and his brother Carloman, ſucceeded their father.

Whil'ſt that CONSTANTINE was buſied about theſe matters, Pope PAVL in *Italy* liued in peace with the Lombards and their King DESIDERIVS, according to the compoſition made and eſtabliſhed by King PEPIN of *France*; who within ſhort ſpace after died, hauing bin one of the moſt excellent Princes of the world. After the death of PEPIN, CHARLS and CARLOMAN his ſonnes ſucceeded him, which diuided the Kingdome between them; and, by the death of CARLOMAN, it came wholly to CHARLES.

Pope Conſtantine depoſed and made a Monk.

Preſently after that King PEPIN was dead, Pope PAVL alſo died; whoſe death cauſed a Schiſm in the Church of *Rome*: for, DESIDERIVS King of the Lombards, ſending a Captain of his with certain troops of ſouldiers to *Rome*, procured his brother CONSTANTINI to be made Pope; who, without regard of the order of election, took poſſeſſion of the Palace, and held the papall ſtate for the ſpace of one yeer: and others of a contrary faction and opinion, choſe another Pope, whoſe name was PHILIPPICVS; but, CONSTANTINE being of greater power, PHILIPPICVS was depoſed. But, as all was done by force and violence, ſo by the like force it was determined: for, the people and clergie agreeing together made choice of STEPHEN the Third, who was a Sicilian born, and compeld CONSTANTINE to reſigne the Papacy, and put himſelf into a Cloiſter.

The firſt thing that the new Pope did, was, Again to ſet vp Images in Churches; and to that effect wrote to the two ſons of PEPIN the deceaſed King of *France*, to ſend to the Emperour ſome of the Prelates which were in their Kingdome; which then was ſo great, that it extended it ſelf from the Alps to the Pirenean Mountains, and thence ſo far as to *Hungary*, and on the other ſide to the ſea: ſo as theſe two Brothers were Lords of all that which we now call *France*, together with *Flanders*, *Frieſeland*, *Braband*, and on both ſides of the riuer *Rhine*, of *Auſtria*, *Bauire*, and other Prouinces of *Germany*, beſides what rebelled in his time, which was a great part: all which, this CHARLES conquerd and pacified, although not without great trauell, and made himſelf abſolute Lord of the Whole. The Pope by their conſent ſummoned a Councell to bee held in *Rome*, wherein the Emperor CONSTANTINE was again condemned; and all that he and his father had commanded to be done in *Conſtantinople*, was reproued and diſannulled: but this took ſmall effect, for he little regarded it.

The Emperour condemned by the Pope and his Councell.

The Councell being diſſolued, DESIDERIVS King of the Lombards ſought to haue cauſed ſome alteration in *Rome* and in *Italy*, by means of one ANFIARATA the Emperors chamberlain, who then was in *Rome*: wherein although there were no Gouerners for the Empire as in former time (for, it now ſeemed, that the Popes had the ſole gouernment) yet was this ANFIARATA of great authority; who (with the aſſiſtance of DESIDERIVS, which ſought to procure the Emperor to haue ſome footing again in *Italie*, thereby to weaken the power of the Pope, and of the French) apprehended certain Romanes, and committed them vnto priſon.

The death of Pope Stephen.

Three yeers paſt in theſe matters; and, Pope STEPHEN dying, ADRIAN the firſt of thoſe which were ſo called was choſen: who at his firſt entrance releaſed thoſe out of priſon which were committed in the time of Pope STEPHEN by ANFIARATA. Whereupon King DESIDERIVS, ſeeing how much the papall power by means of *France* increaſed, ſought to haue made a league with him: which the Pope refuſed, alleaging that hee would not beleeue him who had no better held his word.

At this time died CARLOMAN King of *France*, and his brother, who afterwards for his great acts was called CHARLES the Great, made himſelf Lord of that Kingdome: and the widow Queen, wife of the deceaſed King, went with her ſons to King DESIDERIVS into *Italy*; who, being glad of her coming, receiued and entertaind her very honourably, thinking to haue raiſed ſome trouble & diſſenſion among the French; and to that effect practiſed with Pope ADRI-

ADRIAN, to make the eldeſt ſonne of King CARLOMAN King of that part of *France* which his father enioyed, with intent by that meanes to haue ſet him and King CHARLES at variance, whom hereafter we will call CHARLES the Great: whereto the Pope would not be induced, and DESIDERIVS purpoſing by force to bring it to paſſe, began to make warre on euery ſide. The firſt was againſt the Citie of *Rauenna* and the marches thereof, and beſooke the Cities of *Ferrara*, *Rauentia*, and other Townes: and the Pope by Ambaſſages and Letters entreating him to deſiſt from thoſe warres, he threatned to beſiege *Rome* it ſelfe, and tooke his way thitherwards. Whereupon the Pope ſent three Biſhops to meete him vpon the way, and by them ſent him a decree, wherein he charged him not to paſſe any further, neither to preſume to come within the bounds of the territory of *Rome*, vpon paine to be preſently excommunicated. And notwithſtanding that DESIDERIVS was a very reſolute man, and of an hautie ſpirit, yet as ſoone as he had receiued this decree, without ſetting one foote further, he returned with his forces to the Citie of *Pauia*; but the warres ceaſed not. For all which the Emperour CONSTANTINE was nothing ſorrie, he ſo much enuied the Popes greatneſſe: and in *Conſtantinople* he cauſed one STEPHEN to be ſlaine, for defending the ambition of the Romiſh Prelates. About this time he rigged a very great fleete of about two thouſand ſaile of ſhippes, to tranſport his Armie ouer the ſea called *Euxinum*, againſt the king of *Bulgaria*; which fleete was ouerthrowne with ſo great a Tempeſt, as the greateſt part thereof was caſt away and ſunk.

The Pope knowing that by the Emperor he ſhould not be relieued in his warres againſt DESIDERIVS, ſent to CHARLES the Great for aide, who with very great forces tooke his way towards *Italy*: but he firſt required DESIDERIVS by Ambaſſadors to make ſatisfaction for the harmes which he had done, and to be at peace with the Church. And ſeeing that hee preuailed not, he marched forwards with his troupes; and DESIDERIVS engroſſed his forces to ſtop his paſſage: but being vnable to compaſſe it, he ſent the wife and children of CARLOMAN to *Verona*, fortified *Pauia*, and ſuffered himſelfe to be there beſieged. Wherein he was ill aduiſed: for by reaſon thereof the greateſt part of his gouernours and Captaines, ſeeing him thus diſtreſſed, loſing all courage, ſent to yeelde their obedience to the Pope, and deſired to be receiued for his friends and vaſſailes; and gluing vp their holds, many of their people went to *Rome*, to dwell and abide where the Pope ſhould appoint. CHARLES the Great leauing an vncle of his at the ſiege of *Pauia*, went againſt *Verona*; which he tooke without any great difficultie, together with his ſiſter in law, and nephews which were therein; and from thence went to *Rome*, to kiſſe the Popes foote, and to hold the Feaſt of Eaſter, where hee was receiued with all the ſolemnity that could be deuiſed.

The comming of Charles the Great into Italy.

Charles tooke Verona.

At his his comming thither he confirmed to the Church and to the Popes of *Rome*, the donation which his father had made, of *Rauenna*, and other lands; and made another of many other places, amongſt which is reckoned the Iſle of *Corſica*, and all the coaſt of *Genoa*, with the Cities of *Parma*, *Ancona*, *Vrbin*, and many other Townes, which BIBLIOTHECARIVS ſetteth downe, beſides *Rome* and the territorie thereof; which the Popes had already in poſſeſſion, whether by the pretended donation of CONSTANTINE the Great, or by the donation made by the ſaid King PEPIN, or by common conſent or ancient preſcription, I know not. So as to the Emperors remained but only that part of *Italy*, which was called *Magna Græcia*, which is part of *Calabria*, and of *Pulia*, and a great part of that which now is the Kingdome of *Naples*. CHARLES the Great hauing been only eight daies in *Rome*, returned againſt DESIDERIVS; who, after ſixe moneths beſieging in *Pauia*, yeelded vpon Compoſition, and CHARLES carried him with him, and baniſhed both him and his ſonnes into a certaine Iland; and then tooke *Milan*, and all the other Cities in *Lombardy*, which is the antient *Gallia Ciſalpina*, where he placed Frenchmen for Dukes and Gouernors; and in other Duchies and Cities of that Kingdome, he placed Dukes of the ſame nation of the Lombards, which became his ſubjects and did him homage; and ſo *Italy* remained in his obedience and ſubjection, excepting thoſe Prouinces and lands which were left to the Church, and thoſe which the Pope held in former time; but all in peace and quiet. And ſo ended the Kingdome of the Lombards, which had continued 204 yeers in *Italy*.

Charles his gifts to the Church of Rome.

Deſiderius King of the Lombards yeelded to Charles the Great.

The end of the kingdome of the Lombards.

CHARLES the Great hauing ended theſe exploits, returned with triumph and victory into his kingdome of *France*; and within ſhort ſpace after there befell him a very dangerous war, againſt certaine nations in *Germany*, which rebelled againſt him, namely the Saxons and other people in thoſe quarters, which he ſubdued, although it were long firſt, and with great trauaile, but with great honor and the fame of an excellent captaine. But for as much as it is tedious to

relate it, and also for that it hapned before that he was Emperor, we will speak no more thereof, to be the better able to relate what happened after he was Emperor; as shall be said hereafter. The Emperor CONSTANTINE, who now had raigned a long time, renewd the war against the King of the Bulgarians: which began between them with great fury and violence; but it lasted not long: for, he was taken with a kinde of leprosie called *Elephantia*, whereof hee afterwards died: but he first concluded a peace with the King of *Bulgaria*. After which, his infirmity increased in such manner, that he died; leauing his son LEO, whom he had by his first wife YRENE (who already was in possession) for his successor, when he had raigned 35 yeers, in the yeer of our Lord 777.

The death of the Emperor Constantine.

THE LIFE OF LEO, FOVRTH OF THAT NAME, AND THREESCORE AND FOVRTEENTH ROMAN EMPEROR.

777

IN the time of the Emperor CONSTANTINE, by his order and commandement, his son LEO was chosen Emperor, and his companion; whom hee had by the Kings daughter of *Bulgaria*, with whom he was married, whose name was YRENE. And LEO had to wife a woman born in *Athens*, whose name was also YRENE, which was the fairest woman of her time; and for wisdome and policy, one of the most Noble and excellent Ladies that euer was in the world. Wherefore without any contradiction he was presently held and obeyed as Emperor, in the place of his deceased father. In the beginning of his Empire he made shew to bee very deuout and affected to the churches, and to religious persons of whatsoeuer order, seeking to aduance them to dignities. And he likewise made preparation of men and shipping against the Infidels, and went into *Asia* in person, and inuaded the Prouince of *Soria*; but his journey took small effect: for, within short time after, hee returned, with losse of some of his people, and of his owne reputation.

This Emperor LEO had also other wars with the Infidels, by his Captains; wherein hapned many accidents, but not of any account. In this manner he past the first three yeers of his raign; and in the fourth with this shew and apparance of a good Prince, he practised with his subjects, to chuse a yong son which he had, called CONSTANTINE (as was his grandfather) Emperor. And in the same yeer also; he, knowing that sundry of his Court were of the Romish Sect concerning the worshipping of Images, he made many of them to be apprehended, and openly disgraced, and depriued and deposed them from their dignities; whereupon he began to be hated, and held for an euill Prince. But by his wiues means, and his owne death which shortly ensued, it was mitigated: for, he died of a carbuncle which arose in his head; without leauing ought done by him worthy of memory, at least that I haue found written. This

The death of the Emperor Leo.

This hapned in the fist yeer of his raigne, and in the yeere of our Lord seuen hundred fourescore and two. He was much condemned for the taking of a Crowne of Golde, and certaine stones of great price, out of the famous temple of S. *Sophia*, which by the Emperor MAVRICE were offered and dedicated to the Image of our Ladie in *Constantinople*, which he tooke from thence, and put vpon his owne head.

In this time in France and Germany flourished CHARLES the Great, of whom (for that he was afterwards Emperour) I haue made this mention, as well in matters of war, as peace; who honoured and fauored valiant and hardie knights, and letters also and learned men: he procured justice to be maintained in all his dominions, and that his gouernment should be just and vpright. Whereupon he created many Dukes and other dignities, and among them the twelue Peeres of *France*, which are so famous in all Histories. He also made and ordained the parliament at *Paris*: afterwards in the yeere 790, in the life time of CONSTANTINE sonne of this LEO, he founded an Vniuersitie in the same Citie, which hath beene famous and excellent, and is yet so vnto this day: and another in the Citie of *Pauia*, which was the cause that both chiualrie and learning so much flourished in his time.

In the time of the Emperor LEO, of whom we now leaue to make any more mention, the said CHARLES came into *Spaine*; where he was by treason ouerthrowne at *Roncesualx*, and lost the flowre of his nobilitie and Chiualrie: by meanes of ALONSO the Second, called the Chaste, aided and assisted by the Moores and Infidels which then lined in *Arragon*, and in the territorie thereof. In matters which preceded and succeeded this battaile and the causes therof, and which passed therin, there is great difference between the French and Spanish chroniclers, and among themselues of either Nation. Wherfore, and for as much as the acts of CHARLES the Great (before that he was Emperor) concerne not my Historie, I therefore leaue to speake any more thereof. And also for that we know that FLORIAN DE CAMPO hath written thereof at large in his generall Historie of *Spaine*: of whose singular diligence there is no doubt to be made, but that he hath inuiolably obserued the truth, without omitting any thing worthy of memory, especially in a matter so famous and memorable; and therefore referring the Reader to him, I will returne to prosecute my iourney.

The Battaile of Roncesualx.

THE LIFE OF CONSTANTINE, THE SIXT OF THAT NAME, AND THREESCORE AND FIFTEENTH ROMAN EMPEROR.

THE ARGVMENT.

LEO *being dead, his sonne* Constantine (*notwithstanding that he was but a childe*) *succeeded him, and through the wisedome of his mother, and the oath of the men of warre, was obeyed. This woman was so discreete, that she ruled the Empire ten yeeres, and was the cause of the Councell assembled about the controuersie for Images, and agreement to be made betweene the Greekes and Latine Churches. But the yong man comming to riper age, bereaued her of the gouernement, and made her to liue apart from him; and became so displeasing, that his owne people conspired against him, although the conspiracy took not the wished effect. But he being ill beloued, certaine of the principall men of the Empire incited her to resume the gouernement; and she setting aside the loue of a mother towards her sonne, apprehended him, and caused his eyes to bee*

plucke out, as he had done by many others. This was the cause that the Eastern Empire was translated into the West; for the Pope seeing the East Empire to decline, and that it was governed by a woman, hee annointed and crowned Charles *the Great, Emperour, with whom* Yrene *sought to haue beene married: but it tooke no effect, shee being disswaded by the Princes of Grecia; but shee made a firme and assured peace with him, which shee not long enioyed: for sundrie valiant men, which tooke in ill part to be ruled by a woman, conspiring against her, by a wile apprehended, and deposed her from the Empire, giuing the charge thereof to a very Noble man, whose name was* Nicephorus.

792.



WHen as LEO the fourth was dead, his sonne CONSTANTINE being little more then twelue yeeres old, was receiued for Emperor (notwithstanding his small age); whereto his mothers wisedome and valour was a great helpe, and also for that the subjects of the Empire were sworne to him in the life time of his father, yet this could not be effected without difficultie; for some principall men disdaining to be commanded by a childe, and a woman, secretly practised to make NICEPHORVS Emperor, who was the yong mans Vncle, and brother to his father LEO: although that through forgetfulnes, no mention was before made of him. But this was not so secretly done, but that YRENE had intelligence thereof, and tooke so good order, that she apprehended and banished those which were the Authors thereof, and made their hayre to be cut, which then was a great disgrace: yet vpon NICEPHORVS she inflicted no other punishment, but onely made him take a Monasticall habit; and so the Empire remained in peace to her sonne. But notwithstanding that the yong man was Emperor, yet his mother commanded all, and (as all Authors write) very vprightly and prudently; for she was a wise and a very excellent woman, and aboue all was very much deuoted to the Romish religion, whereof this may serue for proofe; for she seeing the discord betweene the Greekes and Latins about the worshipping of Images, and other points in Religion wherein they disagreed, endeuoured very earnestly, that a generall Councell might be called; and her industrie tooke such effect (although somewhat long first) that a councell was assembled in the Citie of *Nicen*, in the Prouince of *Bythinia*, where other councels in former time had beene held; in which were three hundred and fiftie Bishops, and therein were handled many matters concerning the estate of the Clergie, and those were condemned for Hereticks, which denied the veneration of Images in the Church. So as during the gouernment of YRENE, the Images and pictures of CHRIST, and our Ladie, and sundrie other Saints in the Easterne Churches were againe set vp; whereat the common people which euer delighted in nouelties, was very joyfull; and so was THERASIVS the Patriarch of *Constantinople*, which succeeded PAVL, who had sought & much desired the same. And for that he could not obtaine it of the Emperour, LEO, seeing himselfe growne old and sickly, before his death, he left his dignitie and made himself a Monk: who going to visite the Empresse YRENE, she demanded of him the reason of so noble a change; she making an eloquent Oration, he told her, that he had left the world, for that hee could not resist the Emperour, and for that hee would not die separated from the Vnion and obedience of the Catholique Romish Church, beseeching her to procure the said Vnion, which could not be but by a generall Councell; for the effecting whereof, she should vse her Authority, & that for his part he would not liue out of the Church, but continue in his Monasterie to doe penance for his sinnes, the which he said was to discharge his Conscience before his death.

Punishment inflicted vpon such as conspired against the Emperor Constantine.

Councell held in the Citie of Nicene.

It is said, that this THERASIVS was he which principally moued YRENE so earnestly to sollicite the calling of a Councell; the resolution whereof concerning Images, is contained in two verses, which then were made, and at this day are placed in a Church in *Venice*, which in Latin are thus:

Nam Deus quod Imago docet, sed non Deus ipsa,
Hanc video as, sed mente colas, quod cernis in ipsa.

Which in effect is as much to say, as, That which this Image doth shew and signifie, is God; but the Image is not so: behold the same, but with the minde reuerence that which thereby is represented.

Hauing ended a matter of so great importance as that which I recited; in all the rest of the time

time of her gouernment, both before and after the Councell which were some yeers, shee bare her self farre more like a politick valiant man, than a delicate and beautifull woman as she was: but her sonne CONSTANTINE, who was now comn to mans estate, and like to his father, disliked his mothers gouernment, and in the end deposed her from the same, and from the Councell also, making her to liue priuately, without any authority, when shee had with great wisdome gouerned in his name the space of ten yeers, and maintained the Empire with justice, in peace with all the world.

It is written, that in those daies was found in *Constantinople*, in a very old Sepulchre, a plate or leaf of gold vpon the breast of a corpse, which therein had been buried; wherein were written these words, CHRIST shall be born of the Virgin MARY: Thou shalt see mee again at such time as CONSTANTINE and his mother YRENE shall be Emperors. This was held for a great matter, and YRENE and her son made great account of this Table: for, it seemed to be written before the coming of CHRIST.

A plate of gold found vpon the breast of a dead body in Constantinople.

A wonder, if true.

The Emperor, being now at liberty, began freely to vse those qualities whereto hee was naturally inclined; in such sort, that he became ill beloued, and they again the second time conspired against him, seeking to make his vncle NICEPHORVS, Emperor. But, as to Princes (whether good or bad) most matters are commonly discouered: so this conspiracy was likewise reuealed; and he, knowing it, commanded some of those which had been practicers therein, to be apprehended, whom he seuerely punished; and commanded his vncle NICEPHORVS to be perpetually banished. After this, he put away his wife, who was a very Noble woman called MARY; and, diuorcing himself from her, shut her vp in a Nunnerie, and maried one of her maids called THEODORA, of whom he was enamoured; a woman of no desert, but onely that she was fair and very beautifull.

At such time as CONSTANTINE and his mother raigned in the East, CHARLES the Great was King of *France*; so called for the great exploits which he had performed: yet some are of opinion, that he was so called by reason of the great constitution of his body; for, he was corpulent, very big limd and tall, and had not liued at his ease, but had vndergon great and dangerous wars.

Charles the Great, why so called.

In the beginning of the Emperor CONSTANTINE's Raign, King CHARLES came in person into *Italy* to see the Pope, and to pacifie certain combustions raised by some Dukes, who were desirous of innouations: which being quieted, hee had intelligence that the Duke of *Bauiere* (for, now they were no more called Kings) rebelled against him, with an intent to exempt himself from his subjection; and to that end had leuied his forces. Whereupon, CHARLES resolued to go against him in person, and by another way to send his sonne PEPIN vpon the same seruice; and so he beganne to make cruell warre against him: whereof when the Eastern Emperor CONSTANTINE was aduertised, imagining that CHARLES, beeing busied in those warres, would not be able to prouide for the affairs of *Italy*, hee sent commandement into those Countries which he held for him, and som new troops which he leuied for that purpose, that they should make warre against the Pope and King CHARLES; which they presently put in execution: but the Dukes of *Beneuent* and *Spoleto*, and of other Cities, made such speedy preparation against them, that they were easily repelled and ouerthrowne; so as from thence-forth they liued quiet and at peace. And CHARLES had likewise so good successe in his warre against the Bauarians (although not without effusion of much bloud) that hee pacified all that state, and reduced the Prouinces to his seruice.

From thence hee went against the Slauons, which held the Prouinces of *Istria* and *Dalmatia*; by them called *Slauonia*; and in one Summer brought all vnder his dominion. Afterwards, raising a new power, he resolued to make a conquest of *Hungary* and *Austria*, beeing the antient *Pannonie*, which the Hunnes Auares, had of long time possessed, as is before said: And notwithstanding that this was a very dangerous warre, and that therein were many great and notable battels (wherein all the Nobility, and the greatest part of the common people of those Countries, died; so as the Land lay in a manner waste and dispeopled) yet in the end, in the eighth yeer after the beginning thereof, he became absolute Lord of all the Countrey. After these foresaid warres, he had warres with the King of *Denmark*: for, the Danes harried the sea-coasts with their fleets; and herein (as well as in the rest) this glorious Prince had the victory: and he afterwards made peace with their King, and resolued to make an end of subduing the Saxons; whose warres at times, as they rebelled, continued thirty yeers; and he slue of them in one battell thirty thousand: and in another, which he fought with them afterwards, he brought them

Charles the Great conquerd Hungary and Austria.

Charles ward against the king of Denmark, and subdued the Saxons.

wholly to obedience, and made them subject to the Empire; and, for his better security, he led the principal of them with him into *France*. In which conquests which I so briefly haue recited, some battels were fought by himself in person, and some by his son PEPIN: in all which, he won the name and reputation of a most excellent Captain.

These things being past, in the yeer of our Lord seuen hundred ninety & fiue, Pope ADRIAN died in *Rome*: through whose death they chose Pope LEO the third of that name; who presently after his election, sent great Presents and a solemn Ambassage to CHARLES the Great. In these times the Emperor CONSTANTINE's men of war did greatly annoy those of CHARLES the Great: for, after that he liued apart from his mother, he became very cruell, and in his gouernment negligent and disorderly: wherefore he grew to be so ill beloued by his Subjects, that some of the chief of them perswaded his mother YRENE to depose him, and resume the gouernment of the Empire into her owne hands; whereto they promised to assist her. The mother, who had a courage more like a reuengefull man, than a delicate woman, preferring the displeasure which she had conceiued, before the loue of a mother to her son, with the aid of those which took her part in that action, vpon a day by a wile seised on him, and caused his eies to be presently pluckt out, as hee had done to many others: which was one of the strangest and most cruell and inhumane parts that euer woman plaid in the world. And this being done, all obeyed her; and she alone had the gouernment of the Empire, which yet was very great: for, it contained, in *Europe*, *Thracia*, and all the Prouinces of *Gracia*, the Iles of *Sicilia*, *Candia*, and those in the great sea called *Archipelagus*, and that part of *Italie* which was called *Magna Gracia*, and all the Prouinces of *Asia* the Lesse: all which were gouerned by this valiant woman, with great policy and authority. Who when she vnderstood of the victories & great power of CHARLES the Great, desiring to bee at peace with him, and fearing his greatnes, she commanded those Cities which she held in *Italie*, and the Gouerners of them, to hold good correspondence and neighbourhood with those Cities which were vnder the Pope, or King CHARLES: and, besides this, she sent her Ambassadors vnto him, excusing herselfe of that which had hapned concerning her son, and made him many great offers. Which, CHARLES gladly entertained: for, he was a milde Prince to the meek, and rough and cruell to the proud and rebellious.

Irene *made her sons eies to be put out.*

All *Italie* being in peace vnder the shadow and protection of CHARLES the Great, where now was no memory of the Lombards which were wont to oppresse it, the diuell, a sower of dissension, acted his part in the City of *Rome*: which was, that Pope LEO sitting (as they say) in Saint PETER's Chair, two Priests, Cardinals of great account, called PASCAL & CAMPVLVS, conspired against him, and held so strong a hand among their complices, that they vpon a day apprehended him going in Procession; which they did with such an vproare and tumult, that they had almost slain him; and handled him in such manner, that (as most Writers affirm) they put out his eies, and cut out his tongue, and so they committed him prisoner to a Monasterie of Saint ERASMVS; publishing abroad, that they did it for the crimes by him committed, and the errors which he maintained: and being there, as BIBLIOTHECARIVS and some others affirm, he was miraculously restored to his sight and speech; and a chamberlain of his vsed such secret means, or with the permission of his Keepers, that he was hidden in a certain graue or sepulchre, and by night conuayed to the Duke of *Spoleto*, who then was Lieutenant to CHARLES the Great in *Italie* (which offices then were giuen for euer, or for term of life); by whose aid he went to King CHARLES in *Germany*, to complain of the violence done vnto him: whither already messengers were sent by the other two, PASCAL and CAMPVLVS, with informations and accusations against him. But, notwithstanding, the Pope was solemnly entertaind & honourd by him: and, remaining there som few daies, the King promised to come in person to *Rome*; and appointed so many Prelates and religious men to accompany him, as sufficed to bring him thither, and to restore him to his seat and estate, with great processions which were made for him: and the two Priests Cardinals aforesaid, which were so mightie, absenting themselues, euer gaue out in speeches, that they attended the coming of the King.

Charles *the Great came to Rome.*

King CHARLES the Great, hauing taken order for the affairs of *France* and *Germany*, wherein he was a most mightie prince, determined to come into *Italy*; and at his coming, by the hand of his son PEPIN, he pacified some tumults there, and came to the citie of *Rome*, accompanied with many great Dukes and other princes his subiects; whither repaired out of *Italy* and from other parts, many Bishops, prelates and other great men; and he was receiued with such honour as to him did appertaine; where kissing the Popes foote he did him such other superstitions reuerence, as the custome was. After this, hauing continued eight daies in *Rome*, he commanded all the prelates and Princes which then were in the citie to be assembled; and the Pope himself, and all the rest being together, there were some which complained and accused the Pope to the Emperour: and so the Emperor began openly to aske euery mans opinion concerning those accusations; wherto all answered, That no man ought to iudge the Head of the Church: which the King obseruing, he forbare to aske any more questions. Then the Pope which hitherto had been silent, rose from the place where he sate, and went into a pulpit which was there, and with a loud voyce said, That seeing of his life and behauiour, no man would or had authoritie to make enquirie, or to giue sentence, yet the next day (following the custome of his predecessors) he would purge and cleere himselfe, as it behoued: and therewith for that day the Consistorie was dissolued: And vpon the next day, they all being assembled in like manner, he againe went vp into the same place, and taking a booke of the holy Euangelists in his hands, said with so lowd a voice as they all might heare him, that he sware by God, and those holie Euangelists, that all that which his aduersaries had laid to his charge, was false and vntrue, and that he had neither committed or thought any such matter as they obiected; but that they had of malice and enuie slandered him: and that he therefore publikely made this protestation, and confirmed by his oath, seeing that to them all the manner of his life and gouernment was well knowne.

Pope Leo *his speech in the Consistorie in his owne defence.*

Hauing ended this his protestation, his oath was allowed, and himselfe commended; and the King commanded his accusers, PASCAL and CAPVLVS, to be sought out and apprehended, and would haue condemned them to death: but the Pope was contented to spare their liues, so as they might be committed to prison, and thence condemned to perpetual exile. Eight dais after, the Pope hauing first considered how much the Greeke Emperors enuied his greatnes, together with the small affection they bare to the worshipping of Images, and other points wherein they were opposite, and seperated from the Church of *Rome*; and how requisite it was to haue an Emperor which might maintaine the prouinces of *Italy* in peace, which vpon euery light occasion were disturbed: but chiefly to shew himselfe gratefull for the benefits which he and the Church of *Rome* had receiued from him and the house of *France*, but aboue all for accepting his protestation in his owne defence, for a sufficient proofe of his honestie; he resolued to make CHARLES the Great, Emperor; and to translate the head of the Empire into the West. Wherewith, as most writers affirme, he did not acquaint the King, conceiuing the greatnes of his minde to be such, that he neither had desired it, neither would haue accepted the same. And hauing ruminated hereupon, against the day of the natiuitie of CHRIST, hee commanded all the Priest Cardinalls, and all the other prelates to come to a Masse, whither CHARLES was also inuited, and came, together with all the other princes; and so about the middest of the Masse, the Pope then saying it, hee turned about from the Altar to the people, and with a loud voice said, That he did there elect, create, and publish CHARLES the great, the most mightie and victorious King of *Italy*, of the Germanes, and of the French-men, Emperor, and euer AVGVSTVS. Which being done, hee set the Imperiall Crowne vpon his head, and all those which were present consented thereto, with acclamations and applauses, saying, To the most godly, euer AVGVSTVS, great and most victorious Emperor CHARLES, God graunt long life and victorie.

Charles *the great crowned Emperor and his sonne Pepin King of Italy by Pope Leo.*

This acclamation being ended, the Pope anointed him, and therewith anointed and intitled his sonne PEPIN with the good liking and consent of his father) King of *Italy*; which coronations were performed, with such feastings and solemnitie, as the discreete Reader may well imagine; vpon the birth day of CHRIST, which was the siue and twentith of December, in the yeere of our Lord eight hundred, foure hundred threescore and eight yeeres from the time that CONSTANTINE the great transferred the seate of the Empire into *Thracia*, to the citie of *Constantinople*, and three hundred and thirtie yeeres from the time that AVGVSTVLVS was the last Emperor in *Italy*. And so CHARLES remained Emperor, and the Empire was transported from the Greekes to the Germanes; for although that CHARLES was King of *France*, yet his originall, linage, and countrie was in *Germanie*, and so it appeareth by histories; and notwithstanding that he was King of the French, he was borne in *Germanie*, and the French-men also had their originall and descent from *Germanie*; and the kingdome of *France* extended it selfe so farre in the time of this Emperor, that the most of the prouinces of *Germanie* were called by the name, and contained within the Kingdome of *France*; so as there is no reason that any authors should say, that the Empire was first transposed to the French, and afterwards in processe of

The originall of Charles *the great.*

of time to the Germanes; the which is maintained by OTHO FRISENGENSIS, GODERID VITERBENSIS, WESPERGENSIS ABBAS; and others, although of lesse antiquitie, yet of no lesse diligence, as PLATINA, MARTIANVS, ROBERTVS GAGVINS and most diligently IOHANNES NAVCLERVS; and aboue all, BEATVS RENANVS, HENRICVS MVCIVS, in his notable bookes of the state of *Germanie*, and CVSPINIANVS in the life of the same CHARLES.

Fauours bestowed by Charles the Great vpon the citie of Florence.

These matters being thus ended, the new Emperour returned towards his Kingdome and countries; leauing his sonne PEPIN King in *Italy*, which hee left in very good order. In this his iourney (authors write) that hee did many graces and fauours to the citie of *Florence*, and that he commanded the decaied walles and buildings thereof to be reedefied, and many other faire edifices to be erected; and that he procured gentlemen to come and inhabit the same. The fame of this his election being spred ouer the world, the manly Empresse YRENE, which ruled the Empire of the East, sent Ambassadors vnto him, desiring peace with him, and (as some write) to treat of a marriage betweene them, seeing that they both were single: and although that the treatie of marriage took no effect (for the Princes of *Greece* perswaded YRENE to the contrarie) yet a peace was concluded betweene the two Empires: The Empire of *Gracia* containing that which it then held in *Asia*, which I haue alreadie mentioned; with that countrie which now is the Kingdome of *Naples*, or the greatest part thereof; the Iles of *Sicilia*, *Candia*, and the rest; with *Albania*, part of *Slauonia*, and all *Gracia* and *Thracia*, the citie of *Venice* and the dominion thereof, which is not lightly to be regarded, remained friend to all, and subiect to none. This being concluded, YRENE the Empresse enioyed not the same long after: for in the end, as shee was a woman, men of haughtie spirits, holding it for baseneſs, disdained to be commanded by her, and found meanes that a man of high degree, great power, and of noble parentage, whose name was NICEPHORVS, should rebell against her, and take vpon him the title of Emperor: which took effect, so as by a stratagem shee was taken, and dispossessed of her Empire.

Venice euer a free citie.

Nicephorus *made Emperor of Gracia in place of* Yrene.



THE LIFE OF CHARLES THE GREAT, AND THREESCORE AND SIXTEENTH ROMANE EMPEROR; & OF NICEPHORVS in Constantinople.

(***)

THE ARGVMENT.

WHen as Charles *the great was made Emperor, he was of the age of fiftie and eight yeeres: and returning into Germany, he wholly conuerted the Saxons to the Christian faith, and made an accord with* Nicephorus *Emperor of the Greekes: which afterwards was broken, for that* Nicephorus *ayded the Venetians, against him and his sonne* Pepin; *but* Charles *finally making peace with the Venetians, left them in that liberty, wherein they haue maintained themselues vntill this present, and came to a full peace with* Nicephorus. *He diuided the Empire betweene his three sonnes, and commanded* Pepin *to go to Corsica and Sardinia, to defend the same against the Infidels which went thither to inhabit. And vnder the command of* Charles *his sonne he ouercame many other Nations, Rebels, and Infidels, and became so great as the King of the Mahomets*

Mahometists sought his friendship. Two of his sonnes dyed, to wit, Pepin *and* Charles, *so as his whole hope remained in* Lewes, *whom he made his successor; And being now very old, departed out of this world, ouercome with a paine in his side, hauing gouerned the Empire fourteene yeeres; and his kingdome, seuen and forty.*



CONsidering the great paines I haue taken in writing this Historie (I take God to record) that I stand in more need of some rest, and to be eased of so great a burthen, by abbreuiating the Historie, and leauing out as much as may be without confusion, then to redouble my toile, through the occasions which now present themselues. I say this, for that the Pope in this time had transferred the Empire to CHARLES the Great; and it hath euer since continued in *Germany*: And in *Gracia* also remained Princes, which in like manner were called Emperours, and pretended good right; so as we may say that the Empire and the title thereof was diuided, and came to be two Empires and to haue two Emperours. But I finde my selfe in a great confusion, to thinke how this matter may be handled: for, first to write of one, and then to returne to write of the other, as did BAPTISTA IGNATIVS, in the short epitomie which he wrote of the Emperors; it seemeth to be inconuenient to bring one of them to an end, and then to make the Reader turne backe againe seauen or eight hundred yeeres in the historie. And to write one or two liues of the Empire, and then as many of the other, as did IOHN CVSPINIAN, that lieth me as ill: for it greatly confoundeth the historie, and so in a manner neither the one nor the other can be vnderstood; and to relate all together at large (for the many occasions which are offered, and the diuersitie of the times and places) I see not how it can be. To treate onely of the one (as some haue done) and wholly to leaue out and forget the other, I also hold it for an iniurie and crueltie. To let sink and die in obliuion a matter of so great importance as is the dominion of the Greek Emperors, which continued so long afterwards: or to leaue the successours of CHARLES the Great, in which at this day the Empire remaineth, were to leaue the right way which leadeth to the place whither I am bound, and to take another whereby I should neuer attaine to my iournies end whither I am to trauaile. Wherefore seeing that I cannot goe both waies; after some considerations, I haue resolued to take for my principall subiect and historie of the Empire, that which the Church of *Rome* approued and then established, which is that of *Italy* and *Germany*, in the person of CHARLES and his successors; recounting their liues and actes with such order as I haue obserued in those which are alreadie past; and by the way of discourse euer to make some mention of the Greeke Emperors, as occasion shall be offered: whereby he that shall reade this historie, may vnderstand the successe of both Empires, vnder the name and title of one only.

800

Hauing resolued vpon this course, let vs returne to our CHARLES the Great, whom we left newly made Emperor; and to NICEPHORVS who tyrannically vsurped the Empire of *Constantinople*, by deposing the Empresse YRENE. I say then that CHARLES was fiftie eight yeeres old, when (as I haue related) he was by Pope LEO the third crowned Emperor in the citie of *Rome*; and had raigned three and thirtie yeeres the mightie King of *France* and *Germany*; all which time he had spent in the warres, against rebels and Infidels (whereof in *Germany* were many) with great felicitie and victorie, taming and subduing diuers nations and prouinces. CHARLES being come into *Germany*, wholly subdued the Saxons, and reduced them to the faith, wherein as the other nations of *Germany*, they euer were inconstant and stubborn. NICEPHORVS who then raigned in *Constantinople*, knowing his great power; after that he had settled himselfe in his throne, and was well assured of those whome hee had dispossessed, and had most cause to suspect, and had banished YRENE; hee sent Ambassadors of great account to CHARLES the Great, very louingly desiring him to hold him for his brother and friend. The Emperor CHARLES who was a benigne Prince, knowing how mightie the Sarazins were, and the great danger that all Christendome should incurre through discord betweene the two Empires, concluded a peace with NICEPHORVS; and with his Ambassadours sent others of his owne, to confirme the same: which was established in the same manner and with the same conditions, as it was made with the Empresse YRENE; the citie of *Venice* remaining friend to both parties without any subiection to either. There was also a peace concluded betweene him and GODFREY King of *Denmarke*, which some call DACIA; whereupon the said GODFREY

Charles *the great subdued the Saxons.*

Nicephorus *sent an ambassage to* Charles *the Great.*

FREY departed out of his kingdome, roially accompanied, to see and speake with the Emperour although that this interuiew tooke no effect; for his people disswading him, counselled him not to see him: neuertheless the peace was made, and took place.

After this, it followed that for some matters which the Venetians attempted against the Empire of CHARLES, in the behalfe of NICEPHORVS Emperor of *Constantinople* (yet some affirme that it was through the false information of FORTVNATVS Patriarch of *Grado*) CHARLES the Great commanded his sonne PEPIN King of *Italy*, to make warres against them: which he began very resolutely, and took the cities and fortresses which they held in the maine land, and besieged the citie of *Venice* it selfe both by sea and land; to the reliefe whereof the Greeke Emperor NICEPHORVS sent a fleete. Of these warres of *Venice* antient authors doe write so diuersly, that a man can hardly say which was the truth: for some say that *Venice* was wholly taken; and others say that but some Ilands thereof, and that the place which is called *Rio alto* defended it selfe: howsoeuer it was, the warre continued many daies, and CHARLES graunted peace and libertie to the Venetians, to liue after their lawes and customes, for that hee was to renew the peace with the Greeke Emperour, which he had broken by reason of the Venetian warres. Some write that the Emperor receiued a great affront in these warres: but howsoeuer, the Venetians wonne much reputation to haue valiantly made head against him.

Charles his and testament.

CHARLES liuing in this prosperitie, made his will and testament: wherein he diuided his kingdomes betweene three legitimate sonnes which he had, to wit, CHARLES, which was his eldest sonne, PEPIN, and LEVVES; wherein hee made his sonne CHARLES King of the greatest and best parts of *France* and *Germany*; PEPIN he made King of *Italy* and *Bauaria*, and other prouinces; and LEVVES of *Prouance*, and of that part of *France* which bordereth vpon *Spaine*, and other prouinces. Which his testament he sent to be ratified by Pope LEO; and shortly after gaue to his sonnes the names and titles of Kings: but all succeeded after another manner; for God otherwise disposed thereof at his pleasure. This testament I haue seene written by some authors. It afterwards happened that a great fleete of Infidels which inhabited *Spaine*, with the aide and assistance of the Africans, inuaded the Iles of *Sardinia* and *Corsica*: for the defence whereof the Emperor CHARLES sent commandement to his sonne PEPIN, that he should send thither a Captaine, whose name was BVCARDVS; who tooke so good order, as he draue the Infidels out of those Ilands, and slew fiue thousand of them in one bataile. And with no lesse good successe, he vndertook another warre with the Dukes of the Bohemians, and of the Polonians, which is part of the antient *Sarmatia*, who infested the countries vnder his dominion; against which he sent his sonne CHARLES, with great forces of Burgonians, Saxons and Germanes. And the young CHARLES imitating his father, warred valiantly and with discretion: and comming first to a battaile with the Bohemians and LEO their Duke, he ouercame them, and slew LEO; although that therein passed many daies, and there was an intermission in this war: and in the end he had the like successe with the Polacres, so as they all became subiect to his father. For which his victories he was so much feared and renowned through the world, that a great King of the East, and AMVRATH the greatest of all the Mahometists, sent their Ambassadors with rich presents to him, desiring peace and friendship; and the like did all the Kings Christian.

Ambassadours sent to Charles the Great.

Whilest as these and such like matters happened vnto CHARLES the Great, NICEPHORVS Emperor of *Constantinople*, shewed himself to be very couetous, imposing new taxes and tributes vpon his countries and subiects; hauing euer a desire to disturbe the Empire of CHARLES, the Great (which he neuer forbare to doe) endamaging his countries, by robbing and spoiling the same, and secretly fauouring his enemies, whereby he gat little honour, and lesse profit: for this enuie and malice being fixed in his heart, he not onely left to make wars against the Infidels, as he ought to haue done, but knowing that they would warre with him, he bought his peace of them; and to his great shame and disgrace bound himselfe to pay them yeerly a great summe of money; and for that instant sent them great gifts and presents, hauing his purpose wholly bent against the Christians: which cost him his life, as presently shall be declared.

CHARLES liuing in this tranquillitie, GODFREY King of *Denmarke* made warre against him, who was a mightie Prince, and commanded a large dominion; and with great forces came into *Friseland* and into *Saxony*, where he did great harm. Against whom the Emperor addressing himselfe (although now old and vnweldie) speedily departed with a great Armie, and by the way newes was brought him, that the said King was dead, and his Armie returned; which was held

The death of the King Denmarke.

held for great newes, considering how great warres were expected. And, vpon the same day, newes came also, how that his son PEPIN, who in great prosperity raigned in *Italie*, was dead in the City of *Milan*: for the which he was sorry, and returned to the City of *Aken*, or *Aix*; whither Ambassadors came to him from HERMIGVS King of *Denmark*, which succeeded GODFREY, humbly desiring peace: the like came from NICEPHORVS, Emperour of *Grecia*; and the like petition also came from AMEVLAT, a King of the Moors, who raigned in a great part of *Spaine*: to all which, he made gratious answers; and, granting their petitions, gaue harty thanks to God, for that he was generally so well esteemed. But, after this prosperity, a great calamity and scourge ensued; which was, that it pleased God to take away his other sonne called CHARLES, who lay on the Borders of *Germany*, for the defense thereof: so as now his whole hope rested in his third son LEVVES.

The death of Pepin, King of Italy.

NICEPHORVS the Emperor of *Grecia*, being assured of CHARLES the Great, and hauing bought his peace of the Infidels, took his son STAVRATIVS for his companion in the Empire; determining to make warre against his neighbours the Bulgarians, whose King was then called CRVNVS, with whom he fought some battels; wherein he had the victorie, and slue many of his enemies. By reason of these victories he grew so proud and insolent, that, making small account of his enemies, he managed the warres with little care or discretion: which this CRVNVS perceiuing, he raised the greatest and best power that he was able to make, and the most secretly that might be, marcht by night, and, before that it was day, assaulted the Emperors Camp; who being vnable to set his people in order, they were defeated, and the Emperor was there slain; and his son STAVRATIVS, being sore wounded, escaped by flight: and so ended the life and Raign of NICEPHORVS. At this ouerthrowe great treasure was lost, and much of the Greek Nobility then perished: which happened in the yeer of our Sauiour CHRIST eight hundred and fiue, he hauing raigned nine yeers. His sonne STAVRATIVS, coming to *Adrianople*, and saluted and sworn Emperor, was so ill inclined, and so insufficient, and therewith (aboue all) so deformed, ill fauoured, and churlish in behauiour, that there was not any man pleased with his succession; so as within foure moneths after hee came to the Empire, hee was dispossessed thereof by his brother in law MICHAEL; who, apprehending him, put him into a Monastery: and this MICHAEL, remaining peacefull Emperor, was a vertuous man, and a good Gouerner; but so inclined to peace, that afterwards, through his excessiue fear of war, he lost his Empire, as we will shew. Now, as soon as he was chosen Emperor, he with all expedition sent his Ambassadors to the old Emperor CHARLES the Great, desiring friendship and peace with him; which was concluded in such manner as it was with his Predecessor NICEPHORVS. And CHARLES the Great, being now very old, desiring to take order for the estate of the Empire, called a most solemn Parliament in the City of *Aquisgran* or *Aken*, where he made his son LEVVES to be intituled CÆSAR, and his Successor; and his nephew BERNARD, son to PEPIN, King of *Italy*, with the consent of Pope LEO, who vntill then liued. And, this being performed, the rest of his time he spent in alms-giuing, enriching the Churches and Clergie, releeuing the poor; and reforming abuses, hee ordained good lawes and statutes. The yeer following, the Infidell-Sarazins of *Spaine* and *Africa*, inuaded *Sardinia* and *Corsica*; wherein they made cruell war, and did the like on the Coast of *Italie*: but yet (though not without great trouble) they were repelled and scattered by the Emperours Captains, and by his nephew BERNARD King of *Italy*. It followed, that MICHAEL Emperor of *Constantinople*, being assailed by CRVNVS King of *Bulgaria*, against his wil was forced to take the Field, and to fight with him; and in the first battell got the victory: but fighring again the second time, he was ouerthrowne, and therewith lost both the day, and the courage to rule; so as he voluntarily renounced the Empire: or (as some say) a principall Captain of his, called LEO, rebelling, and he not daring to make head against him, deposed himself from the Empire, and went into a Cloister, hauing raigned not fully three yeers. And this LEO, who was son of a Gentleman called PARDVS, was made Emperor: and presently, in the like manner as MICHAEL had done, he sent his Ambassadors to CHARLES the Great, to establish and confirm the peace concluded with his Predecessors; which was performed.

Stauratius, succeeding Nicephorus, was deposed by Michael who succeeded him.

Michael, Emperor of Constantinople, deposed himself from his Empire

In the mean time that LEO was chosen and crowned, CRVNVS King of *Bulgaria*, following the victory which he had obtained against the Emperor MICHAEL, marched with his Army the direct way towards *Constantinople*, whither the Emperor LEO had drawn his forces, and had raised new; and CRVNVS came so neer vnto the City, that hee might well see the same. Which disgrace LEO could not with patience endure (being a very valiant man) but

The death of the Greek Emperor Nicephorus.

but took the field with all his forces, in very good order, and made head against his enemie; who with the ioy of the late victorie attended him: and there was fought betweene them a cruel battaile, which lasted a great part of the day, and many men were slaine of either partie. And therein happened a notable accident seldome seene in other encounters, which was, that in the furie of the fight the Emperor and the king chanced to meete; and either knowing his aduersary, there charging one the other, the Emperor carried himselfe so well, as he ouerthrew the King dead to the earth; so that within a while after, the Bulgarians began to retire, and presently to runne away, in such manner that LEO had a full compleat and noble victorie, together with the spoile of their Campe; and so returned to *Constantinople* with great ioy. The Bulgarians being now contented to defend their owne limits, the Greeke Emperour remained in peace, as CHARLES the Great did in *Germany*. But as all things in this world haue an end; so ended the good fortunes and great power of CHARLES *the Great, together with his life*: for being then of the age of threescore and eleuen yeeres, he was taken with a paine in his side, whereof within the space of seuen daies he died, in the yeere of our Lord eight hundred and fourteen, when he had raigned Emperor fourteene yeeres, and seuen and fortith King of *Brance* and of *Germany*; and of *Italy* forty two.

Crunus King of the Bulgarians slaine by the Emperor Leo.

The death of Charles the Great.

During his whole life he had much reuerenced the Church & imployed his authoritie to aduance it, and bountifully imparted his treasure to inrich it: but this great abundance in so plentiful a peace, made Church-men to grow dissolute. The Emperor CHARLES being wel instructed in religion, knowing how much it did import that learning and good life should shine in those which were to instruct others, he called fiue Councels in diuers parts of his dominions: at *Mentz*, at *Rheines*, *Tours*, *Chalons* and at *Arles*: and by the aduice of these Assemblies he set downe orders for the reformation of the Church, in a booke intituled, *Capitula Caroli Magni*; a reuerent testimonie of the singular piety of this great Prince.

This noble Prince was endued with so many excellent vertues, that we reade of very few in auntient histories that excelled him, so as iustly he may be compared with any of the most excellent whosoeuer; for in martiall discipline, in valour, and dexteritie in armes, I know not any that hath exceeded him: he obtained so many victories, fought so many battailes, and subdued so many fierce and warlike nations, before, and after that he was Emperour, as any of the most famous that euer was. He was tall of stature, very well proportioned in all parts, passing strong, of a faire and graue countenance, valiant, mild, pitifull, a louer of iustice, liberall, very affable, pleasant, well read in historie, a great friend to Arts and Sciences, and sufficiently well seene in them, and a man which aboue all honoured and rewarded learned men. He was very charitable and a great almes giuer; and so good an harbourer of strangers, that in *Syria*, in *Africk*, in *Egypt*, and in other prouinces of the Infidels, wherein Christians liued, he found meanes to haue hospitals, and almes houses, for such as were poore; and in his kingdomes, and euen in his court, he harboured and relieued strangers and pilgrimes. Concerning his faith and religion, he was very zealous; and the most of the warres which he made, were to enlarge the Christian faith. He superstitiously honoured & obeied the Church of *Rome*, and the Pope Bishop thereof, and other Bishops and prelates, and commaunded his subiects to doe the like; whereof besides histories, some chapters in the Decretals, beare record. He was likewise very deuout, and spent great part of the time in prayer, and hearing diuine seruice. In his diet he was very temperate, and a great enemie to all riot and excesse; for at his table were neuer serued aboue fower or fiue dishes, and those of such meate as best pleased his taste; which he vsed to the same end that God created them: which was for his sustenance, and not for a shew and pompe, as now adaies is vsed; in such sort that the meates which naturally are but to please the taste, or at the most the sauour or smell, they will now haue them to satisfie all the other senses; and likewise finding new inuentions, the greatest part of their life is spent at the table; and so they eate of a greater number of exquisit meats, dresst in such manner and with such sauces, that it is hard to know what taste they haue, so as they seeme strange and rare: and sometime meate is made of such things as were not created of GOD to such purpose, no more then he made Goates to draw carts, or to till the earth.

Our CHARLES was not as some are at this day; for as he was rich and mightie, so hee was temperate and vertuous; and maintained his body with what was needfull and wholesome. His ordinarie exercise was hunting, when hee had leasure, in time of warre; and in time of peace, hee gaue eare to such as did reade histories to him; and sometimes hee heard musicke, wherewith hee was much delighted, and had good skill therein. He

He was much condemned for hauing many base sonnes and daughters, but this was in the time of his youth; for afterwards it is to be supposed, that he contented himselfe with his wife: and for remedy of this imperfection, although he was three or foure times a widower, yet he euer married againe the daughters of mightie Kings and Princes. Finally, to make an end of that whereof I haue treated at large, he was an excellent Emperour, and feared and loued God, and died, as I said, very olde and honourably; in peace with the Kings of *Spaine*, *England*, *Denmarke*, *Bulgaria*, the Greeke Emperor LEO, and with all the Princes of that time. His body was buried in a sumptuous temple, which he caused to be built in the citie of *Aquisgrane* or *Aix*.

Where Charles the Great was buried.

The authors from whom I haue drawne this relation, and where the Reader may reade the rest, concerning CHARLES the Great, and the other Emperors, and the histories of those times, are those which ordinarily I vse to alleage, since that the most auntient authors haue failed; to wit, the Annales of *Constantinople* in the twentie third booke, where they make an end, BLONDVS in his second booke of his Decades, ZONARAS a Greek author, SIGISBERTVS, and the Abbot WESPERGENSIS, and MATHEVV PALMERIVS, all three in the processe of their Chronicles; PLATINA in the life of the Popes, CVSPINIAN, BAPTISTA IGNATIVS, BENEVENTANVS DE ROMALDVS, IOHN CARION, IOHN EVTICHIVS, RAPHAEL VOLATERANVS, al these in their Emperors, VINCENCIVS an Historiographer in his Mirror. Besides the which it shall bee necessarie to see, and so may he doe which shall be a curious Reader, the French Historiographers, in matters which concerne the time of CHARLES the Great, which are PAVLVS EMILIVS a singular author, ROBERT GAGVIN, and MARTIN, OTHO FRISINGENSIS in the fift booke of his histories, wherein he treateth at large of CHARLES the Great, and likewise RICHARD of Saint *Victor*, and the Archbishop TVRPIN.

THE LIFE OF LEWES, THE FIRST OF THAT NAME, SVRNAMED *PIVS*, AND THREESCORE AND *SEVENTEENTH ROMAN EMPEROR*: *in whose time* LEO *and* MICHAEL *raigned* in CONSTANTINOPLE.

(***)

THE ARGVMENT.

LEwes boing come to the Empire, confirmed the peace with the Emperor of Gracia, and made warre in Dacia; from which it was requisite that he should returne in person, for redresse of certaine accidents which happened in Italie; which hee easily pacified by meanes of his Nephew Bernard, *then King of Italie. This Emperour renounced all authority to confirme the Popes election.* Bernard *King of Italy rebelled; but being ouercome, hee was led prisoner into France by his Vncle* Lewes, *who gaue to his eldest sonne* Lotharius *that gouernment. He ouercame some Tyrants which rebelled against him, and confirmed to the Church the donation made by his father. There hapned vnto this Emperor one pitifull accident: which was, that his own children rebelled against him, and deposed him from the Empire: but they afterwards repenting, restored him to his estate. In which time befell a verie great disaster and ruine to Rome and Italy; for the Mahometists vnderstanding of the discord betweene Christian Princes, and standing in no feare of* Michael *the Greeke Emperor, hauing*

having prepared a good Nauy, scaled Ciuita Vecchia, and robbing and burning, came to beſiege Rome: from whence (ſo ſoone as they ſaw ſuccours come out of Lumbardy) they returned. They alſo did much harme in Sicilia. After which ruine, Lewes, falling ſicke of a grieuous infirmitie, dyed within fortie dayes, hauing firſt ſet in order the ſtate of the Empire.



Peace betweene the Emperors Lewes and Leo.

N ſuch manner as I haue related in the hiſtorie of CHARLES the Great, his ſonne LEVVES was by him in his life time nominated, and choſen Emperor. Wherefore when as his father was dead, he was by al men peaceably held and obeyed for ſuch, and proued a vertuous Prince, and for his vertue and goodneſſe was called PIVS. The firſt thing he vndertooke, was to come to the citie of *Aken*, where he held a generall Diet or Parliament, and tooke order for all things, concerning the peace, and gouernment of the Empire, and the kingdomes which he inherited; whither came Ambaſſadours from LEO Emperour of *Greece*, to ratifie the peace made with his father: for the better aſſurance whereof, he ſent Ambaſſadours with thoſe which came, to the end that LEO ſhould confirme the ſame in *Conſtantinople*. He reſolued alſo, as a new Emperour, and greedie of honour, to make warre againſt the Danes, in the behalfe of EROALDVS, and RANFREDVS, two Kings which were friends and ſubiect to the Empire, and were depoſed from their kingdomes by the ſonnes of GODFREY. For this enterpriſe he made great preparation, ſending for his nephew BERNARD King of *Italy*, as is before ſaid: and for the better defence of his countries he left his 3 ſons, to wit, LOTHARIVS, PEPIN, and LEVVES. LOTHARIVS which was his eldeſt ſonne, hee made gouernour of *Bauaria*, and the marches thereof; and to PEPIN he left the gouernment of *Aquitania*, and other places thereabout: in the other prouinces, hee confirmed the Dukes thereof, and in all he ſet very good order. Departing with his Armie, and being come into *Saxony*, the weather grew ſo cold, as during all that winter he could march no further: ſo as he was conſtrained to winter in a citie in *Saxony* called *Parburnia*, or *Parburina*; for the cold was ſo extreame, as the ſeas in all that coaſt were frozen, and the warre was afterwards made by his Captaines.

LEVVES returned into *France*, by reaſon of other accidents which happened: for it fell out that in *Rome*, ſome great men ſeeing Pope LEO old and ſickly, conſpired againſt him. Againſt whom he proceeded, determining to haue done iuſtice vpon them; for which cauſe there was a tumult in *Rome*, and in ſome part of *Italy*: whereof when LEVVES was aduertiſed, he ſent commandement to King BERNARD, ſpeedily to go thither, to preuent rebellion in thoſe parts: And BERNARD did ſo with all poſſible expedition, and fully pacified all matters in *Rome*, and in all *Italy*. Within few daies after, Pope LEO died, hauing beene Pope one and twenty yeeres: and in his place was choſen STEPHEN the fourth, who preſently after his election went into *France* to the Emperour; and finding him in the Citie of *Arles*, was honorably receiued, and he with very great ceremonies and ſolemnities, crowned and anointed LEVVES Emperor, and then returned to *Rome*.

The Emperor Lewes crowned by Pope Stephen.

The coronation and ſolemnities being ended, there enſued ſome rebellions in the Dominions of LEVVES; for the Gaſcons, and other people their neighbours, rebelled; for that LEVVES had taken from them their Duke and Gouernor, called SIGVINIVS: for it ſeemeth that then Dukes were made gouernours of Prouinces, and that they for the moſt part, continued their whole life time in their gouernments, or at leaſt a very long time; from whence afterwards came the great houſes of *Germany*, and other parts: ſome by the Emperors gift; and others by force, making themſelues tyrants; which in proceſſe of time were ratified, and confirmed in their dignities. Theſe aforeſaid gouernements were alſo giuen with the titles of Earledomes, and Marqueſſes, as it appeareth by Hiſtories: For, there was giuen vnto them a marke of land, or land (contained within certaine bounds or markes) to gouerne; ſo as they deriued their titles in ſuch manner as did the Dukes. At this time another king of certaine Ilands in the North ſea, taking part with the King of *Denmarke*, made warre alſo againſt the Emperour LEVVES: vpon theſe two occaſions LEVVES raiſed new Armies. The matters of *Gaſcony* were ended in few daies with little difficultie; but the warres with the Danes were more doubtfull, for in the beginning the Saxons and the Imperialiſts had ill ſucceſſe: but at laſt the Emperor prouided ſuch Captaines and Souldiers, as they not onely obtained the victorie, but reſtored

From whence the title of Dukes and Marqueſſes are deriued.

red EROALDVS to his kingdome; who liued in ſubiection to the Empire, hauing beene before depriued.

This happened in the third yeere of the raigne of the Emperor LEVVES: in the beginning of which, newes came that Pope STEPHEN was dead, who had been Pope but ſeuen months; whom PASCAL the firſt ſucceeded, and executed his authoritie in the Popedome, without the Emperors confirmation, being thereto vrged by both eſtates of *Rome*, eccleſiaſticall and ſecular: whereupon he ſent to excuſe himſelfe to the Emperor; for Pope *Adrian* and the clergie had graunted that preheminence to his father CHARLES the Great, and to his ſucceſſors, which was obſerued vntill this time; which authoritie LEVVES renounced, as it appeareth by the chapter *Ego Ludouicus* in the diſtinction 63. LEVVES accepted this excuſe, and ordained that from thenceforth the Imperiall authoritie ſhould be obſerued in this manner, *viz.* that as ſoone as the Pope was choſen, he ſhould giue the Emperor to vnderſtand thereof, as to a friend deuoted to that Church; but not that he ſhould ſtay vntill the Emperor had confirmed his election. Yet notwithſtanding, the Popes afterwards vſed to ſue to the Emperors to approoue their election, vntill the time of LEVVES nephew to his LEVVES, who voluntarily left this cuſtome: which had continued from the time of ADRIAN the ſecond, as ſhall be declared in time and place, if our memorie faile vs not.

Whileſt theſe things paſſed in *France*, in *Germany*, and in *Italy*, LEO (as I haue aboue ſaid) ruling the Empire of *Conſtantinople*, and through his victorie obtained againſt the King of *Bulgaria*, liuing ſome ſpace in peace and proſperitie, and highly eſteemed; waxed ſo proud, and therewith ſo ſeuere and cruell to his ſubiects, as he purchaſed their hatred; whereto this was a furtherance, in that he ſought to put downe the images in their Churches, as ſome of his predeceſſors had done. And it afterwards happened that one MICHAEL, a man of meane parentage, whom he had aduanced and preferred to great eſtate, and had placed neere about himſelfe, and then held in priſon, with a reſolution to haue cut off his eares, was of power with the fauour of many men of great reputation which took him out of priſon, and aſſiſted him herein, to murther the Emperor LEO, and to ſeize vpon the Empire; when he had raigned ſeuen yeeres and certaine moneths. He left behinde him foure ſonnes, which afterwards had diuers aduentures; but none of them obtained the Empire. In this manner MICHAEL gat the Empire of *Conſtantinople*, wherein we will leaue him, to make a concluſion of the hiſtorie of LEVVES the Emperour of the Weſt. And thus it paſſed, that hauing vntill then had good ſucceſſe in his affaires; in the parliament which he lately had commanded to be held in *Aken*, among other matters, which therein were ordained, one was, that his eldeſt ſonne LOTHARIVS was made his companion in the Empire, and his ſecond ſonne PEPIN King of *Aquitania*, which containeth *Languedoc*, *Gaſcony*, *Vienne*, and *Aniow*: and his third ſonne LEVVES was made King of *Bauaria*: and theſe three brethren preſently tooke vpon them the gouernment of their principalities.

Leo caſt the images out of the Churches of the Greeke Empire.

The Emperor Leo murdered.

Michael ſucceeded Leo in the Greeke Empire.

The Emperor Lewes made his ſonne Lotharius his companion in the Empire.

But (as nothing in this world is permanent) after this there befell ſome troubles and warres between the Emperors and the Danes, who began to rebell: through which occaſion, by the counſell and perſwaſion of certaine wicked perſons, whereof ſome were prelates, his nephew BERNARD, King of the greateſt part of *Italy*, rebelled alſo, and denied the dutie of ſuperioritie, which he owed to his vncle LEVVES; and leuying an Army, held the Alpes and the paſſages into *Italy*, thereby to defend himſelfe. Whereof when the Emperor had aduertiſement, adiudging him in the Parliament for an open enemy, he departed towards *Italy*, and by the way leuied men of warre: whither when he came he was of ſuch power, that BERNARD durſt not ſtand to his defence, but yeelded himſelfe into the Emperors hands; who after that he had pacified the ſtate of *Italy*, returned into *France*, and leading BERNARD with him priſoner, would that his doing ſhould be determined by iuſtice, as ſo great an offence required: and he, was condemned to death, and ſo was executed: others write, he caſt him into priſon and put out his eyes. And LEVVES in BERNARDS place made his ſonne LOTHARIVS king of *Italy*, whom before he had made CÆSAR, and his companion in the Empire: and he departing thitherwards, at his arrinall was there anointed and crowned by Pope PASCAL. After this little dangerous warre, there followed another againſt the Duke, or Gouernor of little *Britainy* (a Prouince of *France*) who alſo rebelled, with the people of that Prouince, intitling himſelfe in ſtile of a King; and not ſubiect to the Emperour; and his courage was ſo great, that he leuied an Armie, and came with him to a battaile, wherein this tyrant whoſe name was VIOMARCHVS was ouerthrowne, but not without great difficultie and effuſion of blood; but

Bernard King of Italy rebelled againſt his vncle the Emperor Lewes.

Bernard King of Italy being condemned to die was executed.

the Emperor had the victorie. After which, enſued the death of his wife the Empreſſe called HERNEGOAR, *for whom he was exceeding ſorrowfull; but yet he ſhortly after* married the ſecond time. After this, the Emperor LEVVES liued two or three yeeres in peace; at the end whereof, a Duke, Gouernor of *Hungary*, moued with a deſire to raigne, rebelled and began to warre in *Auſtria*, which in antient time was called the vpper *Pannonia*, and in *Dalmatia* and *Slauonia* likewiſe; againſt whom LEVVES raiſed a great Army, and the tyrant being in ſundry skirmiſhes and battailes ouerthrowne, ſubmitted himſelfe, and the Emperour granted him his life; and ſo thoſe Prouinces remained in peace.

Lewes pacified the tumules in Hungary.

After this, certaine Romanes came to complaine to the Emperor againſt Pope PASCAL, pretending that he had cauſed certaine principall men to be ſlaine, for that they were his followers and deſirous to doe him ſeruice: whereof the Pope excuſed himſelfe by his Ambaſſadors: *which the Emperor not only accepted, but much fauored and honored the Papall Sea.* And for as much as there aroſe ſundrie doubts and queſtions, which of the Townes and Cities of *Italy* appertained to the Empire, and which to the Pope; the Emperour LEVVES made a new donation to the Church of *Rome*, ratifying the charters of his father, and grandfather; which RAPHAEL VOLATERANVS writeth in the third booke of his Geographie, as hauing ſeene the Originall in the Popes library, in the Vaticane; the tenor whereof, as he ſetteth it downe, is as followeth, at whoſe perill I write the ſame.

A new donation to the Church of Rome, made by the Emperor Ludouicus Pius.

In the name of God Almighty, the Father, the Sonne, and the holy-Ghoſt; I LEVVES the Emperor, doe graunt vnto thee PETER the Apoſtle, prince of the Apoſtles, and for thee, to thy Vicar, the Lord PASCAL the higheſt Biſhop, and to his ſucceſſors for euer, the Citie of *Rome*, with all the jurisdiction thereof, and lands and marches thereabouts, the confines, cities, ports and places vpon the *Tuſcane* and *Mediterranean* Sea, *Ciuita, Vecchia, Valneo, Reggio, Viterbo, Sauona, Papulonia, Roſello, Perugia, Maturano, Sutri, Nepe*, and towards the countrie called *Terra di Lauoro, Amenia, Seguia, Settentino, Alano, Patrico, Fruſino*, with all the lands and places in their ſubiection, and alſo all the gouernement of the Citty of *Rauenna*, accordingly as my father the Emperor CHARLES of holy memory, and alſo our grand-father PEPIN, in time paſt granted the ſame to Saint PETER the Apoſtle, that is to ſay, *Rauenna, Bonio, Emillia, Europopuli, Forli, Faenza, Imola, Bologna, Ferrara, Comacchio, Adeia, Cernia*, and in the *Marca, Peſero, Fano, Senigaglia, Ancona, Auſino, Numana, Eſio, Foſſombrone, Feltro, Vrbino*, the territory of *Valuenſe, Caglio, Luccolo, Ogobio*, and alſo in *Terra di Lauoro, Aſola, Aquino, Arpino, Theano, Caput*, and all the lands therein appertaining to our jurisdiction, to wit, the dukedomes of *Beneuent, Salerno*, and *Calabria* the ſuperior and inferior, and that of *Naples*, of *Spoleto, Tuderto, Oricalco, Nurnia*, and all that jurisdiction; and alſo the Ilands in the Sea called the inferior, *Corſica, Sardegna*, and *Sicilia*. All which lands and Cities, PEPIN our grandfather of holy memory, and afterwards our father CHARLES, by their prerogatiue in writing, gaue and granted by their Ambaſſadors, ATHERIVS and MAYNADVS Abbots, of their owne franke and free will, ſent to Saint PETER and his ſucceſſors, and we alſo doe grant and allow the ſame. Moreouer we will and declare, that the power and authority to chuſe the Pope, is, and ſhall remaine free to the Romane Councell and Colledge, to be made without any ſchiſme or diſcord; and that after that he is choſen and conſecrated, for the preſeruation of loue and friendſhippe between vs, he ſhall ſend his Ambaſſadors to me, and to my ſucceſſors which ſhall be Kings of *France*, as the cuſtome was in the time of my great grand-father CHARLES MARTELL, and PEPIN my grand-father, and of my father CHARLES, and this our will and grace which we doe, we giue in writing, and confirme with an Oath, and ſend the ſame to Pope PASCAL our Lord, ſubſcribed with our owne hand, by THEODORE the Legate of the Holy Church of *Rome*. Signed, *Ego Ludouicus*.

This donation was likewiſe atteſted by the Emperors three ſonnes, tenne Biſhoppes, eight Abbots, fifteene Earles, one Secretary, a chamber-keeper, and a doore-keeper. The which donation the ſame Author VOLATERANVS, affirmeth to haue ſeene confirmed by the Emperor OTHO the third, in the yeere of our Lord, nine hundred ſeuenty and two, in the time of Pope IOHN the twelfth.

Of this donation (although not ſo much at large) mention is made in the Decretall, in the chapter *Ego Ludouicus*, in the diſtinction 63. In which chapter is expreſſed, the city of *Rome*, with all that Dukedome, which then contained all the lands, townes and cities vpon the ſea ſide, and the Hauons thereto appertaining, with all the other townes and cities of *Tuſcane*: but their names are not ſet down, neither the Ilands aboue named.

This

This donation being made, the Pope within fewe daies after died, hauing been Pope eight yeers; and EVGENIVS *the Second* was choſen, after that there had been a ſchiſm, wherein two were choſen, who were perſwaded by mutuall conſent to renounce their election, and in their ſteed was choſen EVGENIVS, in the yeer of our Lord eight hundred, foure and twenty, and in the eleuenth yeer of the Raign of the Emperor LEVVES. At the ſame time the Emperor with three Armies inuaded *Britanny* in *France*, which again rebelled, and with the effuſion of much bloud ſubdued the ſame. In like manner, the yeer following, hee defended the Kingdome of *Hungary* againſt the King of *Bulgaria*, which made warre there, and compelled him to ſue for peace. He alſo ſent an Army to the relief of BERNALDVS Earle of *Barcelona*, againſt the Infidels of *Spain*, who made cruell warres vpon him. And ſo the Emperor LEVVES liued euer (although not without ſome troubles) in proſperity and with good ſucceſſe.

In the mean time there were no leſſe wars and troubles in the Eaſt Empire, wherein the Emperor MICHAEL raigned; a wicked and misbeleeuing Prince, who held abſurd and wicked opinions, faſting the Saturday with the Iewes, and denying the reſurrection of the dead: and it pleaſed God, that the whole time of his Raign was infeſted with warres and troubles, and the Infidels eclipſed both his honour and Empire. Firſt, he had very dangerous wars with a great Lord called THOMAS; who taking part with LEO, whom MICHAEL had put to death, being in *Aſia* he drew together much people, and, with the aid of the Infidels, took many Cities; and, coming into *Europe* againſt the new Emperor MICHAEL, took many cities in *Grecia*, and beſieged the City of *Conſtantinople* wherein the Emperor was, and did put him ſo to his ſhifts, that he hardly eſcaped from being either taken or ſlain. But, being thus diſtreſſed and in deſpair, he reſolued to try the laſt and moſt perilous remedy; which was, That he, arming the greateſt number of ſouldiers he could get, ſallied forth, and with ſuch fury aſſailed his aduerſaries vpon the ſudden, that he ſlue a great number of them; in ſuch ſort, that within very fewe daies THOMAS was driuen to raiſe his ſiege, and to retire: And it followed alſo, that his fleet at ſea was ouerthrowne by the Emperors Nauy; ſo as his power euery where began to decay.

Thomas rebelled againſt Michael the Emperor of Grecia.

Shortly after this, the King of *Bulgaria* came with an Armie to aide the Emperor: whom THOMAS reſolued to encounter, before that he ſhould ioyne with him; and comming to a battaile THOMAS was ouerthrowne, and the Bulgarians returned to their countrie, rich, with the ſpoiles of their victorie. Whereupon the Emperour aduentured to take the field: wherein his force ſo much encreaſed, that THOMAS not daring to fight with him, ſuffered himſelfe to be beſieged in *Adrianople*; where after many chances of warre, he fell into the Emperors hands, by whoſe commandement he was put to death: and pardoning ſome, and puniſhing others, hee ſubuerted all his enemies, and his people returned to their obedience. Neuertheleſſe, the Infidels in the warres and enterpriſes paſt became ſo hardie, that they euery where inuaded the territories of the Empire, ſpoiling and taking many places: principally there came a great fleet of them into the Iln of *Candia*, wherein they made great ſlaughter, and obtained a notable victorie by ſea againſt the Imperialiſts. They likewiſe came into the Ile of *Sicilia*, and took a great part thereof, as IOHANNES MONACVS, BLONDVS, and SABELLICVS do write.

The Bulgarians come to aid the Emperor of Conſtantinople.

Thomas are-bel put to death by the commandement of Michael, Emperor of Conſtantinople.

The Emperor LEVVES was required by Pope GREGORIE the fourth (EVGENIVS being dead, after whom VALENTINIAN was choſen, who enioyed the Papacie but fortie daies, and after his deceaſe this GREGORIE was made Pope) to relieue *Sicilia*: which LEVVES hauing other occaſions, refuſed; alleaging, that the Emperor MICHAEL ought to defend it, for that *Sicilia* was of his Empire. By reaſon whereof the ſtate of the Eaſt Empire at that time endured many calamities, and MICHAEL the Emperor of *Conſtantinople* liuing in great trouble, continued but a while, as hereafter we will declare. And although that for that time the Ile of *Sicilia* was relieued by the Venetians, who then were very mighty by ſea; yet that had not ſufficed, if a mightie man called BONIFACE, Earle and Gouerner of the Iſle of *Corſica*, with the aid of a brother of his, and other great men in *Italie*, had not leuied a good Armie, and ſailing ouer into *Africa*, made ſo cruell warres in the marches of *Carthage*, ouerthrowing the Infidels in foure battels, as they were conſtrained to recall their Army from *Sicilia* (as they did in the time of SCIPIO the Africane, and HANNIBAL of *Carthage*). By this mean was the Ile of *Sicilia* freed from the Sarazins: for, conſtrained by this neceſſity, they abandoned what they had gotten, and returned into *Africa*.

The Emperor LVDOVICVS PIVS liuing in great honour and proſperitie, it pleaſed God to lay ſome affliction vpon him: for his owne ſonnes, vpon whom he had beſtowed kingdomes and prouinces, conſpired againſt him, and began to refuſe to yeeld any obedience; and leuying ſoul-

The Emperor Lewes his ſons conſpired againſt their father.

souldiers, raised armies against him. The causes mouing them thereto, or as they falsly pretended, Historians relate diuersly. Some say it was, because he so tenderly loued his young son called CHARLES, whom he had by his second wife, his eldest sonne LOTHARIVS, fearing to be disinherited, sought the ruine of his owne father. Others say it was, for that hee retained into his seruice a valiant Spaniard called BERNARDO DEL CARPIO, nephew to King ALONSO, of whom Spanish Historians write wonders: of whom he made so great account for his valour in the warres, that in all matters of importance he was wholly led by his counsell. Others say, that his wife IVDITH, who was a woman very ill conditioned, onely ruled and bare all the sway with him: so as charging him with these defects, and others as vntrue and vnjust as these, they opposed themselues against their father. Some great Prelates interposed themselues to pacifie so dishonest a controuersie: and, seeking to reconcile them, this milde Emperor loued his sonnes so tenderly, and was so desirous of peace, that, to grace his sonnes, he repudiated his wife (although much against his will); and, bestowing many great rewards vpon BERNARDO DEL CARPIO, hee discharged him. But the true cause was ambition and arrogancy; which increasing in them, this fained agreement endured not long: for, the sonnes, by the consent of certain great men which joyned with them, apprehended their father; and, bereauing him of the robes and ensignes of Emperor and King, and generally of all gouernment & authority, put him into a Monastery: which hee endured with such exceeding great patience, that when (being prisoner) he saw any of them, he neuer vttered any euill speeches; but wild them to take heed, that those their priuate friends and fauourites did not one day deceiue them; and to remember what duty and obedience they ought vnto him being their father. Finally, there passed many treaties about this matter; and he liued one whole yeer deposed, and as a prisoner: at the end whereof, his sonnes acknowledging their error (although some write, against the will of his eldest sonne LOTHARIVS) restored him to his former estate, and hee forgaue them: and as for the rest of their confederates, hee was content in giuing them a very light punishment.

The Emperor Lewes deposed, and put into a Monastery by his sons.

The Emperor LEWES being restored, his second son PEPIN (whom he had made king of *Aquitania*) deceased, and left one sonne called after his name. This domesticall and ciuill dissension between the Emperor and his sonnes, *was very prejudiciall to all Christendome*: for, the Sarazins of *Africa*, being of great power and very mighty, and making small account of MICHAEL the Emperor of *Constantinople*, seeing the Emperor LEWES to be prisoner, and *Italie* abandoned, they with an exceeding great Nauy, and a great number of men of warre, cam into *Italy*, and at their first landing took *Ciuita Vecchia*; and, dispersing sundry companies of horse and foot into diuerse parts, they spoiled and burnt many Townes in *Italie*. And, not content therewith, they besieged the City of *Rome* it self, and battered the same for many daies space; whereby Pope GREGORY the Fourth, and the Inhabitants thereof, were much distressed; and many of them were slain. And although that VINCENTIVS VILVACENSIS, GINARDVS, and some other Historiographers, say, that they entred and took the City, yet it was not so; for, the City defended it self: but they took all the Suburbs called Vaticane, and burned the Church of Saint PETER. Which, coming to the knowledge of GVIDO, an excellent Captain, Marquesse of *Lombardy*, and Gouerner thereof for the Emperor; being thereto moued by Letters from the Pope, and sundry other considerations, hee raised a great power, and took his way towards *Rome:* which when the Infidels vnderstood, being loaden with the riches and spoils of *Italie*, they raised their siege; and, doing all the harm they could, went to *Ciuita Vecchia*, where they embarked themselues, carrying with them an infinite number of captiues and great wealth, and returned into *Africa:* and in their way they made what spoile they could in *Sicilia*.

The Sarazins came into Italie, and besieged Rome.

The Vaticane in Rome taken and sacked by the Sarazins.

At such time as *Italy* endured this calamity, the Emperor MICHAEL died in *Constantinople*, when hee had raigned nine yeers; and (as it had not of long time before been seen in that Empire) his sonne THEOPHILVS succeeded him; who although that in conditions hee was a better Emperor than his father, yet was he no better affected to the Pope, nor to the adoring of Images: for which cause hee put many to death. What befell him wee will hereafter briefly declare.

The death of Michael, Emperor of Constantinople.

But returning to the affairs of *Italy*, which was freed from the danger and oppression of the Infidels; Pope GREGORY the Fourth died, hauing been so aboue fifteen yeers. This Pope *instituted the Feast of All Saints*, which is celebrated in the Church vnto this day. After the decease of this Pope, a Cardinall called SVVINESFACE was chosen: and for as much as it was a very vnseemely name for so high a dignity, by a generall consent it was changed; and hee was called SERGIVS the Second. This was the cause why it hath been euer since vntill this day held for a custome, that the new chosen Popes leaue their old names, whereby they were called before, and take the name of some of their predecessors. Within few daies after the death of the Pope, in the same moneth LEWES the Emperor of *Rome* and King of *France* fell sick and died; so as within the space of foure daies died three the most famous heads of the world, *viz.* two Emperors, MICHAEL and LEWES; and Pope GREGORY IIII. LEWES before he died, made his yongest and well-beloued son CHARLES, King and Lord of *Austria*. And LOTHARY, who was Emperor Elect, remained his heire generall of all the rest, excepting *Bauaria*, whereof his other sonne LEWES was King. And so ended the life and Empire of LVDOVICVS PIVS, in the yeere of our Lord eight hundred and fortie, when he had raigned full twenty sixe yeeres, and had liued sixty foure yeeres; SERGIVS SVVINESNOVT being then Pope in *Rome*, and THEOPHILVS sonne of MICHAEL raigning Emperor in *Constantinople*.

Pope Swineface, afterward called Sergius the second.

The death of the emperor Lewes.

THE LIFE OF LOTHARIVS, FIRST OF THAT NAME, AND THREE-SCORE AND EIGHTEENTH ROMAN EMPEROR; AND OF THEOPHILVS, Emperour in *Constantinople*.

(***)

AFter the death of LVDOVICVS PIVS, the Westerne Empire descended to his eldest sonne LOTHARIVS: and ioyntly therewith his father left vnto him those kingdoms, which he and his father CHARLES the Great, possessed in *France*, in *Germany*, and in *Italy*, excepting those Prouinces which were giuen to his brothers LEWES and CHARLES, which were *Bauiere* and *Austria*, with some others thereto adioyning. As soone as the father was dead, these two sonnes, discontent with their portions, determined to take Armes against their elder brother LOTHARIVS; and LOTHARIVS in like manner pretending all to be his, for that he was the first borne, meant therefore to depose them: whereupon there presently beganne betweene them a very cruell warre, eyther party being ayded by sundrie Dukes and great personages. Some writers affirme, that these two brethren LOTHARIVS and LEWES, who were sonnes of one mother, held together in this warre against CHARLES, who was the Emperors sonne by his second wife. But there is no reason why it should be so: for it seemeth not likely, that CHARLES alone could haue power sufficient to make head against the other two; and also for that LOTHARIVS sought to be Lord of the whole, allowing neither the one nor the other. And it afterwards plainly appeared,

Kingdoms left to Lotharius.

approached, that LOTHARIVS in the peace which they made, entred not as a partaker, but as absolute and alone: wherefore I follow the most common and most likely opinion, which is, that LOTHARIVS warned against the other two. LEWES and CHARLES came out of *Germany*, with many valiant men, against the Emperour LOTHARIVS, who in like manner out of *France*, *Germany* and *Italy*, leuied the greatest and best Army that of long time had been seen: so as all Authors which write thereof affirm, that since the warres between ECIVS and ATTILA, there had not been drawne together in *Europe* the like number of good men of war. The hatred and enuie between those brethren was so great, that they could not auoid a battell, which was fought neere to a little Town called *Fontany*: and as the Captains and souldiers of either party were valiant and expert in Arms, the Fight was the more cruell, and one of the most bloudy that hath been seen, and wherein most men were slain, and most bloud spilt; and it lasted a great part of the day; the victory euer shewing it self doubtfull, inclining sometimes to one side, and sometimes to the other, vntill that towards the euening, the Emperor LOTHARIVS his forces, being vnable to endure the fury of their aduersaries, began to faint: wherewith, courage increasing of the one side, and failing on the other, LOTHARIVS and his people were driuen to flee, and LEWES and CHARLES remained with the victory.

Warre between Lotharius and his brethren.

*All those which write of this conflict, affirm, that therein were slain the greatest part of all the Nobility and flowre of the French Nation; and that in number more men died, than in any other that in *France* hath hapned euer since the battell which was fought between ECIVS and ATTILA, King of the Hunnes, in the fields of *Catalonia*; as before we haue related. LOTHARIVS escaped thence by flight to the City of *Aken*; and houlding himself to bee there in no safety, he by sundry waies came to *Viene* in *France*, where hee again gathered head, and leuied new forces out of *Italy* and other parts; and his brethren resolued to pursue him. And notwithstanding that from the Pope came the Archbishop of *Rauenna*, and many other Prelates voluntarily, to treat of peace between them, yet it auailed not: but LOTHARIVS would the second time try the fortune of the warres, and his brothers sought no lesse; so as they fought: and he was again ouerthrowne (and the Archbishop of *Rauenna* also with him, who came as an Ambassador of peace), and was that day in LOTHARY his Army with three hundred horse, which he brought with him out of *Italy*) and, in despite of himself, was constrained to flee, the greatest part of his people being first slain.*

The Nobility of France slain in a battell.

Lotharius ouerthrowne the second time.

After these cruell battels between these brethren (which, as it is to be beleeued, GOD permitted for a punishment, for the contumacie and disobedience which they shewed toward their father) and after they had much diminished their forces, they gaue eare to a peace; and the said Archbishop of *Rauenna*, and many other Prelates, brought them to an agreement: wherein the Emperor (as a man forced and ouercomn) lost much. The conditions were, that the kingdoms should be diuided between them: which diuision so much decaied the power of *France*, that it neuer after recouered that greatnes which vntill then it held; the accord was made in this manner: That LEWES should be Lord and King of all that part of the Kingdomes and Prouinces which lie ouer the *Rhine*, in the East side of *France*, containing all *Germanie*; to weet, *Hungarie*, *Bohemia*, *Moravia*, *Frisia*, *Bauaria*, *Saxonie*, *Suevia*, and all the rest, and should be called King of *Germany*: And that CHARLES, the youngest brother, should bee called King of *France*, and should be sole Lord thereof, excepting *Galia Narbonensis*, now called *Prouence*: and that those Lands which lie between the *Rhine* and the *Maze* (which euer since that time are called *Lotharingia* or *Lorrain*, after LOTHARIVS) and part of *Burgundie*, should bee subject to the Emperor LOTHARIVS, together with *Lombardy*, and all that part of *Italy* which was in his subjection; with the title and dignity of Emperor.

The diuision of the kingdome of France, between Lotharius and his brethren.

This peace being made with LOTHARIVS against his will; hee, reinforcing his Troops, took his way towards *Italie*, and so to *Rome*: where, after some jealousies between them, Pope SERGIVS crowned him Emperor; and his Sonne was chosen his Successor. Yet some Writers say, that onely his Sonne was crowned: but this in my opinion seems to be most likely. But let vs leaue both the Father and the Sonne (for, in truth LOTHARY was of small power after that he was ouercomn, and yet liued in greater peace than those times permitted) and we will say something of the Emperor of *Constantinople*, THEOPHILVS, and of the losses which ensued in Christendome by reason of the wars between these three brethren.

Lotharius crowned Emperor by Pope Sergius.

The Greek Emperor THEOPHILVS dissented not from his Predecessors in points of Religion; and, concerning his gouernment, he took very good order, and maintained himself wel in his estate; yet somewhat noted of cruelty. In the East he had great and cruell wars with the Sa-

Sarazins, who made incursions into his Dominions in *Asia* the lesse: in which warre two Captaines did him especiall seruice: the one was called MANVEL, and the other PHEBVS; the Emperor himself in person went to this warre, wherein the victories were variable, sometimes of his side, and sometimes against him. Being in this manner busied, and our Emperour and the house of *France* (which then was the only defence and refuge of all Christendome) being weakened and diminished, by reason of the said watres, and dissension which hapned; the Moores of *Africa* with a great Nauie came into *Italie*, and into *Sicilia*, and landing in many places, tooke sundry Townes. Lastly, a mighty King of *Africa*, called SABRA, with a great fleete of shippes and Gallies entered *Italie*: And knowing that the Coast neere to *Rome* was well Garrisoned and fortified, he assailed *Otranto*, and that place being taken and sackt, he did the like by other Townes on the same Coast: and returning from thence, he sayled into the *Adriatique Sea*, now called the *Gulfe of Venice*, and tooke and spoyled many places.

The Emperor of *Gracia* THEOPHILVS seeking to preuent this danger, sent a good Captaine called THEODOSE, with a great fleete, to which the Venetians ioyned theirs, which they had already rigged for the same purpose, (containing threescore gallies): This Infidell king of the Moores was nothing terrified to come to blowes with THEODOSIVS, but they fought a most cruell battaile, wherein the Christians were ouerthrowne, and the Venetian fleet fell into the hands of their enemies. But THEODOSIVS escaped by flight. The Mahometists became so haughty by reason of this victory: and it caused so great feare in *Italie*, that if God had not sent relieefe, the Infidels in short space might haue made themselues Lords therof: for presently after this ouerthrow, they assaulted *Ancona*, tooke it, and burnt it, with sundrie other Townes vpon that Coast. And their power was then so great, that neither the Emperor LOTHARIVS, nor the Pope, were able to make head against them, but contented themselues to keepe and defend what they had in possession: Neither was the Emperours brother CHARLES King of *France*, able to set any fleete to Sea, or yeelde any relieefe: for the Normanes (a most fierce Nation) made warres vpon him, robbing and harrying his Countries, with whom he fought many battels.

Northmen.

Of these Normanes I finde no antient Authors that make any mention; whereby I conjecture that it was then some new name of the people and Inhabitants of those Countries which rose in that manner: yet SABELLICVS, and NAVCLERVS, and some others affirme, that they came from *Denmarke*. When all other succors failed, it pleased God to send a remedy: for there hapned so great a Tempest vpon the Sea, that the greatest part of King SARRAS fleet was sunke and cast away: and those which escaped, returned into *Africa*, torne, and sore weather-beaten: and so *Italy* for that time was relieued, and restored to liberty: but yet afterwards they againe infested it.

A fleete of the Infidels cast away in a tempest.

At this time died Pope SERGIVS, hauing beene Pope little more then three yeers, and then succeded LEO the fourth, in whose time PLATINA affirmeth this ship-wrack of the Moores Nauie to haue hapned: but most say as I haue written. In the beginning of Pope LEO his papacie, THEOPHILVS Emperour of the Greekes died in *Constantinople*: who before his death feeling himselfe deadly sick, and that he could not escape, and considering also that he should leaue his sonne MICHAEL very yong; and that THEODOSIVS the Captaine before named, was rich and very mighty, he resolued with himselfe, first to dispatch him out of the world, to the end that he should not vsurpe the Empire when he was dead: which was a very good resolution, and signe of a good Christian in a man so neere his end. First, hee caused him to be detained in his Palace: and feeling his sicknesse so to increase vpon him that he could not liue, he made his head to be striken off, and within few houres after died. After his death, his sonne MICHAEL was made Emperor, and for as much as he was very yong, his Mother THEODORA the Empresse (as heretofore did YRENE Mother of CONSTANTINE) tooke vpon her the gouernment, and ruled the Empire for her Sonne MICHAEL, and not ill, as it is written: but as he increased in yeeres, so there grew in him a desire to gouerne alone, and his Mother became more ambitious: in such manner, that the young man setting all respect apart, compelled his Mother to goe into a cloyster, and so hee remained sole absolute Lord.

The death of the Emperor Theophilus and his good resolution. Michael succeeded his father in the Empire.

Within a little while after, the Emperor LOTHARIVS remaining in *Lorraine*, and Pope LEO in *Reme*; the Infidels growne proud by reason of their late victories; and coueting the wealth of *Italie*, repaired vp the remainder of their fleete, and building other vessels, returned to make a conquest thereof, with greater power and resolution then at the first: And after some spoiles

The Moores landed in Ostia with intent to haue taken Rome.

spoiles done in some other places they sayled directly to the port of *Ostia*, where setting their Army on Land, they marched towards *Rome*, with an intent to haue taken it, and afterwards all the Countrie: which as they hoped, so the poore Inhabitants feared. But it pleased God they were repulsed, and deceiued in their expectation. Neuertheless, they came and besieged *Rome*, and gaue a very great assault vnto it: but it was so well prouided and furnished, and those which were therein did so valiantly defend the same, that losing all hope to get it, and vnderstanding that succours were comming; robbing and burning the *Vaticane* with great cruelty, they raised their siege: first burning and prophaning Saint PETERS Church which was there, and where it standeth at this day. And for as much as the Moores raised their siege from before *Rome* without taking it, the French writers attribute the honor therof to CHARLES king of *France*, who (they say) came to relieue it, and for feare of whom the Moores departed; and leauing their attempt against it, setting their Army in order, they took their way towards *Naples*, burning and spoyling all as they went.

the Moors burnt the Vaticane & Saint Peters Church in Rome

In the meane while, Pope LEO sallying forth of *Rome*, with the ayde of the Emperour LOTHARY, and his Sonne, whom in his life time he had made his companion in the Empire and in the kingdome of *Italie*, who sent him great supplies; he raysed a sufficient Army, wherewith he went to seeke his enemies, which laden with great riches and spoils, were come neere to the port of *Ostia*; where the Pope considering how mighty they were, if they should remain in *Italie* (as they gaue out they would) and how much the Countrie were ruinated, if they should embarke themselues with their prisoners and riches, and the Emperor staying longer then they would he should haue done, he resolued to vse the sword: and encouraging his souldiers, hee charged his enemies, and fought with them a sharpe and bloudie battaile, wherein many were slaine of eyther partie. But in the end it pleased God that the Christians had the victory: and a great slaughter was made of their enemies, and a great number of Captiues were released, and all that they had taken, recouered, and the greatest part of those which fled, were ouertaken and carried to *Rome* in great triumph.

A battel fought betweene Pope Leo and the Infidels.

Those which remained in the harbour at *Ostia*, vnderstanding of this ouerthrow, hoising their sailes, with all the haste they could, returned into their Countrie: And so was *Rome* freed from the great calamitie and miserable seruitude which it feared. Great was the ioy which was conceiued through all Christendome for this victorie, and the Pope was highly extolled, who speedily returned to *Rome*: where with the consent of the Citizens he resolu'd to compass in with a wall, all those Suburbs called *Vaticane*, wherein are Saint PETERS Church, and the Popes Palace, to he end they should no more endure the like, as they now twice had suffered. To the performance whereof, the Emperor LOTHARIVS and his brethren LEVVES king of *Germany*, and CHARLES the Bauld, King of *France*, sent much of their Treasure: and the worke began with such expedition, that notwithstanding it was very great, and the walles full of Turrets: yet in the space of fiue yeers it was perfected and fully ended: and so that part was made a Citie, and called *Ciuitas Leonina*, after the name of Pope LEO.

The victory of Pope Leo.

The yeere following the Emperour LOTHARY went to *Rome*, to see and speake with the Pope, for that he was falsely informed that he purposed to haue reduced the right title of Emperour to *Constantinople*, whereof the Pope gaue him full satisfaction: and so contented, the Emperour returned into his Countrie. And seeing himselfe now old, and that his Empire had euer beene vnfortunate, aswell for that he was ouerthrowne and dispossessed by his brethren, as for other accidents in *Italie*, imputing it to his sinnes, especially for the disobedience and little regard which he had shewed to his Father; he resolued to put himselfe into a religious house, and to leaue his Empire to his Sonnes; and putting it in execution, he made a diuision thereof in this manner: to his eldest Sonne LEVVES, he gaue that which he held in *Italie*, and to the second, whose name was LOTHARIVS, he gaue the Prouince of *Lorraine*, and other Lands, which in the diuision were allotted to him in *France*, and in *Germany*, about the riuer of *Rhine*; and to CHARLES his third Sonne, he gaue that part of *France*, which is called *Gallia Narbonensis*, and now *Prouence* and *Languedoc*, which fell to his share in the peace which he made with his brethren when he was by them ouerthrowne.

The Emperour Lotharius diuided his Empire betweene his three Sonnes.

In these estates aswell as in others were afterwards great alterations, which I haue no time to relate: this done, he became a Monke in the fifteenth yeere of his raigne, in the yeere of our Lord, eight hundred fiftie and six, and so he liued, and within a while died, MICHAEL continuing yet Emperour of *Constantinople*. And shortly after died Pope LEO the fourth, whom succeeded IOHN an English woman, as Historians affirme; who disguising her selfe in

The Emperor Lotharius renounced the empire and became a Monke. Pope Ioane.

in apparell, and changing her name, being excellently well learned, was chosen Pope, and hauing two yeeres liued in the Papall dignitie, died suddenly in *Partus*; and her succeeded BENEDICT the third.

THE LIFE OF LEVVES THE SECOND OF THAT NAME, AND THREESCORE AND NINETEENTH Romane Emperour.

(***)



HE haue already said, that the Emperour LOTHARIVS, voluntarily and of his owne free will, imparted to his eldest sonne LEVVES the name and dignity of Romane Emperor; of whose life, and for some time after, Historians haue written very little; and in that little is a great confusion amongst them: which hath put me to much trouble, for that I haue beene so carefull and haue vsed all diligence to write the truth. The difficultie is, in that this LEVVES and his Vncle king of *Germany* were both of one name, by reason whereof Authors attribute the acts and doings of the one, to the other, being deceiued therein: and which is worst of all, there are some which of the raigne of this Emperour LEVVES write nothing at all, of which BLONDVS is one, notwithstanding that in all the rest he hath shewed great diligence, ending with his father; so as presently after LOTHARIVS, they place CHARLES the Bauld, king of *France*, whereas to the contrary they should first write the life and raigne of this his sonne LEVVES. But I will follow the most approued Authors, and (in the best manner I shall be able) will bring the truth to light, and will rather choose to say but little, and that certaine, then to please with many forged accidents. In the beginning of the raigne of this LEVVES there happened a very prodigious thing; which was, that in the Citie of *Brescia* in *Lombardy* for three daies it rained blood, so fresh and so perfect, as if it had beene of a Bull, or of some other beast lately killed. First of all, this Emperor was very zealous and deuout in Religion; much affected to the Romish Church, and the ministers thereof (for he knew no other) and was very pitifull, milde, sincere, vnspotted, of a good condition, and of his word and promise very just. After the decease of Pope BENEDICT, NICHOLAS the first being chosen, the Emperor went to *Rome*, to confirme his election; where the Pope and he conuersed together very louingly. It afterwards followed that a great fleete of the Moores of *Africa* came into *Italy*: but the Emperor gathered together so good forces against them, that (with small hurt done) they were repulsed: for which his care and diligence he was highly extolled. And notwithstanding that this Prince was so well inclined: yet, ADVLGIVS Duke of *Beneuent*, rebelled, with *Capua*, and some other Cities; and denying to be subject vnto him, held for the Emperor of *Constantinople*. And whereas *Italie* in times past had been subject to those Emperors, they had now lost it, as being vnable to defend the same; yet *Pulia* and *Calabria* were of long time after vnder their gouerment. Against this Duke, the Emperor LEVVES leuied an Armie, and in person went to suppresse the rebellion: But ADVLGIVS being vnable to defend himselfe against him, sent to make his excuse; alleaging, that what was done, was against his will, and that he had purposed

It rayned blood in Brescia in the time of the Emperor Lewes the Second.

to come to his seruice and did so; and LEVVES receiued and pardoned him: and then went to such places as rebelled; which he easily tooke, excepting *Capua*, which stood vpon defence; but in the end craving pardon, they yeelded. From thence he went to *Beneuent*, where ADVLGIFVS receiued and lodged him, in outward shew, as his soueraigne Lord, and whom he loued; by whose perswasion and counsell (for he seemed to speake from a loyall heart) the Emperour discharged his Armie, and retained few more then the officers of his house: but within few daies after, ADVLGIFVS (as a disloyall traytor) sought to put in execution what he had projected: and getting together certaine Armed men, he suddenly rusht into the Emperors lodging with intent to haue slaine him; and had done so, but that being perceiued, the Emperour and those few which were with him, so valiantly defended themselues, that they gat out of *Beneuent*, and went to *Rome*; from whence by the Popes counsel, he sent such an Armie, that the Traytor was constrained to forsake the Countrie, and to flie into *Sardinia*: and so LEVVES remained in peace, Emperor in *Italie*.

In the meane season, whilest he was thus busied in *Italy*; MICHAEL raigned in *Constantinople*, in *Gracia*, and in part of *Asia*, who deposed his mother from the gouernment: but hee proued careless and vicious, and applied himself onely to feasting, sports on horseback, and other pastimes, his estate and house being ruled by fauourites: and in the warres which he made in *Asia* against the Infidels, he was twice shamefully ouerthrowne; yet PETRONAS a Captaine of his obtained a noble victorie. In the end, one of his great fauourites, called BASILIVS (a man of base linage and condition, whom he had aduanced to great power and dignitie) killed him by treason, and gat the Empire to himselfe; for alreadie in MICHAELS daies he was made CAESAR. This happened in the 13 yeer of his raigne, and in the yeer of our Lord, eight hundred seuenty and six. Yet the Empire of MICHAEL was fortunate in one thing, which was, that the King of *Bulgaria*, and many other people which beleeued not in IESVS CHRIST (at the least in such sort as they ought to haue beleeued) in his time were wholly conuerted.

Basilius: *slew* Michael, *and made himselfe Emperor of the East.*

In these daies also *France* escaped not free from warres, betweene CHARLES the Bauld, vncle to this our Emperor LEVVES, and the Normanes; a most fierce nation: neither was LEVVES the King of *Germany* without warres against other nations, which I am not bound to relate; neither such as hapned in other Kingdoms, but only such as are for our purpose. I say then, that within certain yeers, LOTHARIVS King of *Lorraine*, brother to the Emperour died; and his Vncle CHARLES King of *France*, would haue made seisure on *Lorraine*, and all the other lands which he held; but the Emperor opposed himselfe, and vsed so good meanes, that he tooke possession of all, as heire to his father: whereupon there arose great wars and controuersie between them, which lasted aboue fiue yeeres. Soone after this, the Emperour being in *Milan*, was taken with an infirmitie, whereof he died: who in my opinion (so farre as I can gather out of Histories, left no sonnes to succeede him: wherefore those which say that CHARLES and LEVVES were his sons, are deceiued; for they were the sons of his Vncle LEVVES, King of *Germany* and *Bauuria*: the cause of which error was, for that these two Princes were both of one name; but he that diligently readeth the Histories, shall finde that which I say to be true, and the rest false. I do not produce reasons and conjectures to verifie my opinion, which are to no other purpose, but to weary the Reader, and make the History more obscure: presupposse that I say the truth, and then all is cleere. And to conclude with LEVVES, of whom I haue said little, and that confusedly (for that I could not cleerly discouer any more) I say that he died in the yeer of our Lord 878, when he had raigned 21 yeers; yet some say but 19, at which time IOHN was Pope of *Rome*, and in *Constantinople* BASILIVS was Emperor, who although he entred into the Empire as a Tyrant, yet he was no euill prince.

The Normans inuade *France*

The death of Lotharius *King of Lorraine.*

The death of the Emperor Lewes.

THE

THE LIFE OF CHARLES THE SECOND SVRNAMED THE BAVLD, AND FOVRESCORE ROMAN EMPEROVR; AND OF BASILIVS, Emperour of *Constantinople*.

(**)



THE death of the Emperour LEVVES was soone knowne and published to the world, as vsually is the death of such Kings and Princes as he was: but his Vncles CHARLES the Bauld, king of *France*, and LEVVES king of *Germany*, who were his fathers brethren, had soonest intelligence of which were sonnes to the Emperor LVDOVICVS PIVS, the first of that name: and although they were now old and vnwieldie (for they had beene Kings aboue thirtie yeeres) yet each of them pretended to be Emperor. CHARLES for that hee was King of *France* seemed to haue the better title, for it was transferred thither in the person of his grandfather: and LEVVES for that he was his elder brother, conceiued as much. But CHARLES vsed greater expedition, and made better prouision, by reason of the neerenesse of *France* to *Italy*, being thereto ayded by his owne condition; for he was naturally proud and ambitious: so that with greater celerity then any man would haue thought, he had leuied a great Armie, and passing the Alpes came into *Italy*, and took his way directly for *Rome*; but hee sent his Son LEVVES another way, to seise vpon that which the Emperour LEVVES had taken in *France*, by the death of his brother, which was *Austrasia*, now called *Lorraine*. CHARLES being come to *Rome*, where he had already by messages and letters (and as some say by money and bribes) solicited, and gotten the good will of the Romanes, and of Pope IOHN the eight, or ninth, was presently Crowned by him, and held for Emperour, and in the meane time, his brother LEVVES in *Germany* failed not to leuy forces to come against him: with a resolution to depriue him of the Empire, and of his life also if he could. But CHARLES hauing settled the affaires of *Italy* in very good order (ingreat choler against his brother) returned into *France*, against whom he raised his whole power. They beginning to march, the one against the other, LEVVES was arrested by death, at *Franckford*; leauing his Dominions, First, diuided betweene his 3 sons, which were vey valiant men, to wit, LEVVES, CARLOMAN, and CHARLES, of which three names, the of-spring of CHARLES the great made great account: which causeth a great confusion and obscuritie in the Historie, if the Reader be not very attentiue. The diuision was made in this manner by the mutuall consent of the three brethren; to LEVVES was giuen *Saxony*, *Turingia*, *Friseland*, and the Prouinces

The diuision of King Lewes his Dominion, betweene his sonns.

within them contained, and that he should be called King of *Ostrofrancia*, or East *Fraunce*. To CARLOMAN, was allotted *Bauaria*, *Austria*, *Carinthia*, *Slauonia*, *Bohemia*, and *Morauia*, with the title of King of *Bauaria*. To CHARLES befell *Sueuia*, *Franconia*, and all the rest of *Germany*, and some Cities in *Lorraine*, which had beene vnder his Vncle LOTHARIVS, and hee (as his Father had beene) was called King of *Germany*. Their Vncle CHARLES the Bauld, Emperor and King of *France*, being hereof aduertised, making lesse account of the Sonnes, then he had done of the Father, being more proud and ambitious, then hardy and valiant, entred *Germany* with fifty thousand men, and went as farre as *Coleyn*; neere whereunto his nephew LEVVES, the new King of East *France*, stayed for him, with the greatest part of his Fathers Army, assisted by his brothers CARLOMAN, and CHARLES, and other great Dukes and Princes of *Germany*, first seeking peace: but seeing that the Emperor would not grant the same, he ioyned in battaile with him, which was fought of either side very obstinately. And the Emperor seeing his enemies fight with such resolution, fled from the battaile, and his nephew LEVVES remained with the victorie. In this battell and pursuit, was made great slaughter of the French Nobilitie: And so the Emperor returned into his Countrey, with lesse power, and more dishonor, where he reposed himselfe for a season: his nephewes taking no care further to trouble him.

Baldwin Earle of Flanders, fell in loue with the daughter of Charles the Bauld.

After this, it hapned that one BALDVVIN, then Gouernor or keeper of that Countrey, which now is called the Earledome of *Flanders*, (and was lately so populous and so well inhabited, and then for the most part was nothing but wood and Forrest, with some few little villages) fell in loue with one of the Emperors daughters; and her father being absent in the wars, he found meanes to conuey her out of the Palace, and so hid himselfe with her in those woods: against whom the Emperor meaning to haue proceeded with all rigour, at the entreaty of many religious persons and of estate, was perswaded to marry him to her; and doing so, gaue him that countrey, with the title of Earle of *Flanders*: and this BALDVVIN proued to be so excellent a man, and vsed such industrie, that he replenished the Countrie with Inhabitants, which so manured the Land, that within few yeeres it did abound with people and all other things necessarie; And his Sonne ARNVLPHVS, and his successors, vsing the like diligence, it came to be one of the most flourishing countries of the world; of such power is diligence and human industry: this was the beginning of that estate.

The Originall of the Earledom of Flanders.

The Emperour CHARLES being thus in his Kingdome of *Fraunce*, in the meane time while that he warred with his nephewes, the Moores of *Africa*, who had a taste of the wealth of *Italy*, came with a great Army, and made great spoiles in the Marches of *Capua*, and besieged that Citie: Whereupon Pope IOHN sent to request the Emperour, to come to protect the Lands of the Church, which hee performed with the greatest speede hee could make, for he was very politique, and cunning in the leuying of men of warre; but before his going into *Italy*, (to satisfie his wiues humour) hee made her brother BOSON, who was also his neere kinsman, King of *Prouence*. Comming to *Rome*, the Infidels leauing that coast, tooke another way, which was into *Sicilia*, which yet was vnder the Empire of *Constantinople*, whereof BASILIVS was Emperour, of whom we will presently make mention.

The Moores came into Italy and besieged the Citie of Capua.

When LEVVES, CHARLES, and CARLOMAN, knew their Vncle was in *Italie*, they vnited their forces, with a resolution to goe against him, in reuenge of former injuries. Whereof as soone as the Emperour had intelligence, hee departed from *Rome* with his forces, to make head against them: But it pleased God to saue him that labour; which was, that comming to *Mantoa* with his Armie, being now old and decrepit, an infirmity tooke him, whereof he feared not that he should haue died. But a Iew called ZEDECHIAS (which was his Physician) poysoned him, and so he presently died: and his affaires remained confused, and out of order; leauing for his heire in his kingdomes, his Sonne called LVDOVICVS BALBVS, and other three which he had, who also had ill successe: which appertaineth not to my Historie. They called this his sonne BALBVS, for that so in Latine they call him which stuttereth, and cannot pronounce certaine letters, but haue that defect in their speech. At this time in the Empire of *Constantinople*, raigned BASILIVS before named, who (as I haue said) proued no ill Gouernour, for hee released many of the tributes and other exactions, which his predecessors had formerly imposed vpon the people: and hee defended the Empire with great valour and much discretion, although that in some things hee had ill

The death of the Emperour Charles the 2. poisoned by his Physician which was a Iew.

Ludouicus Balbus, and why so called.

First,

First, against certaine great troupes of Infidels, which came from *Alexandria* in *Egypt*, into the Ile of *Candia*, and had taken many places there, he rigged a Nauie, and sailed thither in person, where he fought, and was ouercome, to the great domage of the Christians: and (by great hap) escaping he returned by flight to *Constantinople*, but not daunted, neither discouraged, and prepared a new fleete: and to try his fortune with a new Captaine, he sent therewith his wiues Father, whose name was CHRISTOPHER, a man very valiant, and of great experience; who had so good hap, that obtaining the victorie, he cleared that Iland. After this, hee waged other warres in *Asia*, by his Captaines, against the Infidels, Turkes and Persians: wherein for the most part he had good successe; and lastly, against the Africanes, which for feare of CHARLES the Bauld (as was aboue said) leauing *Italy*, went into *Slauonia*, or *Dalmatia*, and had taken some Townes of BASILIVS his Empire, he sent thither his Army and Nauy; and with the aide of the Venetians, draue them out of those Countries, and recouered what they had taken. And so he raigned with greater honour, and to the better liking and contentment of his Subiects, then many of his Predecessors. At which time the Emperor CHARLES the Bauld died in *Mantoa*, when he had raigned little more then two yeeres, IOHN the ninth being then Pope. Some Authors say that he raigned a longer time; but the truth is as I haue set downe.

The death of Charles the Bauld.

THE LIFE OF LEVVES THE THIRD, SVRNAMED BALBVS, AND FOVRESCORE AND ONE ROMANE EMPEROR; TOGETHER WITH the life of BASILIVS Emperour of CONSTANTINOPLE.

(***)

IF in the time of CHARLES the Bauld there were warres and troubles for the Empire; there were no lesse after his decease, as the Reader may well obserue by the processe of this historie; wherein, although it seeme that I vse breuitie, for that I waste lesse paper in one then in another, yet, is it not so; for I seeke (as much as I may) to make an euen diuision of this booke betweene the Emperours, whose liues I write. But forasmuch as these Princes of whom I doe now treate, liued but a short time in the Empire, (to obserue an equalitie, and due proportion, as farre as possibly may be) I hold it reason, that the memorie of them be briefe, according to the time of their raigne, and to the end that wee may haue space to write of matters neerer to our time. The Emperor CHARLES being deceased in *Mantoa*, as is aforesaid, his nephew CHARLES King of *Germany*, with his brethren, which already had entred *Italy* against him, stayed with their Army: for the enemy being dead, the warre was ended. His Sonne LEVVES, who liued in *France* being aduertised of the death of his Father, and how that his Cousins had laid downe their armes: first he endeuoured to settle himselfe in his Fathers Kingdom, and he also sent to entreat Pope IOHN to aide him and to stand his friend in attaining to the Imperiall dignitie.

In the first he found some difficultie, being contradicted by his mother in law the Empresse, who was counselled and assisted by her brother BOSON king of *Prouence*: but the matter was carried so cunningly, that within few daies he was held and obeyed for King. Now concerning the Empire, he found great difficultie; for CHARLES surnamed the Fat, being king of *Germany*, besides that he already had some Townes in *Italie*, had also the good-will of many of the principall men in *Rome*; so as notwithstanding that Pope IOHN would haue had LEWES king of *France* to haue beene chosen Emperour, yet he could not effect it: For, they not only denied to accept him, but were so audacious as to lay hands vpon the Pope, to the end that he should not doe it. But he stayed not long in prison, for some of his seruants, either by force or policie, released him, and he in great haste went into *France*, where he was honorably entertained by the King. Being there (of his owne authority) he intitled LEWES Emperor; and giuing him the Imperiall ensignes, crowned him with great solemnity: and after this, remained one yeere in *France*; where he called a Councell, and made certaine orders concerning the state of the Church, and created a Bishop for the Countie of *Flanders*, where there neuer had beene any before, being but lately inhabited. In which time the warres and troubles between the new Emperor, and his cosin germane CHARLES King of *Germany* ceased not; who was also so called by the will of the Romanes, who were the occasion of a worse inconuenience: for the Moores of *Africa* (seeing *Italy* abandoned by the Pope, and that the defence came slow and slenderly) prepared a great Nauie, and did much harme there: whereof Pope IOHN being aduertised, with the aide of CHARLES the Fat, King of *Germany*, who was also called Emperor, came into *Italy*; at whose comming the Infidels retired, and the countrie was freed from the great danger wherein it was: The Pope seeing how much *Rome* and all *Italy* had been better relieued by CHARLES, then by LEWES, and how much CHARLES was more fauoured by the principall Barons in *Italy*; and to the end to come to agreement with the said Barons, altring his minde, he approued and confirmed the nomination and election made of CHARLES King of *Germany* who for his corpulence was surnamed the Fat; and so he anointed and crowned him Emperor; disannulling the coronation of LVDOVICVS BALBVS King of *France*; for which cause it was thought that great warres and troubles would haue ensued: but by the interceſſion of certaine great personages, a peace was concluded betweene the two Emperors in this manner: That they both should hold the name and title of Emperors, and that the countrie of *Lorraine* (about which was wont to be great contention) should be equally diuided betweene them, and that for the Empire no warre should be made; but that in all parts peace should be entertained betweene the lands and subiects of the one and of the other partie; and that in *Italy* (vntill that an equall partition were made) each of them should hold such lands and townes as he then had in possession: and if that the Infidels inuaded the dominion of either of them, the other was bound to aide him with his forces.

Lewes made king of France.

The Pope apprehended.

The first Bishop of Flanders.

The Moores inuade Italy.

The Empire diuided.

This peace being concluded (although doubtfull and fained) the Emperor LEWES *died* in *France*, whereof he was King, hauing raigned not fully two yeeres; in all which time he neuer came to *Rome*, neither into *Italy*. But for as much as Pope IOHN crowned him in *France*, and afterwards in *Rome* disannulled his election and coronation, some Historiographers leaue him out of the catalogue of Emperors. He left when he died two bastard sonnes behinde him, the one called CARLOMAN, and the other LEWES, and his wife great with a sonne, whereof she was afterwards deliuered; which sonne being posthumus (for so doe they cal him which is born after his fathers deceasse) hee left for his heir of the kingdoms of *France*; wherein grew great discord, warres and miserie about the gouernment and the kingdome; and in the one and other were great alterations and changes, too long to be related: for the bastard sonnes pretended title and right to the Crowne, and so did BOSON King of *Prouence*. Others would haue the child (wherewith the Empresse was great at the death of the Emperor, who was afterwards called CHARLES the Simple) to be King. The gouernours also tooke vpon them the name of Kings: sometimes one was a King, and sometime another, and each of them made himselfe Lord of what he could get. In these troubles the kingdome endured great calamitie. This Emperor LEWES *died* in the yeere of our Lord, eight hundred and foureſcore, according to the computation which I hold for most certaine.

The death of the Emperor Lodouicus Balbus king of France.

Charles the simple posthumus.

THE



THE LIFE OF CHARLES THE THIRD, SVRNAMED THE FAT, AND FOVRESCORE AND SECOND ROMANE EMPEROVR; AND OF BASILIVS *and* LEO, *at that time Empe-rors of* Constantinople.



DEceasse of LEWES the Emperor and King of *France*, the king of *Germany*, CHARLES the Fat, without any contradiction enioyed the Empire; for in the others life time he had in a manner robbed him of that Majesty, which (as the Reader may well consider) was at that time but only in name; for the authority of CHARLES the Great and his successors, consisted more in letters, and in the Kingdomes which they wonne and possessed (which were the Dominions of *Germany* and *Italy*) then in any part of the Empire, whereof there remained *Italie* onely, and therein the Pope held the greatest part; and the Greeke Empire had euer some share: And that likewise which the Emperours held in *Italy*, was recouered by the said CHARLES, and by his father; yet the name of Emperor was in the highest degree desired, and the authority and Majesty thereof was very great, and so continueth vntill this day. CHARLES the Fat remaining then sole Emperor in peace, as his vertues deserued, leauing *Italy* in good order, went into *Germany*, to take possession of his brother LEWES his Kingdomes; who also at that time died without heires, whose dominion contained *Frisland*, *Saxony*, *Lorraine*, and other prouinces; and he had so good hap, that within short space after, his other brother died also without sonnes or issue: which prouinces were afterwards diuided into sundrie houses and states (in processe of time) by the gifts of the Emperors, and through sundry other accidents, as it plainly appeareth. I say then that he remained Lord of all *Germany*, and King of *Italy*.

The next yeere after this, died BASILIVS Emperor of *Constantinople* of a very extraordinatie death: for riding on hunting (as his custome was) hee was slaine by a Stagge. BASILIVS in his life time had chosen and nominated his eldest sonne LEO for CÆSAR, after the death of his other eldest sonne CONSTANTINE: wherefore when as the father was dead, his sonne LEO was crowned and obeyed for Emperour; and was called the Philosopher, for that he was much inclined to learning: BASILIVS left also another sonne, called ALEXANDER. The Emperor CHARLES hauing good successe in his affaires; and knowing what warres and factions were in *France*; vnder colour to warre against the Normans which harried the Countrie, he sought (as many others did, and had done) to make himselfe King thereof. Leuying then a mighty Army of Germanes and Italians, he entred *France*, and

Basilius Emperor of Constantinople, slaine by a Stagge, and his sonne Leo succeeded him in the Empire.

went to the City of *Paris*, which the Normans held beſieged: and, hauing taken all the Countrey, and put the Normans to rout, he was called King of *France*; the young King CHARLES the Simple, or BONOSVS King of *Prouence*, hauing no ſufficient power to make head againſt him.

In this warre were many great fights; which, becauſe the Authors handle the ſame ſo confuſedly, I paſſe ouer in ſilence. And the Emperors party became ſo mighty, that he not onely enjoyed the title and name of King, but the Kingdome it ſelf alſo: and to the end, that hee might the better draw the Normans to his ſeruice, he treated with them (after hee had ouerthrowne them) of peace, and gaue their King to wife a kinſwoman of his, which was a Dukes daughter; and aſſigned to him that part of *France* which lieth beyond the riuer *Sein*, bordering vpon the Engliſh Sea, which after them is at this day called *Normandy*, and is a very good Countrey and well inhabited. Yet ſome Hiſtorians ſay, that the Emperor CHARLES did not this, but that CHARLES the Simple afterwards did it when hee came to bee King of *France*; who at that time was but an Infant, and vnder the gouernment of EVDON: but in my opinion that was too long a time, for they afterwards had warres with him. But howſoeuer it was, the Emperor CHARLES the Fat was Lord of the greateſt and beſt part of *France*, and was called king thereof, being before that time King of *Germany*, and Emperor of *Italy*: and, ſetting all things there in good order, he retired himſelf into *Germanie*; where being arriued, as the ſtate of his dominion and Empire was grounded vpon but weak foundations, ſo it ſuddenly fell from the height of that Throne. Some alledge the cauſe thereof to be, for that he became fooliſh, proud, and vnfit to gouern: others ſay, that a diſeaſe took him which bereaued him of his ſenſes; which commeth all to one in effect.

The coming of the Normans into Normandy.

Charls the Fat depoſed from the Empire, and Arnolph choſen in his place.

To conclude, the Princes, Dukes and Gouerners of the Prouinces of *Germany* and *France*, ſeeing his great inſufficiency and vnaptnes to gouern, reſolued to depriue him of his Empire and Kingdomes: and for as much as he had neuer a ſonne (being, as they write of him, vnapt by nature for generation) by common conſent they nominated and choſe a great and valiant Perſonage, called ARNOLPH, who was by CHARLES aduanced to the Duchies of *Bauaria* and *Carinthia*, and (as ſome write) was but of mean parentage, and no way allied to CHARLES: and ſo they account CHARLES the Fat to be the laſt of the linage and bloud of CHARLES the Great. But after ſome, which is the moſt common opinion, ARNOLPH was nephew to CHARLES the Far, baſtard or naturall ſonne to CARLOMAN King of *Bauiere*; which ſeemeth moſt likely to be true, ſeeing that hee without any gainſaying attained both to the Kingdome and Empire, and was not onely intituled Emperour, but alſo King of *Germany*: but in *France*, after ARNOLPH's firſt fury, they made OTHO or EVDES (who was CHARLES the Simples Tutor) King of *France*; whom CHARLES the Simple afterwards ſucceeded. After this, many great matters enſued, which appertain not to my Hiſtory. And ſo CHARLES the Fat loſt both his Empire and vnderſtanding, when he had raigned nine yeers, in the yeer of our Lord eight hundred fourſcore and nine; and liued afterwards about one yeer, in great penury and miſery.

It is written, that this poor Prince found himſelf at one Inſtant depriued of all meanes, and forſaken of all the world, degraded both of Realm and Empire; hauing ſo ill prouided for his affairs in the time of proſperity, that he found himſelf naked without a houſe where to ſhrowd himſelf from the ſhipwrack of his diſgrace, driuen out of his Palace, and retired into a poor village of *Swanbe*, where he liued ſome daies in extreme want, without any means or relief; in the end died, not lamented or pitied of any man, in an vnknowne corner, yet noted to be the Theatre where was acted ſuch an extraordinary Tragedie, That one of the greateſt Monarchs of the world is dead, without houſe, without bread, without honour, without pity, and without memory, but to obſerue ſo miſerable an end.

In *Conſtantinople* yet raigned LEO, not ſo ill as ſome others: for, notwithſtanding that hee was ſomewhat cruell, yet he was a louer of juſtice and equity, and very zealous, and built ſome ſtately Temples. He warred with the Bulgares, and ouercame them, and was ouercomne by them; whoſe death and actions we will declare heerafter: for, he raigned 25 yeers.

THE

THE LIFE OF ARNOLPH, ONLY OF THAT NAME, AND THE FOVRESCORE AND FOVRTH ROMANE EMPEROR; AND OF LEO, *Alexander* and *Conſtantine*, Emperors of GRAECIA.

(***)



IT is already mentioned in what maner ARNOLPH attained to the Empire, who is numbred among the good Emperors: for, he was wiſe and vpright in his gouernment, and had both valour and courage to defend and protect the Empire; yet in his time were great warres. As ſoon as he was Roman Emperor and King of *Germany*, he had a deſire to make himſelf King of *France* alſo; and hee fought ſome battels with the Normans: who, vnderſtanding that CHARLES was depriued & dead, rebelled, and made warres in *France*, wherein he had the victory: but, conſtrained through ſome innouations in *Germanie*, hee returned thither, and abandoned *France*; which I omit as a matter impertinent. Being comn into *Germany*, his firſt buſineſſe was with a certain people in the Prouince of *Morauia*, called Magarens, which warred in all parts of *Germanie*; and committed ſuch ſpoils, and put him in ſo great fear, that he ſought to pacifie them rather by policy than by Arms: and to the end they ſhould liue in peace and quiet, he agreed to giue them that countrey to inhabit; ſo as to them was aſſigned the Prouince of *Morauia*, with part of *Bohemia*, where it bordereth vpon *Hungary*, *Poland* and *Sileſia*. Yet, neuertheleſſe, this continued but a ſmall time: for, this people, waxing proud of their agreement, with greater preſumption inuaded the countrey: againſt whom ARNOLPH leuied an Army of valiant men at Arms, brought out of *Hungary*; with which, and his other ordinary forces, he ouerthrew the Morauians in a notable battell, and cutting the greateſt part of them in pieces, the reſt fled and abandoned the countrey: but, it being freed from the Subdued, was much more oppreſſed by the victorious Hungares; who, mutinying for want of their pay, ſacked the Cities and Towns of *Germany*: and, croſſing ouer the Countrey, without any reſiſtance came into *Friſeland*, and thence into *Gallia Belgica*; part whereof at this day is the Earldome of *Flanders*. Theſe Hungars, as ſome affirm, were of the ſame Countrey of *Hungarie*; and VICENTIVS in his Mirror, and MARTIN affirm, that they came out of *Scythia* into that Prouince: but whence-ſoeuer they came, it importports not much; it ſufficeth they all agree, that ARNOLPHVS was much troubled with them, and that they burnt and ſpoiled a great part of *Germany*: and ARNOLPH did all that was poſſible, and at length conſtrained them to return into *Hungary*, from whence (as long as he liued) they neuer durſt come thither again.

Whil'ſt

Whil'ſt theſe things paſſed in *Germany*, *Italy* eſcaped not free from warres and combuſtions; whereof, the Emperors long abſence was the occaſion: for, he had neuer been there, but went thither being called by Pope FORMOSVS, who was choſen after the death of STEPHEN before mentioned. This FORMOSVS was choſen againſt the will of the greateſt part of the people of *Rome*, which fauoured a Cardinall called SERGIVS, to whom they had giuen their voices: wherefore the Pope, houlding himſelf greatly injured, went to the Emperor, and was the cauſe of his coming into *Italy*; of whom before that we enter into any diſcourſe, it ſhall not be amiſſe to ſpeak (after our accuſtomed manner) of the Emperor of *Conſtantinople*, in the life of LEO the Fift, who (as wee ſaid) at that time held that Empire; wherein ordinarily enſued great accidents: for, the Emperor was euer at contention and variance (in *Europe*) with the Bulgarians, the Hungars, the Ruſſians, and other Nations; and in *Aſia* with the Armenians, the Perſians, and other Infidels. But I deſire to be held excuſed in that I write not that Hiſtory at large, ſeeing I am bound to write but of the Emperors of the Weſt onely, who are held for the right Emperors; and of the others to make but a brief relation.

LEO, hauing ended his warre with the Bulgarians, reſolued to warre in *Aſia* againſt the Infidels, and did ſo; wherein although that many loſſes hapned to either party, yet in the end his Armie (being led by a good Generall) obtained a very notable victory; whereby his name cam to be very famous and renowned: ſo as in theſe actions, and others which I write not, fiue and twenty yeers of his Empire were ſpent: in the end whereof, he died of the Colick. And after his death his brother ALEXANDER was choſen Emperor, notwithſtanding that hee left a ſonne called CONSTANTINE: but, foraſmuch as he was of more yeers and better beloued, the brother had the Empire, and held it thirteen or foureteen moneths: during which time he did nothing that was good; and for abuſing the Ambaſſadors of SIMEON King of *Bulgaria*, warre was made againſt him. He beſtowed offices and dignities vpon ignoble and baſe perſonages, and in the end was taken with a flux of bloud at the noſe, which neuer left him vntill he left the Empire: and CONSTANTINE, ſonne to his brother LEO, had the Empire; of whom we will ſpeak heerafter: for, this hapned in the time of ARNOLPH, Emperor of the Weſt, whoſe life we now write, which ended (as I ſaid) coming into *Italy*, in fauour of Pope FORMOSVS, and to recouer ſuch Cities as were therein vſurped by certain Dukes and Earles; between whom and them enſued many battels: and in all *Italie* were factions and diſſenſions, eſpecially between GVIDO Duke of *Spoleto*, and BERENGARIVS Duke of *Friuli*, who were made Dukes by the old Emperor CHARLES; being men of the greateſt account in all the Countrey, he thinking by this means to defend the Country againſt the Lombards and French, and to hould the ſame in ſubjection, hauing ſuch mighty Commanders. But theſe men made themſelues Lords of all they could, and either of them was a great enemie to the other, and fought a great battell; wherein GVIDO was ouerthrowne, and BERENGARIVS had the victory: who, vnderſtanding of the Emperor ARNOLPH's coming, ſought to make a league with him, and offred him his ſeruice; more to ſeek his enemies ruine, than for any ſeruice he meant to doo to the Emperor.

Leo, Emperor of Conſtantinople, died of the Colick, and Alexander ſucceeded him.

Alexander, Emperor of Conſtantinople, died bleeding at the noſe.

ARNOLPH, being comn into *Italy* with a great Army, fought means to make himſelf Lord of the Countrey, aſſiſted by BERENGARIVS, whoſe Dukedome of *Friuli* was in his way: he took many places which GVIDO had vſurped, and went to *Bergamo*; into the caſtle whereof, a certain Earle (one of thoſe which conſpired againſt Pope FORMOSVS) was entred: who, together with others of that City, was there beſieged by the Emperor; who, taking it by force, cauſed him to be hanged. And ſo he puniſhed and did juſtice vpon many others, and redreſſed many injuries and wrongs done in *Italy*. Afterwards hee went with his Army towards *Rome*, where the Pope attended his coming: but his aduerſaries were of ſuch power, that, whether the Pope would or not, they put the City in Arms, and (ſhutting their ports) would not receiue the Emperor; whereupon hee beſieged it, which cauſed great tumults and mutinies therein: but in the end the Popes authority, and the fear of the Emperors power, ſo much preuailed, that he was receiued; wherein, by his direction, great puniſhment was inflicted vpon ſuch as could be taken; and the Pope crowned him Emperor with great honour and ſolemnity: and, within fewe daies after, hee departed, with an intent to ruine GVIDO Duke of *Spoleto*, who was of great power, and thought as well as BERENGARIVS, to haue been King of *Italy*. Hauing taken ſome Towns, he beſieged his wife in a certain City: the Ducheſſe practiſed with one of the Emperos fauourites to giue the Emperor a certain drink, which ſhee made him beleeue would make him milde and courteous: but as ſoon as he had taken it, he fell into a deep ſleep,

Arnolph crowned Emperor in Rome, by the Pope.

ſleepe, which held him ſo long, that they thought he would neuer haue awaked againe; for he ſlept three daies and three nights, and no man could make him to moone: but in the ende hee awoke, and found himſelfe ſo ill, that contenting himſelfe to ſettle the affaires of *Italie* in the beſt order that he could, he return'd into *Germany*, hoping in his natiue country to recouer his health. At what time as the Emperor ARNOLPH departed *Italie*, Pope FORMOSVS died, and after him BONIFACE the ſixt was choſen, who was Pope but twentie ſix daies; and then ſucceeded STEPHEN the ſixt, who was ſo great an enemy to FORMOSVS and to his actions, that when he was Pope, he ſought to diſannullal matters done by him; which was an ill example, and whereof afterwards many euils enſued: for ſome Popes did the like by their predeceſſors, againſt whom they had conceiued diſpleaſure.

The ſucceeding Pope condemned the precedents actions.

This being done, Pope STEPHEN dyed in the third yeer of his papacie, and him ſucceeded ROMANVS, a Spaniard borne, who was Pope but three moneths. And after him came THEODORE the ſecond, who held the chaire but twentie daies, in which time his chiefeſt care was to confirme the doings of FORMOSVS, which STEPHEN had diſannulled; and after his death IOHN the tenth was choſen. While theſe Popes ran in ſuch haſte to death one after another, the Emperor ARNOLPH with his Army went into *Germany* and out liued them all, and raigned in proſperitie, nothing befalling him worthie memorie; but in the end he was aſſailed with a kinde of ſickneſs, which proued the worſt diſeaſe that could be imagined, and this was an infinit number of lice; wherewith he was ſo tormented and eaten, that he could not be cured thereof, but dyed: this happened in the yeere of our Lord, nine hundred and one, and in the twelfth yeere of his raign. ARNOLPH at his death left behind him three children which he had by his two wiues; by his firſt wife, he had ARNOLPH, whom in his life time he made Duke of *Bauiere*, and BERNARD Earle of a certaine prouince: and by his ſecond wife he had LEVVES, who afterwards was Emperor; he had another baſe ſonne called ZENEBALDVS, whom in his life time he made Duke of *Lorraine*; and one daughter called BERTA, married to the Duke of *Cleue*.

The miſerable death of the Emperor Arnolph.

In the time that ARNOLPH raigned, began the Dukes of *Normandie*; for the King or captaine of the Normans married the daughter of CHARLES the Simple, king of *France*, and making himſelf to be Chriſtned, was called ROBERT, whoſe ſonne was the firſt Duke of *Normandie*. There were alſo Dukes in *Burgundie* of the houſe of *France*, which a long time after were called Kings: and in *Saxony* alſo, and in other parts, as hath been obſerued, and hereafter ſhall appeare in this hiſtorie: for the Kings and Emperorus of thoſe times did vſe to gouerne their cities and prouinces by perpetuall Dukes, ſo as at that time were very great Earles and Dukes, and the Emperors gouerned *Milan* by an Earle, who was called Earle of *Milan*; the like they did by other prouinces: whereof it afterwards enſued, that their eſtates became perpetuall, they holding the ſame by inheritance.

At this time the principall Earles of *Caſtile*, through the many murthers and iniuries committed by DON HORDONIO in that countrey, choſe among themſelues two to be iudges betweene them, and to determine their differences and warres: which were HVNNO HVNNES RASVRA, and LAIN CALVO: after this followed DON ALONSO, the Sonne of DON FRVELA, who became a Monke. And the ſame yeare that the Emperor ARNOLPH dyed, DON RAMIRES raigned: this DON RAMIRES performed great matters againſt the Moores. In *France* raigned CHARLES the Simple. There were then Kings in *England*, in *Denmarke*, in *Morauia*, in *Prouence*, in *Bulgaria*: and in *Polonia* were Dukes, and ſo were ſtill vntill the time of the Emperor OTHO.

In *Conſtantinople* (as is aboueſaid) CONSTANTINE the ſonne of LEO, and nephew to the Emperor ALEXANDER, was Emperor, and raigned a long time, for he was Emperor thirtie nine yeeres: whereof fifteene were in the company of the tyrant ROMANVS. In the beginning of his raigne (for that he was a child) hee was gouerned by certaine Princes, and by his mother ZOE, and had ſome warres with the King of the Bulgarians, which he ended with happy ſucceſſe; PHOCAS being Generall of his Army, who was of greateſt account in his Court. Afterwards, through treacherie, his ſouldiers abandoned him, and the Bulgarians became Lords and maſters of the field, ſo as he was conſtrained to buy his peace of them for readie money. After this, in deſpite of himſelfe and of his mother, none which of a pettie Prince, was come to be of great power, was made CÆSAR and his companion in the Empire, and had the ſuperioritie the other fifteene yeeres that he liued, notwithſtanding that they both had the title of Emperors: as we will tell you hereafter.

THE

THE LIFE OF LEVVES THE FOVRTH OF THIS NAME, AND FOVRESCORE AND FOVRTH ROMAN EMperor; And of CONSTANTINE the Second, Emperour of CONSTANTINOPLE; And of the Tyrants in ITALIE.

(***)

AFter the death of the Emperor ARNOLPH, there was great confusion in the Empire: the Italians and Romans desiring to make one Emperor that should bee to their liking; and the Germanes desiring to do the like, they fell at such variance, that the one party held one for Emperor, and the other part another; so as rightly there was not any. And some Historiographers account none, from these Emperours of which we now write, till the time of OTHO the Second, which was for the space of threescore yeers, little more or lesse; for that none of them were crowned by any Pope. Moreouer, the History is written so confusedly and abruptly, that it can hardly be explained. The worst of all is, that those times were most vnhappy through want and defect of Emperors: for, thereof infinite warres ensued; vices, insolencies and rapines abounded, little justice was executed, learning decaied, vertue was nought set by, charity languished, and the Infidels in many places had the vpper hand; vntill it pleased his diuine Majesty to bring matters to a better estate. I say then, that the German Princes chose, for their King and Roman Emperor, LEVVES the sonne of the Emperor ARNOLPH: but he could not (as soon as he desired) come into *Italy*; without which they neuer held themselues for Emperors, holding *Italie* for the seat and originall of the Empire: for, the Hungars in those daies were the most feared and redoubted Nation in the World, and which did greatest harm in *Germany* and in *Italie*; for, being freed from the feat of ARNOLPH, they brake the peace made with him, and made warre vpon the new Emperor, LEVVES in *Italie*; whereof, the chiefest Princes and of greatest power were the aboue named BERENGARIVS Duke of *Friuli*, and GVIDO Duke of *Spoleto*; who, of Dukes and Gouerners, became Tyrant-Lords, each of them pretending to be Emperor: but BERENGARIVS, being of great power in *Lombardy*, put his designes in practice, and vsurped the whole Countrey, and any place else that hee could get, in despite of the Emperor, saying, that *Italie* was the true seat of the Roman Empire, and that *Germanie* might rather be said to be the patrimony of CHARLES the Great his Successours, than the Empire. But LEVVES, for that he was the sonne of an Emperor, and descended from CHARLES the Great who restored the Empire, pretended that *Germany* ought to chuse the Emperor.

Lewes chosen Emperor.

Matters standing in these tearms, the Hungars sallied out of their Country, and beganne to rob and spoil the Countries of *Austria* and *Bauiere*, vsing in them extreme cruelty with fire and sword. LEVVES, being a courageous young man, was highly displeased with this their presumption; and, gathering together such troops of souldiers as hee was able, with the aid of his brethren went against them, and neer to the riuer *Licus* they met; where LEVVES greatly desired to come to blowes with them: which the Hungars and Moraians perceiuing, laid a stratagem for him; for, offering to giue him battell, they retired, till they had drawne him within the danger of an ambush which they had laid in a wood; and there they maintained the Fight to their great aduantage, in regard of the place: but the Fight was so well performed by the Emperors people, that if the Hungars had not been rescued by their ambush, hee had that day obtained a notable victory. But when the aduantage was discouer'd, and that so great a number of men on euery side came rushing out of the wood vpon such a sudden, with so great force vnexpected, the Imperialists began to retire, and afterwards to flee; in such manner, that the victory manifestly appeared on the Hungars side, and the Emperor was driuen to saue himself by flight: after which they did much harm throughout all *Germany*, the Emperor not being able to resist or make head against them; but was constrained to withdraw himself into the countrie, and secretly to giue great summes of money to the Captains and principall men of the Hungars, to the end they should treat of a peace; and he openly gaue great pay to their men of warre, and promised to allow them yeerly prouision for their houses: by these means he freed his country from that misery for that time; but the peace continued not long.

A battell between the Iewes and the Hungars.

After this exploit; the Emperor, vnderstanding that his base brother ZENEBALDVS gouerned the Country of *Lorrain* cruelly, and as a Tyrant, he deprived him of that Kingdom, and seised it into his owne hands, and took LVITGVARDA, the daughter of OTHO Duke of *Saxony*, to wife; which Prouince was then subject to the Empire. In those daies *France* escaped not free from wars and troubles. The Emperor, thinking hee had settled all matters in peace with the Hungars, saw himself in a new perplexity: for, they not content with the promised pay (which was very duely paid them) a great Armie of them again inuaded *Germany*; and the Emperor in person went against them, and fought with them twice in the Prouince of *Bauiere*; and both times had the victorie, although with great losse of men, and with no smalle difficultie and daunger: but not knowing how to execute his victorie, or to follow his good fortune, giuing too much eare to some mens counsell; the Hungars fledde into their countrie, who (in most mens opinions) might haue been wholly ruined and defeated: where they reinforced and refreshed their troupes, and did greater harme in the Empire, then at the first, and were so expert in the warres, and so greatly feared, that crossing through *Germany*, sacking and burning many towns, amongst which the citie of *Basil* was one, they passed into *Lorraine*, which then contained the estates of *Flaunders*, *Brabant*, *Gelders*, *Cleue*, *Treuier*, and many other prouinces; in which they executed great cruelty: and with the like furie they returned the same way they went, burning and spoyling what before had escaped; and so they retired themselues into their countrie, loden with riches and spoyles; but fewer in number then they came from thence. This people at that time was growne so proud, and of so great power, that all Nations bordring vpon them stood in feare of them, and did as the rest did: for after the same manner as they had entred *Bauiere*, they afterwards inuaded *Bulgaria*, and the Emperors countries of *Gracia*, sacking and burning his Cities; and constrained the Emperor CONSTANTINE to giue them pay, and ordinary tribute, to be at peace with them; and the Emperor LEVVES was driuen to doe the like, to assure *Germany* from this raging fire.

Historiographers write, that in those daies were great wars in *France* and *Italy* between BERENGARIVS and other Princes, and the like in other parts; and that Princes vsed fraud and treachery one against another: so as a man can write nothing that is good of those times; so much did malice, ambition, pride and cruelty abound.

The Hungars inuaded Italie.

It afterwards followed, that the Hungars, moued with the fame of the wealth and aboundance of all things in *Italy*, and through the ciuill dissension which was therein (the ordinarie gates by which destruction entreth into any Kingdome) and for that LEVVES withstood them mightily in *Germany*, they resolued to ransack and make a conquest of *Italie*: for which attempt they leuied greater forces than at any time before they had done. The fame heerof put all *Italy* into such a feare, that they chose BERENGARIVS for their Captain and defender, who was called Emperor; but till this time was not held for such. BERENGARIVS then with great diligence and expedition leuied many souldiers both of foot and horse; and, at their coming into *Italy*, oppos'd himself against the Hungars; and coming to blows, fought a battel with them some Authors say two; wherein being ouerthrowne he fled, and lost therein the greatest part of his Army, and retired himself into the estate of *Milan*, wherein consisted his greatest strength. The Hungars after this victory were Masters of the Field, and spoiled all the Countrey, taking

and ransacking many Cities, and in lesse than one yeer ouerranne all the Land: in which time these Barbarians, moued with the bruit of the riches of the City of *Venice*, made Barks, Brigandines, and other vessels, therewith to haue attempted it; and so they assailed the City, and took some of those Ilands: but their coming was before-hand suspected, and therfore prouided for; so as although they took some part thereof, yet the Venetians so fortified the rest with strong chains, and some places with wals, that, after some conflicts by sea and by land, they despairing to be able to take the City, returned to *Padoa*, where they had left the remainder of their Cauallerie and their luggage. BERENGARIVS, seeing by force hee could not deliuer *Italie* from the Hungars, put that remedy in practice which LEVVES had vsed in *Germany*; which was, to treat of peace by way of money: whereto the Hungars gaue ear, and it was concluded; and he gaue them a huge summe of gold and siluer, which by the industry of BERENGARIVS was collected from all parts of *Italie*: wherewith, and with the rest which they had stolne, they departed rich and victorious; which had so good a taste, that it made them come thither again.

Berengarius bought his peace of the Hungars.

The Hungars came the second time into Italie.

The coming of the Hungars into *Italy*, was in the time of Pope SERGIVS the Third: for, BENEDICT the fourth being dead, of whom it was said that he was a good Bishop (which ought not to be accounted for a small matter, considering how fewe were so in those times) LEO the Fift succeeded, who enjoyed that dignity but forty daies; for, a great Cardinall called CHRISTOPHER, took him prisoner; who within few daies died in prison, and CHRISTOPHER remained Pope tyrannously, and within 7 months (for, violence cannot last) was depriued, and put into a Monastery: and then was SERGIVS the Third chosen, in whose time hapned this calamity through the Hungars. But, returning to our History, I say that the Hungars being retired into their Country, *Italie* was not therefore free from troubles: for, the Moors of *Africa* infested the same with their fleets; and for all this, the ciuill factions & discord ceased not betwixt the Princes: for, EDILBERT, Marquesse of *Tuscane*, who vsurped that Country, being of great power, rebelled against BERENGARIVS; and the Popes authority and power was not such as it had been, neither were they of such force by reason of their insufficiency and little worth, and through the want of the accustomed succours from *France*, which they had in the time of the successors of CHARLES the Great: which considered, LEVVES was of opinion, that *Italy* might easily be subdued, & that he might bereaue BERENGARIVS both of the name & dignity of Emperor, which he vsurped. Whereupon with a great Armie hee came into *Italie*: against whom came BERENGARIVS with a good number of men of warre; and they two fought a battell, wherein BERENGARIVS was ouerthrowne, with little bloudshed, by reason of the small resistance made by his people; and LEVVES went to the City of *Verona*, neer to which the battell was fought, and lay there like a Conqueror, and as one that stood in fear of no man, and therefore careless: whereupon BERENGARIVS, albeit he was ouercomn, practised with some within the City, and some also of the Emperors owne people, to let him into the City; so as he entred it by night, and took LEVVES prisoner. Others say, that LEVVES had not the victory, but that he withdrew himself into the City for fear: and so in the manner (as I said) he fell into BERENGARIVS power. But howsoeuer it was, BERENGARIVS had him prisoner, and put out his eies, and so within fewe daies through grief and sorrow he died; and BERENGARIVS remained sole Lord of the Empire of *Italy*.

The difference betwixt authors about the taking of the Emperor Lewes, and his death.

In this manner ended LEVVES his Empire, which he held with so much trouble when hee had raign'd Emperor ful eleuen yeers; and died in the yeer of our Lord nine hundred & twelue, after the Abbot WESPERGENSIS his computation, which I follow: other Authors (of no small authority) as, BLONDVS and CVSPINIAN, recount this after another manner; saying, that this Emperor LEVVES neuer came into *Italie*, neither was ouerthrown by BERENGARIVS; but that in the end he died of his naturall death in *Germany*, and that that LEVVES which was ouerthrowne and taken in *Verona*, was LEVVES the son of BOSON King of *Prouence*, which came into *Italy* against BERENGARIVS, proclaiming himselfe Emperor; and that BERENGARIVS released him on his oath that he would come no more thither: which oath he afterwards brake. But in that manner as I haue declared it is written by PLATINA, HENRICVS MVGIVS, NAVCLERVS, IOHANNES VTICVS, Saint ANTHONY, VOLATERANVS, and some others. In this time liued Pope SERGIVS the Third, and in *Constantinople* CONSTANTINE, and ROMANVS the tyrant, who raigned in despite of him. LEVVES left not any son to succeed him. There befell also in his time great wars & combustions among the Princes of *Germany*; which was tyrannized somtime by one, and sometime by another, whereby his Empire was weakned, and came to be of lesse power. This was the *last* Em-

Emperor of the line of CHARLES the Great; yet in the Kingdome of *France* the succession continued, although within a while after it ended also, and passed to another line, which lasteth vntill this day. And in *Spain* then flourisht the Flowr of chiualrie against the Infidels, conquering their Countries, and Kings which raigned therein, the Earle FERNANDO GONSALVES.

In *Hungarie*, TASSON first took vpon him the authority of a King: which Countrey in former time was gouerned by Dukes and sundry other Magistrates, from the time of ATTILA, King of the Hunnes. This TASSON was grandfather to STEPHEN who was canonized for a Saint, and the first confirmed King by the authority of the Emperour FREDERICK.

THE LIFE OF CONRADE, THE FIRST OF THAT NAME, AND FOVRESCORE AND FIFT ROMAN EMperor; And of those which in his time took the name of *Emperors in* ITALIE; *And of* Constantine *the* Emperor of *Constantinople*.

(***)

THE ARGVMENT.

LEwes *being dead, there arose a contention betweene the French and the Germanes, about the Empire: for, either of these two Nations pretended to haue a iust title to chuse an Emperor, by reason of their antient authority and custome. But in the end the Germanes, preuailing, would haue chosen* Otho *Duke of Saxony; who, for that he was already old, and vnfit to gouern the Empire so much troubled, refused the charge, and counselled them to chuse* Conrade *Duke of Franconia: who, by the consent of the Germanes, and of a good part of the French, being made Emperor, was euer ruled by the counsell of the old Duke* Otho: *and he dying, left a sonne called* Henry, *whom* Conrade *suspected and feared. And taking occasion of warre, he bent his force against him, notwithstanding that his father made such account of him, that he preferred him to the Empire; and onely seeking means to bring him to destruction, took no care how matters went in Italie, which was extremely turmoiled.* Conrades *brother, fighting a battell with* Henrie, *was by him ouerthrowne: whereupon* Conrade, *seeing the losse and the dishonour, reinforced his Armie to be reuenged; and sending Ambassadors to* Henry *to submit and yeeld himself, they were not heard, neither could they come to any composition of peace. Whilest he was busied in this action,* Conrade *fell very sore sick: and, knowing his end to be nie, more regarding the good of the Empire, than his owne priuate passion, he chose his enemie* Henry *for his successor, and commanded his brother to yeeld him obedience; which was a very heroicall deed, and befitting a Christian.*

THe time of the Emperor LEVVES was troublesome and tempestuous, and his death caused no calm, but brought greater storms in all estates; for in his time the Imperiall power was diuided into two heads, in *Italy*, and in *Germany*, which were, LEVVES and BERENGARIVS: and LEVVES being dead, one alone pretended not, but many, to succeede him both in name and in the dignity of the Empire: *France* would haue nominated an Emperor, alleaging that sith that the line of CHARLES the Great was ex-

extinct in *Germany*, and that in *France* the same remained, and that *Germany* was conquered by the same CHARLES; in right therefore the title of the Empire appertained to his successors, and so it ought to returne to the Crowne of *France*; for CHARLES the Great had it not with the Empire as he had *Italy*, but it was giuen to him being King of *France*, and by that title his successors held the same.

Contention betweene the Germans, Frenchmen and Italians, about the election of the Emperor.

The Princes of *Germany* denied this, fearing to return vnder the subjection of the French, and stood vpon the possession and authority to chuse the Emperor; alleaging for their reason, that the Empire was transported to the Germanes in the person of CHARLES the Great, and that *Germany* was the Empire, and not the Kingdome of *France*, and that they were in possession thereof. The Italians said, that *Italie* was the antient true seat of the Empire, and that they gaue it to CHARLES, and had authority to giue it vnto any other: and so they called and held BERENGARIVS for Emperor, notwithstanding his competitors. In *France*, LEVVES, the son of BOSON King of *Prouence*, challenged the Empire, for that he descended from CHARLES the Great. But the Germanes, who seemed to haue the best right and chiefest authority, and haue so continued (hauing not any that might succeed LEVVES, for he had no sonnes) chose OTHO Duke of *Saxony* for Emperor, a man of great wisdome and valour: but hee would not accept of that Empire which others so much desired; for, as he was now old, so hee knew that the affaires of the Empire stood in such estate, that they needed a man of greater power, and of longer life than himselfe. The Lords Name bee blessed, that in time of so great ambition, one man was found that refused to be an Emperor.

Otho, duke of Saxony, chosen Emperor, refused the Empire.

OTHO then answerd those which had chosen him Emperor, that he had neither such health nor strength as to be able to gouern the Empire, and therefore would not vndertake a burthen which he was not able to bear: but he would assist them with his best counsell; concluding, that in his opinion CONRADE Duke of *Franconia* was worthie to be chosen, in whom all the qualities and vertuous conditions did concur, that might seeme requisite in an Emperor: And so by common consent of the Germanes, and part of the French, CONRADE was chosen and obeyed for Emperor, who (as some write) descended from CHARLES the Great. And he presently began to gouerne the Empire, and in all things followed the counsell and aduice of OTHO, by whose meanes he obtained it: and so the first yeer he liued and ruled very happily. But the great Dukes and Princes of *Germany* waxing enuious, and desirous to raign, ARNOLD Duke of *Bauiere* rebelled against him, and went into *Hungary*, and induced the Hungars and their King to warre vpon the new Emperor; whereupon, in the second yeer of his Raign, a sharp and cruell warre began: but, as he was very valiant and expert in Arms, so he drew his forces to an head, and came to a battell with the Hungars, and ouerthrew them, and constrained them to flie into their Countrey; and so freed *Germany* from that perill. And although afterwards it was sometimes molested, yet by his diligence and courage it was euer defended: and so he maintained the same in peace as long as Duke OTHO liued, vpon whose counsell he chiefly relied, but neuer durst come to make war in *Italie*.

After the death of OTHO, who left one sonne behinde him called HENRY, who was a very gallant yong man, and of great power, CONRADE began to suspect him; which was the occasion of the troubles which I will relate. BERENGARIVS being held in *Italie* for Emperor, besides CONRADE who with better title was Emperor in *Germanie*; LEVVES, the son of BOSON King of *Prouence*, determined to come into *Italie* to depriue BERENGARIVS of that Empire; who held it, not without great vexation and trouble; aswell with the Princes of *Italie* (whereof some rebelled against him) as with the Infidels and Hungars which infested the same. And (as I said before) some Authors write, that this LEVVES came the first time to the same purpose, and was ouerthrown by BERENGARIVS, and this (as I beleeue) was the first; and if it were the second, he came being called by some of BERENGARIVS enemies. And notwithstanding that in the beginning of the wars he had good successe, yet in the end hee was ouerthrowne, and constrained to flee. Thus much shall suffice for him, the matter beeing so doubtfull. Yet heer is some diuersity among Authors; whereof some say, At that time raigned in *Italie* BERENGARIVS the Second, with the title of Emperor; as his father had done, who was son of the other BERENGARIVS before named, others attribute it to the father alone: but, to the end we may the better vnderstand the matter, we yeeld that this was the second BERENGARIVS, for that we shall hereafter haue occasion to treat of another, which shall be the third.

I say then, that at what time CONRADE was Emperor in *Germany*, and BERENGARIVS in

in *Italy*, poor *Italy* (besides domestick & ciuil wars) was afflicted with other far more grieuous & pitifull. This was, for that the Towns which the Greek Empire held in *Calabria* and *Pulia*, together with the partialities and factions which were in them, were not in subjection: whereupon CONSTANTINE, who at that time raigned in *Constantinople*, or (as others say) ROMANVS the Tyrant, which with him gouerned the Empire for a time, procured the ayde of the Moores in *Africa*, and of the Arabians; of which a great number came into *Italy*, giuing it out, that they came to helpe the Greekes to recouer their right; vnder colour whereof, they became Lords of all *Pulia*, *Calabria*, and the rest which containeth now the kingdome of *Naples*; and they drew so neere to *Rome*, that they sought to haue taken the same, without regard of the Emperor of *Constantinople*, vnder whose name they first came into *Italie*. The cause of all which miseries, were the warres and troubles betweene the Christians: for CONRADE Emperour of *Germany* was busied in making warre against HENRY Duke of *Saxony*, the son of OTHO: BERENGARIVS was perplexed with the wars against LEVVES the son of BOSON king of *Prouence*, and others which for breuitie I ouerpasse: and another occasion was, the small authority and little worth of the Popes of *Rome*. But Pope IOHN the eleuenth, whom some call the tenth, seeing this great necessitie, sent to ALBERICVS Marquesse of *Tuscane*, or (as some Authors say) to his brother, which was the greatest Lord in all *Italie* (BERENGARIVS excepted) with whose father BERENGARIVS had warre and controuersie; who promised him succour: and gathering all his forces together, with the aide of many others which followed him in that enterprise, he went to *Rome*, wherein the Pope had already leuyed an indifferent good Armie, which he ioyned with ALBERICVS his forces; and so he marched against his enemies: some write that the Pope in person went to this warre, which had such happy successe, that besides many encounters, ALBERICVS fought one battaile against the whole power of the Moores; wherein, notwithstanding that it was very sharpe and doubtfull, yet in the end he got the victorie; after which he was so absolutely master of the field, that he found not any one to make head against him, and so in short time recouered all that the Moores held in *Italie*; excepting some little, and certaine fortresses neere to Mount *Garganus* in *Pulia*; whither the remainder of those Moores retired themselues: whom for that he then forbare wholly to ruinate (an error for want of forcsight) it was the occasion of many calamities which ensued.

The comming of the Moores into Italy.

ALBERICVS hauing obtained so noble a victorie, and leauing it in such estate, as it seemed an easie matter for any other to haue effected the rest; he returned to *Rome*, where he was receiued with great pompe and triumph: but within few daies there arose discord and controuersie betweene him and the Pope, each of them attributing to himselfe the honour of that journey: whereupon ALBERICVS went discontented out of the Citie; whereof afterwards ensued great warres and mischiefes: and he was so ouercomn with rage and desire to be reuenged, that as soone as he came into his countrie, he began to practise against the Pope, and to moue the Hungars to warre in *Italy*, promising them his aide and assistance, thinking it a small matter for him to haue made himselfe Lord of *Rome*. The Hungars came into *Italy*, and it pleased God that the greatest harme they did there, was in the said Marquesse ALBERICVS owne countries, and amongst his subjects. In the meane time that *Italy* was thus oppressed, the Emperour CONRADE (whose life we now write) sought the ruine of HENRY Duke of *Saxony*, who was the sonne of that OTHO by whose direction and counsell hee was chosen and made Emperour, and was by him gouerned in the beginning of his raigne, as heretofore hath beene shewed.

The principall cause hereof, was the feare and jealousie which he conceiued of him: for this HENRY was a yong man of very great courage and valour, and aboue measure desirous of rule; and in the warres of *Hungary* had done great seruice to this Emperor CONRADE, and to his predecessor LEVVES, against ARNOLPH Duke of *Bauiere*, which fled into *Hungary*, as we haue said: by reason wherof, HENRY was generally so much beloued and esteemed, that CONRADE stood in feare to be dispossest by him of his Empire, and that he would haue rebelled against him, and therfore he resolued (if he might) to make him away: first practising his death by fraud and cunning; and that taking no effect, he resolued not to dissemble any longer, but sent his brother EBERARD with an Army to destroy his countrie, and if he might to bereaue him of his life: for which fact he became infamous, and all his actions were attributed to incomparable ingratitude: but his passion was such as he neuertheles continued his intended course. But HENRY gouerned himselfe so discreetely, and had already leuied such an Army

of Saxons, which were his subiects and friends, that he met with EBERARD in the field, and gaue him battaile; wherein his people behaued themselues so valiantly, that the Emperors brother was ouerthrowne, with the losse of the greatest part of his Army; and himself escaped by flight. CONRADE being aduertised hereof (in extreme choler) raised the greatest power he could make, and called all the Princes against HENRY, first sending Ambassadors vnto him, to perswade him to yeeld to his mercie, and not to persuere in his contumacie; who concluded nothing: but returning, they reported that in their presence one of Duke HENRIES *captaines, whose name was* DIEMATE, *said, that the Duke had no reason to come to any agreement*; for he knew that thirtie legions of souldiers were comming to his aide. These words strake such a feare into the Emperors Army, that without any battaile, or fight of any enemie, the greatest part thereof disbanded; whereupon hee was driuen to retire, with a determination to returne with greater force. But God, in whose hand are the hearts of Princes, in very short time altred his purposes; for CONRADE was assailed with an extreme sicknes, whereof he afterwards died. And knowing that his end drew neere, he in great haste sent for the Princes of the Empire; the principall of which at that time were BVCARD Duke of *Sueuia*, SIGISBERT Duke of *Lorraine*, and his brother EBERARD, whom he had made King of *Franconia*, and many others, excepting ARNOLD Duke of *Bauiere*, who remained in *Hungarie*, and HENRY Duke of *Saxonie* which rebelled. These Princes being in this manner assembled, the Emperor, as a wise man and a good Christian, hauing more regard to the good gouernment of the Empire, than to his owne choler or priuate passion (which is an extraordinary example) made vnto them a very fet speech; wherein in conclusion he exhorted and counselled them, that after his decease (which, so farre as he could comprehend, would be shortly) they should chuse the same HENRY Duke of *Saxony* (who then was in his disgrace) for Emperor: for, notwithstanding that he had a brother whom he loued very well, and was worthy of great estate, yet he neuertheless chose HENRY, as onely worthy to be an Emperor, and his successor; for, as he very well knew, he was an excellent man, and endued with vertue, and with all the conditions which were requisite in a good Prince; and that he pardoned and restored him to his grace and fauour, and that this was his last will, counsell and resolution. The Noble minde and counsell of the Emperor was generally commended; only his brother EBERARD shewed himselfe grieued and discontented: but CONRADE perswaded him to patience, and recommended to them all, peace and concord. Then he made the Sword, the Scepter, the Robe, and the other Imperial ensignes to be brought before him: and by the consent of all the Princes, he appointed and charged his brother to carrie the same to HENRY, and in his name to make his peace and friendship with him, and to yeeld him obedience as to his soueraigne Lord: which he performed, and continued in HENRIES good grace and loue so long as hee held the Empire; which truly was a most noble part of both these brethren: of the Emperor, in making choise of his enemie for his successor; and of his brother, in voluntarily obeying him which was chosen. This his good resolution being concluded, and put in execution, within few daies after CONRADE departed out of this life, leauing neither sonne nor daughter; when he had raigned only seuen yeeres or somewhat lesse, in the yeer of our Lord, 920; CONSTANTINE yet holding the Empire of *Constantinople*. In *Italy* raigned BERENGARIVS with the title of Emperor, notwithstanding that he held no part thereof, but *Lombardy* onely, and some cities neer thereunto adioyning, and those not without wars and troubles, with LEVVES son to the King of *Prouence*. The state of *Italy* being such as I said, the Hungars inuaded it, being cald thither by ALBERICVS Marquess of *Tuscane*, and ruined the countrie: and on the other side the Moores of *Africa* salying out of such places as they held in *Pulia*, troubled the state of the Church of *Rome*, and the frontiers thereof. And betwixt ALBERICVS and the Romans was war and discord.

The hearts of Kings are in the hands of God.

Conrade chose his enemie Henry for his successor in the Empire.

The death of the Emperor Conrade.

Forasmuch as in the life of this Emperour CONRADE, mention was made of ARNOLD Duke of *Bauiere*, and for that heretofore this prouince hath been treated of, as of a kingdome, and so it is said, that LEVVES King of *Germany*, in the diuision made betweene his three sonnes, made CARLOMAN King of *Bauiere*, and now we call ARNOLD, Duke thereof, which seemeth to be a contradiction: let the Reader therefore know, that in this prouince (as in all others) there haue been great alterations: the last was, that after the said CHARLES, the Emperor ARNOLPH succeeded in the state of *Bauiere*, and after ARNOLPH the Emperour LEVVES; who dying without issue, made this ARNOLD Duke of *Bauiere*: and afterwards in processe of time, in this Kingdome happened many alterations and changes, and in the end it ioyned with the state of the Countie Palatine of *Rhine*: and afterwards it was againe diuided; and so through sundrie accidents, it came to that estate wherein it is at this day. THE



THE LIFE OF HENRY, THE FIRST OF THAT NAME, AND THE FOVRESCORE AND SIXT ROMANE EMPEROR; AND OF CONSTANTINE Emperor of *Græcia*: And of *those which in his time were called Emperours.*

THE ARGVMENT.

HEnry *being chosen Emperor, first he applied himselfe to pacifie the troubles of Germany, which were very tumultuous; but aboue all, to assure the high-waies from theeues, growne by reason of the warres; and to maintaine iustice. There arose against him one* Arnold, *who liued in Hungary as a banished man; and each of them hauing leuied a great Army, and being in a manner ready to haue come to the shock,* Henry *called* Arnold *to a parley, and knew so well how to perswade him, that he ouercame him with words, which peraduenture he should not haue done by Armes; and* Arnold *became his obedient subiect. He tooke truce with the Hungars, and subdued the Slauonians: but the time of the truce being expired betweene him and the Hungars, and new occasions of warre arising, they came in the end to fight; where the Emperor obtained so great a victory, that all the Princes of Christendome sent to reioyce with him for the same. This good Emperour had set his minde vpon the affaires of Italy, and purposed to haue freed the Church from* Hugh, *and other Tyrants: but God, who had otherwise determined, when he was providing for his iourney, visited him with a mortall infirmity; and he knowing his life to be neere to an end, ordained, by the consent of all the Princes, his eldest sonne* Otho *for his successor, hauing raigned seuentеene yeeres, and liued sixtie.*



THE election which the Emperour CONRADE before his decease made of HENRY Duke of *Saxony*, naming him Emperor and his successor, is to be thought to haue beene done by Gods inspiration; for he prooued a good Prince, and worthy the Imperiall majesty. As soone then as CONRADE was deceased, all the States receiued him for their Emperor, and did him homage, calling him HENRY AVCEPS, that is to say, the Faulconer, for that he tooke great pleasure in Hawking; and when the newes was brought him that hee was chosen Emperor, he was found busie in that exercise, which he vsed at times of leasure for his recreation, without omitting any care for his businesse. He then taking vpon him the gouernment of the Empire, applied himselfe to doe iustice, with a desire seuerely to punish the wicked; chiefly those which robbed by the high waies side, to the end that men might passe in safety, which by reason of the warres had done much harme.

The Emperour Henry called Henricus Auceps.

He gaue himselfe also to pacifie all discord and dissension, and to establish peace and concord betweene the Princes, who for matters past were at variance amongst themselues: for all which he prouided a good remedie, employing his wit, authoritie and power; and being obeyed by all men, excepting BVCCARD Duke of *Sueuia*, who with the fauour of *France* (for that he was sonne in law to the Duke of *Burgundy*) attempted some innouations: against whom the Emperour raised forces; but the matter was pacified, and the Duke acknowledged the Emperour for his Lord and Superior. Besides this, it happened (which some report before this time) that ARNOLD Duke of *Bauiere*, which (as we said) for feare of CONRADE, liued as an exile in *Hungary*, returned to his Countrie, and gathering together a great number of Hungars, was so hardy as to call himselfe Emperour, and to deny his obedience to the Emperour HENRY; which he vnderstanding, leuying his old subiects of *Saxony*, and others of the Empire, went with a mighty Army against ARNOLD, who likewise marched towards him; and as a good Christian, being much grieued for the troubles which were likely to haue ensued, forbare not to procure ARNOLD to giue ouer his attempt: and it pleased God that his good desire tooke effect in this manner:

Both the Armies being in a readinesse to fight, notwithstanding it was apparant that the Emperour had the greater number, and better and more choise men; yet he sent ARNOLD word by a Trumpet, that he, vpon sufficient securitie, should come and speake with him; which ARNOLD performed: where the Emperor, among many graue, good, and discreete speeches, spake vnto him in these words:

Speeches vsed by Henry to Arnold.

Take heede ARNOLD, and consider that what thou doest, is to oppose thy selfe against Gods ordinance, who is the giuer of kingdomes and worldly power: Thou maist know that I was chosen of him by the mouth of my predecessor CONRADE, before his death; and that to this election haue consented all the estates of *Germany*, and thou onely seekest to resist the will of God, and the generall consent of all men. I say vnto thee, take heede what thou doest, and I aduise thee to come to my obedience, and I will vse thee as my sonne or my brother: and if thou wilt not doe this, I take God for iudge betweene thee and me. And one thing I will sweare and assure thee, that if it had pleased his diuine Maiestie that thou haddest been chosen Emperor as I am, I would haue been an obedient subiect, and haue serued thee faithfully: wherefore I pray thee, that sith I am so, thou wilt do the like by mee. Thou mayest see that I intreat thee for peace, at such time as my party hath the aduantage in the warres; consider well what thou doest, for I will not faile in any thing, that I haue promised. These and such like speeches were of such force, and so much moued ARNOLD, that he presently submitted himselfe and his countrey vnto the Emperor HENRY, and from thenceforth was euer most obedient vnto him, without any remembrance of matters past. There happened likewise discord betweene HENRY and the house and kingdome of *France*, about the soueraignty of the prouince and Duchie of *Lorraine*; neuertheless comming to a peace and agreement, matters passed prosperously, and he continued Lord thereof. And so *Germany* (by meanes of his good gouernment) took a taste of the fruites which Iustice and the tranquillity of peace bring forth. But in *Italy* notwithstanding that BERENGARIVS was called Emperor, the want of such a Prince as HENRY, wrought the contrary: it shall not be amisse therefore to speake of what followed, while that HENRY was busie about these matters.

Arnold submitted himselfe to Henry.

It is already said, how that betweene Pope IOHN and the Romanes of the one side, and ALBERICVS Marquesse of *Tuscane* of the other, were great warres, after the victory obtained against the Infidels; and how that ALBERICVS had induced the Hungars to come into *Italy* against the citie of *Rome*, and that the greatest harme they did, was in his owne countreys, God permitting it as a punishment for his wickednesse; yet they did great spoiles in the Church lands. The Hungars hauing in this maner robbed the countrey, BERENGARIVS who was called Emperor, came to a composition with them; which was, that they should depart out of *Italy*, in consideration of a great summe of money which was giuen them. And Pope IOHN and the Romanes (in reuenge of the iniurie receiued from ALBERICVS) leuied an Army, which was broken and ouerthrowne by the Hungars, the Duke of *Spoleto* being Generall of that Army; and ALBERICVS was besieged in a towne of his called *Ortano*, and was therein taken and slaine.

At the same time the Infidels which remained in *Pulia* leuying new forces and supplies renewed the warres, which was not foreseene in time by reason of the domesticall discord, and they took many castles and cities, while the Pope applied himselfe to be reuenged of ALBERICVS;

RICVS; and their power so much encreased that the people voluntarily yeelded themselues, by reason of the small relieue which they had from the Emperor of *Constantinople*, in whose dominion the greatest part of those countries was, or from BERENGARIVS, or from the Pope, vntil that feare seised *Rome*: wherein making a certaine Earle called GVIDO their General, they leuied a good Army, and it pleased God to giue him the victory, and he made the Moors to retire themselues into those holds which they held before the bringing in of this second war, and so the citie was freed from that feare. But this braue and glorious exploite Earle GVIDO afterwards blemished with the foulest fact that can bee spoken, and such a one as my members tremble to heare it, and my hand to write it. For this Earl GVIDO afterwards comming to *Rome*, with a resolution to make himselfe Lord thereof, he seised on the Pope and slew him, and made another Pope; but his purpose tooke no effect: for he whom he made Pope was presently deposed, and LEO the sixt chosen, who was Pope but seuen moneths; and him succeeded STEPHEN the seuenth.

Pope Iohn the twelfth taken prisoner, and slaine by the Earle Guido.

Whilest these matters passed in *Rome* and the marches thereof, BERENGARIVS the Emperor (whom we may call Italian) liued not free from troubles; for through the instigation of certaine Italian Lords, RODVLPH Duke of *Burgundy* with a great Armie came into *Italy*, with the title of Emperor, where he found so many friends (especially in *Lombardy*) that in very short space hee dispossest BERENGARIVS, and was made Emperour and King of *Italy*; and BERENGARIVS fled into *Hungary*, thinking there to haue found relefe: where, as saith BLONDVS and some others, he died, and that BERENGARIVS the nephew of the first BERENGARIVS, was he which came afterwards, as shall be specified. Some write that he died in *Italy*, slaine by the treason of Count FLAMBERT, who was his gossip: But howsoeuer, he died depriued of his dignity: and he of whom we are to treat, was nephew to the first BERENGARIVS, the sonne of his daughter, and of a Marquesse, which was his sonne in Law. I write thus much for that there is a great confusion among st Authors about these BERENGARII tyrant Emperors, for that they all were of one name. RODVLPH remaining with the victory in *Italy* was called Emperor, and held his Empire there the space of three yeers in prosperity: In which time the Emperor HENRY in *Germany* ouerthrew and repelled the Hungars, which after their departure out of *Italy* went into *Germany*, wherein they did much harme: But (as I say) the Emperour put them to rout, and chased them thence, and taking their Generall prisoner, constrained them to sue to him, and to make peace for ten yeres; hee restoring to them their Generall without ransom, yet they offred a great summe of mony for him. RODVLPHVS hauing raigned three yeeres in *Italy*, the Hungars whose ordinary qualitie was to spoile their neighbours and other Prouinces, solicited therto by BERENGARIVS the nephew, vnder the conduct of a great man called FALARDVS, came into *Italy*, and encamped before *Pauia*, which they besieged: for relefe whereof RODVLPHVS made so small prouision, that the inhabitants of the countrey discontented with his gouernment, conspired against him, and slew his father-in-law BOCARD Duke of *Saxony*, who came to see *Milan*; and then they called and solicited HVGH Duke of *Arles*, a French-man, to come to their defence, promising to receiue him for their King and Lord, and to make him Emperor; which he accepted, notwithstanding his necrenesse in blood to RODVLPH: and he came with so many good men of warre, and with such fauour of the Italians, that none of his enemies durst encounter him: and RODVLPH leauing *Italy*, returned into *Burgundie*, where he afterwards had such successe, that he was for a space King of *France*; and HVGH continued in *Italy*, and subdued a greater part ther of then any of the other tyrants had done, banishing such as he suspected, and rewarding his friends: he procured peace and friendship with the Emperor HENRY; which he granted, thereby to settle peace in *Germany* with the Hungars, and with other nations and Princes. And he afterwards preuailed against ARNOLPH Duke of *Bauiere*: So that HVGO was a greater Lord and of greater power then any of long time had been in *Italy*; where leauing him vntill his turne, we will returne to our Emperor HENRY.

Rodulph depoſed Berengarius.

The death of Berengarius.

Rodulph Duke of Burgundy Emperour in Italie.

The comming of the Hungars into Italie.

The comming of Hugh Duke of Orleans into Italie.

HENRY hauing ouerthrowne the Hungars, and made peace with them for nine or ten yeres, as an ambitious Prince, and desirous to enlarge his Empire, after that he had taken care for the establishment of peace and iustice, and for the good gouernment thereof, hee leuied an Armie, and sent the same into the countries of *Slauonia* and *Dalmatia*, from which he had been annoyed and endamaged: and ouerthrowing the inhabitants thereof in battaile, he took many townes in those Prouinces, and doing therin great harme; victorious and loden with spoiles, he ioyfully returned into *Germany*. The next yeere after this victorie (which was the tenth yeere of his raigne)

raigne) he marched with his power against the Bohemians and WENCESLAVS their Duke, for that many of them held not the true faith, and also for that they refused to be subject to the Empire, and against him had assisted the Hungars: Wherein hee shewed such valour, that ouerthrowing the Duke, he tooke *Prague*, which is the chiefe Citie thereof, and brought that kingdome into such subjection, as was the rest of *Germany*, and so it continued all this Dukes life time.

Henry brought the Bohemians into subiection.

This warre being thus happily ended, another followed, which was against the Danes, who with a mightie Nauie came into *Friseland*, and into *Saxonie*, and tooke certaine Townes there; but he made them to flie out of all that countrie, to their great losse: and hee also ouerthrew those of *Norway*, which then were called *Abroditi*. HENRY hauing obtained so great and so many victories, the time of the peace with the Hungars being expired, they presently sent their Ambassadors to him, to require certain pay granted to their Ancestors, at what time as peace was made with them; whereto HENRY gaue no good answere; for he accounted it a matter vnworthy the Majestie of an Emperour, to pay tribute for peace: wherewith the Hungars were so much incensed, that with their Duke or Captaine (for at that time they had not the dignitie of a King) they issued out of their confines with the most flourishing Army that euer they had, and beganne to warre with greater fury and cruelty, then euer they had done at any time before, and neuer stayed vntill they came into *Saxony*, and into other places which were the Emperour HENRIES Patrimony, where they did much harme, and shewed great cruelty; which was done so suddenly, that HENRY in the beginning could not preuent it: But in short space he leuied a great Army; and notwithstanding that he was extreamely sick, yet neither the Princes, nor his Physicians could stay him, but that he would goe with his Army: and encountring the Hungars (being so weake that he could hardly sit his Horse) hee offered them battaile, which they refused not; where the Emperour, although with a weake and low voice, made a speech to his souldiers, which did so much encourage them, that they presently charged with such force, and the Hungars (being a most valiant Nation) fought with such eagernesse and fury, that it was one of the most bloody and cruell battels of the world: But in the end the valiant courage of the Emperour HENRY so much preuailed, that he obtained the victory, and slew an infinite number of the Hungars, and many of them were likewise slaine vpon the way as they fled; and those which suruiued, fled scattered into their countrie; from whence they neuer after returned as long as the Emperour HENRY liued. He wan so great reputation and glory by this victory, that all the Princes Christian, sent their Ambassadours to him, to congratulate, and to desire his friendshippe: But with the greatest instance came Ambassadours from HVGH, who in *Italie* was called Emperour. HENRY was likewise called by his subjects, *semper Augustus*, *Pater Patriæ*, and other antient names and titles of honour; and he as a good Christian gaue thankes to God; and the tribute which at other times he had payed to the Hungars, he made to be distributed among the poore, and so did other good deedes, and ruled the Empire in such manner that *Germany* enjoyed both peace and justice, which are two blessings which make mighty and rich kingdomes.

The Emperor Henry his victory against the Hungars.

Italy in the meane time endured warre and miserie; for the Empire of HVGH which last raigned, being turmoyled with warre and discord, was neither firme nor good, but Tyrannicall and violent: by reason whereof the Infidels which in *Pulia* held certaine Townes and fortresses, made ordinary incursions vpon their neighbours. And at that time a mighty Nauie of Moores came out of *Africa*, vpon the coast of *Genoa* and of *Tuscane*; and taking land did great harme, spoiling many places, amongst which they besieged the Citie of *Genoa*: and the multitude and force of the Infidels was so great, that notwithstanding that the besieged fought very valiantly, yet they entred it by force; all the Genowaies comming first to the fight in defence of thire Citie.

Genoa besieged and taken by the Moores.

After that the Infidels had entred it, they put all those to the sword which were able to beare Armes; and spoyling and sacking it, left nothing therein that was worth the carriage: and all boyes, women and children they tooke prisoners, and carried aboord their shippes and gallies, which they led away with them; and so left *Genoa* desolate and without any inhabitants: yet some prisoners were soone released, and some were taken in their fleetes at Sea, and elsewhere, which reinhabited the Citie: neuerthelesse it was long before it could recouer it selfe of this calamitie: And some write that the Infidels horse troupes were taken vpon the way, and that the prisoners were not carried into *Africa*.

The Emperor vnderstanding hereof, and being well enformed of the state of *Italy*, and that setting

setting aside that which the Church held by so many titles and donations, all the remainder of that Westerne Empire, excepting some Townes in *Pulia*, was held by the Greekes, he therfore resolued to goe thither in person with a mighty Army, to free *Italy* from the yoke of HVGH, and of other Tyrants; and to reforme and reduce the same to such order as it ought to hold, and as he had established in *Germany*. And beginning to make preparation for his journey, and hauing mustered vp his men of war, it pleased God to dispose thereof after another manner; for he was taken with a most deadly infirmity; and knowing that his end drew neer, vsing such diligence as a good Christian ought to doe, he gaue order that all the Princes (if possibly it might be) might be assembled; with whose good will and consent he ordained his son OTHO (whom he had by his wife MAVD) Emperor and his successor: and his sicknesse increasing, within few daies after he yeelded his soule to God, being of the age of threescore yeers, in the seuenteenth yeere of his raigne, and in the yeere of our Lord, 937. He left two other sons beside OTHO the one was called, by his name, HENRY, who was afterwards Duke of *Bauiere* (for ARNOLDS sonnes were depriued of that estate) he being married to his daughter IVDITH; and one other sonne called BRVNVS, who was Archbishoppe of *Colein*; and he had one daughter whose name was GERBIRGA, who was married to a Duke; and another called ADALCIDA, which was married in *Africa* to Count *Paris*; and another called MAVD which was a Nunne.

The death of the Emperour Henry.

In *Constantinople* ended the Empire of CONSTANTINE, when he had raigned eight and thirtie yeers, in company with the Tyrant ROMANVS; and part (as I said) alone; in which time he had great conflicts in the Easterne parts, with the Infidels in *Asia*, and with the Bulgarians in *Europe*; amongst which he wonne one battaile by Sea against the king of *Russia*, wherein were aboue a thousand saile of shippes, which came to the coast of *Constantinople*, by the Sea called *Euxinum*; and other great accidents hapned too long to relate: At the end whereof he died, leauing his Empire to his son, which after his Grandfathers name was called ROMANVS; for CONSTANTINE had to wife the daughter of the other ROMANVS which was the Tyrant, of wom I haue already made mention.

The death of Constantine Emperor of Constantinople.

This CONSTANTINE was a good Prince, very deuout, and excellently well learned in Humanitie.

THE LIFE OF OTHO, THE SECOND OF THAT NAME, AND FOVRSCORE & SEVENTH ROMANE Emperour. And of ROMANVS, and the rest which *were Emperours in Grecia.*

(***)

THE ARGVMENT.



THo *succeeding in the Empire, was much troubled; for not only the Princes of Germany, but euen his owne brethren and kinsemen made warre against him, and fought bloudy battailes with him: of which, after long troubles he had honourable victories? He also freed his brother in law* Lewes *king of France from certaine Dukes which oppressed him. Hee was by the Pope called into Italie against* Berengarius; *and consuming with a great Armie, forced him to flye. Afterwards his sonne, and one* Conrade *his sonne in lawe, whom he had left for the defence of Italie, rebelling against him, and in the end the sonne comming to a battaile with the father (a thing more beseeming Turkes and Infidels then Christians) was the loser, and his fathers prisoner; who seeing with how great humility, and with how many teares he sued for his life and pardon, he restored him at length to his grace: and* 937

and he afterwards became moſt obedient. After this warre there grew a greater, made by the the Hungars and Sclauons, which the Emperor happily ended. He againe came into Italy, by reaſon of Berengarius, *who tyrannized the ſame, and forced him to flie, and comming to Rome he was crowned Emperor by Pope* Iohn. *Many other rebellions enſuid by the Popes and the Romans againſt the Emperour, whileſt he warred againſt* Berengarius *and his ſonne: of which, hauing fortunate ſucceſſe he returned into Germany, and ordained his ſonne* Otho *his ſucceſſor; where being old, and buſied in vertuous exerciſes, he yeelded his ſoule to God.*

This Otho *is called the firſt, for that he is firſt of the Germane Emperors called by that name.*

BEing come to write the life of OTHO the firſt of that name of the German Emperors, of whom I am now to treate; it fareth with me, in my opinion, as with one which hath wandred, and is now againe returned into his right way. I make this compariſon, for that there are ſome which account not thoſe amongſt the Emperors, which I haue placed after ARNOLPH, the ſonne of CARLOMAN, vntill this OTHO; of whom I ſay, that after the death of his father, he found no contradiction in attaining to the name and dignitie of Emperor of *Germany*; for his father HENRY before his death had nominated him for his ſucceſſor. *Truly this* OTHO *was very well worthie of the* Empire: for he was a Prince of an excellent wit, and of a wonderfull great and noble minde; and his great valour was accompanied with ſingular humanitie and clemencie; but notwithſtanding al theſe deſerts and vertues of a good Prince, yet there were many great inſurrections and rebellions againſt him; and he was a Prince which had greater warres then any other then liuing, for the ſpace of thirtie and odde yeeres that he held the Empire; in which time he paſſed many aduentures, and obtained great victories: and notwithſtanding that he vnderwent ſundrie daungers and hazards, yet he euer ſhewed himſelfe milde, and pitifull to the vanquiſhed; which (in my opinion) in the end made his Empire more ſtable and firme, then all the victories which he obtained. *As ſoone as his father was dead, he was in the citie of Aken, or Aquiſgran* choſen Emperour, and anointed and crowned by OLDERICVS Archbiſhop of *Mentz*, all the Princes of *Germany* (which could com) being there preſent; and the reſt which could not, wrote their Letters, and ſent their Ambaſſadours, acknowledging their obedience: And ſo his beginning was very peaceable and highly eſteemed, and he ſhewed himſelfe iuſt, and valiant, and gouerned the eſtate with wiſedome and clemencie. It happened preſently after this, that BOISLAVS, brother to the Duke of *Bohemia* (which at that time had not the title of King) by treaſon ſlew his brother WENCESLAVS (for ſo was he called) to the end to haue the Soueraigntie; and rebelled againſt the Emperor: whereof when OTHO was aduertiſed, moued with the hatred and vilenes of the fact (for WENCESLAVS was a iuſt and faithfull Prince, and his father HENRY *had receiued him for his ſeruant and his ſubject, after that* (as wee haue heertofore ſaid) he had ſubdued him, hee reſolued to ſend a good Army, vnder the leading of a valiant Captaine: whom the tyrant Duke attended in the field, and therewith fought a terrible battaile; and was ouerthrowne with ſo great loſſe of his people, that the Imperiall Generall aſſuring himſelfe of the victorie, was leſſe carefull and circumſpect, then he ought to haue been; but BOISLAVS *within few daies reinforcing his Armie, gathered courage from the others neglect*; and charging him ſuddenly in diſorder and vnawares, ouerthrew him, and ſlew the greateſt part of his people: wherewith OTHO was highly diſpleaſed, and ſending thither a new ſupply he ſufficiently reinforced his Army: But BOISLAVS was growen ſo haughty, and had ſuch reliefe from the Hungars, that the warres grew to be doubtfull, and of long continuance, and in the meane time others happened; but OTHO's courage and reſolution was ſo great, that hee neuer forgat to prouide for this warre, during the furie of all the other, as we will declare: yet it laſted fourteene yeeres, before he could obtaine any complete victory; and then BOISLAVS yeelded as you ſhall heare.

Boiſlaus ſlew his brother Wenceſlaus by treaſon.

The Emperor proceeding in this warre of *Bohemia*; in the greateſt heate thereof, there began ciuill and domeſticall combuſtions and Inſurrections, which reſolued into a very cruell war, the beginning whereof was this. EBERARD which (as I remember) was brother to the Emperor CONRADE, and carried the Imperiall enſignes to the Emperour HENRY, fatherof this OTHO, being a great Lord, rich and mighty, did an iniury to an Earle, a man of leſſe account then himſelfe, and burned a towne of his; which for that the new Emperour would not ſuffer

ſuffer to eſcape free, he condemned him in a ſum of money, and to be impriſoned and baniſhed: which ſentence higly diſpleaſed EBERARD, expecting oportunitie to ſhew his diſcontent.

It happened alſo that a baſe brother of the Emperors called DAVZMAR, found himſelfe grieued, for that the Emperour had not giuen him the gouernment of the Prouince of *Saxony*, with the title of Earle, which was OTHO's patrimony by the death of Earle SIFREDVS, lately deceaſed. In like manner the ſonnes of ARNOLD Duke of *Bauiere*, who then died, were diſcontent, for that OTHO had giuen that eſtate to his elder brother BERTOLD; and they would not accept of the Earldome, and of that part which the Emperour had aſſigned them: wherefore vpon this occaſion EBERARD made a league with them, and with SIGISBERT Duke of *Lorraine*, notwithſtanding that he had maried one of the Emperors ſiſters; and contending with HENRY the Emperours ſecond brother, who was a very young man, about the bounds of certaine lands, he beſieged him in a citie, and very ſhamefully took him priſoner. And his baſe brother DAVZMAR, with the aide of the ſaid EBERARD, at the ſame time, tooke a citie in *Saxony*, and ſacked it, thinking to haue gotten the Earldome, which he demanded perforce as his right. The Emperor vnderſtanding thereof, marched againſt his brother; and entring the citie by aſſault, DAVZMAR was ſlaine in a Church, whither he was brought by EBERARD *the motor of this treaſon.* And after other practices, EBERARD agreed with HENRY the Emperors brother, whom he held priſoner, to releaſe and ſerue him, *ſaying that the Empire* appertained vnto him, for that his father begat him after that he was Emperor, and OTHO before. HENRY *moued with a deſire to raigne* (*a thing which* leadeth men to greater miſchiefs) reſolued to rebel againſt his elder brother and ſoueraigne Lord; whereto SIGISBERT Duke of *Lorraine* yeelded ayde and aſſiſtance; who was a mighty Prince, and had the ſiſter of the Emperor and of HENRY to wife. And as the report went, that HENRY ſhould be Emperor, each of them deſired to haue the Empire for himſelf, and ſo practiſed the ſame in ſecret, for amongſt the wicked there is neither faith nor truth: But they all agreed together to ruine OTHO; and that let being remoued, each of them thought to haue been a ſoueraigne Lord; and to haue had the Empire. The power and Army which they leuied was ſo great, as they took many townes: and as it vſually hapneth, fame and feare aduanced the effect, ſo as OTHO *was in great danger.* Neuertheleſſe the other Princes of *Germany* did well and faithfully helpe and aſſiſt him; and he, with the courage and diligence of a good Captaine, leuied his forces, and marched againſt his enemies; and being come with his armie to the banks of the riuer of *Rhine*, and part therof being tranſported in boates to goe againſt his enemies, which were encamped on the other ſide, whereof his brother HENRY was Generall; his enemies hauing marched in great haſte, were gotten thither before them, and charged his men in ſuch manner, as they were likely to haue been ouerthrown in the Emperours *ſight, who had not yet paſt the Riuer*: but in the end, the Emperour making his prayers to God, obtained the victory, and his brother being wounded, *ſaued himſelf by flight.* After this victory, the fame went, that the Emperors brother HENRY was dead: which brought the Emperour this profit, that *the moſt of the Cities which held for* his brother, yeelded to him: which when HENRY vnderſtood, he gat him into the City of *Merſeburgh*, which is in *Saxony*, and fortified the ſame in the beſt manner he could: and the Emperor followed and beſieged him, and brought him to that extremity, that he was driuen to giue vp the City vpon condition, that he ſhould ſuffer him freely to depart whither he would. After which he went into *Lorraine*, and renewed the war, ioining with Duke SIGISBERT, and with Duke EBERARD, his kinſmen: who with greater fury and power then at the firſt, inuaded the Emperors Countries, who then was buſied in beſieging a town of Duke EBERARD'S, called *Stiſaca*; before which he lay longer then was fit he ſhould haue done, through the deceit and treachery of the Archbiſhop of *Mentz*, who ſecretly was a traytor to him, and had intelligence with his enemies, to the end that HENRY and his confederates ſhould in the mean time make themſelues Lords and Maſters of the Country: which when HERMAN Duke of *Sueuia*, and his brother OTHO, and CONRADE called the wiſe, and other great Lords and Knights (which were the Emperors ſubiects) vnderſtood, they ioined al their forces together, and by his direction, with an Army fought their enemies; and meeting them, fought a terrible battell: But the Imperialiſts had the victory, and EBERARD, the ring-leader, was ſlain fighting, & SIGISBERT D. of *Lorrain*, was drowned in the *Rhine*, neer the battell: yet ſom ſay that he died in another battel, and that HENRY the Emperors brother was not that day in the field, but made war elſewhere. In this ouerthrow were ſlaine, and taken priſoners, all thoſe which held with theſe Lords, amongſt which were many Earles, and great Perſonages.

The Emperors victory againſt his brother Henry.

Duke Eberard ſlain fighting, & Duke Sigisbert drowned in the Rhine.

This great victory being obtained by OTHO's faithfull friends and subjects, the city which he besieged yeelded, and he prepared himself presently to pursue his brother HENRY, who fled into *France*. And then the Emperor went into *Lorrain*, where his sister yeelded herself into his power, together with her son: where having set good order in that estate, and made peace with LEWES King of *France*, and recouered certain Towns which he formerly had lost, hee returned into *Germany*. In this manner he wholly subdued and tamed all the Rebels; and in the end his brother HENRY humbly yeelded himself into his power: and hee forgaue him, and gaue him lands and reuenues for his maintenance, and likewise pardoned the other Barles and great men which had bin his aduersaries, together with FREDERICK Archbishop of *Mentz*, who was a Traitor vnto him, and was now in his power: but in the end he pardoned him also. And forasmuch as his brother HENRY *continued* loyall vnto him, he made him Duke of *Bauiere* after the death of BERTOLD, who died without issue male; whose brethren lost their right to that estate, for that they had conspired against the Emperor; and HENRY had his legitimate daughter to wife, and so in good grace he remained in his brothers seruice: Who, hauing brought these matters to an end, resolued to make an end of the troubles in *Bohemia*, which through the aid of the Hungars stil continued, without any one daies intermission, from the first beginning of his Raign, which was a long time.

Henry *fled into France.*

Finally, in some battels (wherein he was himself in person) BOISLAVS was ouerthrown; in such manner, that he submitted himself, and became subject. Hauing in this manner subdued the Hungarians, the Bohemians, and such as rebelled, he resolued to relieue LEWES the French King, who was his brother-in-law, and had sued vnto him for succours; whom for som occasions, too long to be recited, certain Dukes and great Lords of *France* oppressed. Yet some Authors say, that this his going into *France* was before the warres of *Bohemia*: but at what time, or in what order soeuer it was, he went thither with a great Army, and relieued his brother-in-law, and so again returned into *Germany*; where we will leaue him to enjoy his victories & good successe, and will briefly declare in what estate *Italy* then stood, and the accidents which then hapned: which appertain to our History, aswell for that it was part of the Empire, as also for that HVGH before named raigned there with the name of Emperor, although a tyrant. HVGH hauing for certain yeers space possessed *Lombardy*, and a great part of *Italy*, no man seeking to depriue him of his estate; for, OTHO (as is already said) was busied with the troubles of *Germany*: in the end BERENGARIVS the Third, after many long journies, hauing a desire to recouer the Kingdom which his father and vncle had possessed, and of all *Italy*, whereof the Emperor RODVLPHVS had bereaued him; with the aid of certain Princes of *Germanie* and of *Italy*, resolued to make warre against HVGH; and to that effect leuied a great number of good souldiers, and took his way towards *Italy*. HVGH, houlding himself vnable to make his party good against him, finding that such as were of greatest power and authority in the cities, did not fauour his faction; he resolued to come to any composition: and so, finally, they agreed that HVGH should leaue the title of King of *Italie*, and return to his Duchie of *Arles* in *France*, vpon condition that his son LOTHARY should remain King in *Italy* together with BERENGARIVS. BERENGARIVS accepted these conditions; and HVGH returned to his ould Dukedome, and left his son a King, and companion with BERENGARIVS. This LOTHARY was married with ADELHAIDA, which by some was called ALVADA, daughter to ARNOLPH Duke of *Burgundy*, who had raigned some certain time in *Lombardy*, as we said before, and was expelled by HVGH. It hapned that HVGH afterwards died in *France*: and in a short space (and after other matters that ensued, which I leaue to relate) LOTHARIVS died in *Lombardy*. And BERENGARIVS, seeing himself freed from company, took to *wife the* widow Queen ADELHAIDA, which was a very excellent Lady. And sith that he found no contradiction or resistance in the Estate of *Italie*, against the dignity of the Emperour OTHO (from whom he had receiued many benefits and fauours) he took vpon him the name and title of Emperor, and instituted his eldest sonne, whose name was ALBERT, King of *Italy*, and beganne to entreat the people very badly, and in other matters to behaue himself altogether like a Tyrant.

Boislaus *ouerthrowne by the Emperor.*

The death of Hugh *and* Lothary, *two Tyrants.*

At this time AGAPETVS the Second was Pope, who was held a vertuous, religious, and innocent man (which, among men of that coat, was a matter not slightly to bee regarded) and he considering the violence and tyranny vsed by BERENGARIVS, hauing now been Pope the space of 6 yeers, sent to solicite OTHO, Emperor of *Germany*, to come into *Italie*, to free the same from so pernicious a Tyrant. The like was done by sundry other Prelates and great men.

OTHO

OTHO at that time was a widower of his wife EDITHA; by whom hee had a sonne whose name was LVITOLPHVS, a valiant and high minded young man: and hauing heard the Italian ambassadours, at such time as hee had ended the warres before mentioned, moued by their persuasions, and through the desire he had to marrie Queene ABELHAIDA, whom BERENGARIVS held prisoner in *Pauia*, and to make himselfe Lord of *Italy*, he leuied an Armie of fiftie thousand men, and came downe against BERENGARIVS; who hauing no sufficient power to make head against him, in the best order that he could, gaue ground, still defending the strongest castles and fortresses. OTHO marching forwards, taking townes and cities, coming to *Pauia*, set ADELHAIDA at liberty, and with her good liking maried her, holding solemne nuptials: by reason whereof, his sonne LVITOLPHVS was very sory; and after it there ensued many inconueniences. This being done, and OTHO hauing settled all matters concerning the State of *Italy* in good order, he returned into *Germany*, leauing CONRADE for his Lieutenant in *Lombardy*. This CONRADE was called the wise, and was Duke of *Francónia*, and sonne-in-law to the Emperor by the mariage of his daughter LVIGVARDA: but his son LVITOLPHVS was gon before into *Saxony*, which was his fathers house and patrimony, where he raised som Commotions against him, for he was much grieued & discontented with his fathers late mariage. OTHO being returned into *Germany*, and BERENGARIVS seeing that by warre, he could not recouer what he had lost, came into *Germany*, and brought with him his sonne ALBERTVS, and desiring pardon, yeelded himselfe into the Emperours power, vowing to be his loyall seruant and subiect; which he protested in such manner, that the Emperor thought himselfe well assured of him, and thereupon made him his Lieutenant in *Milan* and all *Lombardy*, the auntient inheritance of the Empire, and gaue certain lands to him, and to his sonne ALBERTVS; wherewith his sonne-in-law CONRADE, which before held that charge, being greatly discontented, he ioyned with LVITOLPHVS the Emperours sonne, and so the sonne and sonne-in-law rebelled against him. BLONDVS and other Italian writers, make no mention of CONRADE's abode in *Italy*, neither of BERENGARIVS his going into *Germany*; yet they mention his pardon, and the offices that the Emperor bestowed vpon him: But ABBAS WESPERGENSIS writeth in the same manner as I haue related, and so do NAVCLERVS and other Dutch writers. *Italy* remaining in this estate, the Emperor did not so soone abandon it (as I suppose) without some suspicion conceiued of his sonne LVITOLPHVS, who departed from him and rebelled: truly he had reason to mistrust him, for LVITOLPHVS being accounted his successor, found many friends to ioyne with him against his father; amongst which was his brother-in-law CONRADE, and ARNOLD, and the other sonnes of BERTOLD late Duke of *Bauiere*; who dying, the Emperor gaue to his brother HENRY that Estate: wherefore all those which were called Dukes of *Bauiere*, were so much discontented with him, that they raised an Armie, and tooke many townes and castles, meaning by force to defend the same, with a resolution to depose him from the Empire, without regard of the faith and loyalty which they, as his sonne and sonne-in-law, ought to him.

Otho *made* Berengarius *his Lieutenant in Lombardy.*

Luitolph *and other rise against* Otho.

OTHO making such account of this warre as the importance thereof required, leuied his forces, and went against his sonne; who daring not to keepe the field against him, fortified himselfe in the citie of *Mentz*, where his father besieged him the space of threescore dayes, after that he had recouered many of those townes which had giuen their voices against him; the citie in the meane time being battered, and most valiantly defended, in the end the besieged made a motion of peace: and to the end they might haue time to treate thereof, a truce was granted; in which time, the forces brought by the Emperors brother HENRY to his seruice, through the secret persuasion of ARNOLPHVS, and his brethren, which were called Dukes of *Bauiere*, came to an agreement with LVITOLPHVS; with which, and with those which already were in *Mentz*, in a night hee found meanes to depart the citie, and to get into *Ratisbone*. The Emperor without making one daies tariance, raised his siege, and went to *Ratisbone*, which was better fortified and furnished then *Mentz*, and so the siege was more hard and doubtful; and in the assaults and sallies many men lost their liues, of the one and other party. And although that LVITOLPHVS desired peace, and his fathers pardon, yet the Emperor would neuer yield thereto, vntill that by the importunacie of some Prelates, hee limited a certaine time, wherein his faults and offences should be examined, and a treaty should be held concerning what was to be done; and so LVITOLPHVS gaue vp the citie: And going thence, absented himself from his fathers presence, till that (within the time prefixed) the Emperor being on hunting in the fields, LVITOLPH acknowledging his error, and being very sory for it, without security from his

Luitolph *besieged by his father* Otho.

Luitolphus submitting himselfe to his father entreated him.

father, came before him vpon the way, bare headed and bare footed, and kneeling at his fathers feete, wept; who being amazed at the strangenes thereof, expecting no such matter, stood still: and the sonne recouering spirit, in this manner entreated him to haue compassion on him, acknowledging his faults and offences to be very great, rather deseruing a thousand deaths then any pardon; and therefore being hartily sorie for the same, (like the prodigall childe) he presented himselfe before his father, who also had a father in heauen, by whom he hoped to be forgiuen: and if it might please him to grant him his life, he should be assured of him, to be euer after a loyal and obedient sonne, and one which liued, and would liue, in continuall sorow for what was past: if he meant to do otherwise by him, he should yet consider that he was his owne flesh and blood, and although that the offence were onely his, yet of the punishment inflicted vpon the guiltie sonne, the iust father would beare part of the sorrowe; and that in shewing him mercie, there could no inconuenience ensue; but if he did to the contrary, he should lose the most obedient sonne that euer father had.

Hauing ended these words, and other to the same effect, with great humilitie he prostrated himselfe vpon the earth, expecting his fathers sentence of life or death. This strake so great an impression into the Emperours heart, to heare and see his sonne to shew such humility, and to shed so many teares, that he could not forbeare from doing the like: and commanding him to arise from the ground, with ioy mixt with teares, from himselfe, and the rest which were there present, he presently pardoned him, and restored him to his grace and fatherly fauour, and to the same place and dignity which he held before; and so he continued constant in that loyalty and duty which he ought to his father and soueraigne Lord. This is a notable example to bee read with attention, whereby sonnes and subiects which haue erred and offended their soueraigne Lords, may learne to repent and amend; and Princes to pardon those which truly desire to bee restored to their grace and seruice: for although that it be most certaine, that it is expedient for the good of the Common wealth, that offences be punished; yet generally no rule ought to be so strict and seuere, that no exception should be allowed, seeing that sometimes for the common good, clemencie is as profitable. Moreouer, the shame and sorrow for the offences committed, is no smal punishment to him that is pardoned.

The pitie of Otho towards his sonne Luitolphus.

Otho hauing pardoned his sonne, and recouered *Mentz* and *Ratisbone*, and all the other strong holds which had rebelled, and (according to the most and best authors) reclaimed his sonne-in-law Conrade, (yet some say the contrary) when he should haue taken rest, and haue reposed himselfe, there arose new warres, more dangerous then the former; for on the one side the Dalmatians and Slauons entred the territories of the Empire; and on the other side, the Hungars (who now had liued sometime in rest) gathering together an infinite number of them, began the most dangerous and cruell warre they euer had made; for besides that they were a most valiant and proud people, they were so many in number, that they reported of themselues, that the skies migh fall and so kill them, or the earth might open and swallow them; but the power of no nations, or of any Kings of the earth was sufficient to make head against them. Against a nation so valiant and resolute, the valiant Emperor leuied the best and mightiest Armie that euer he had done; for it consisted of eight legions, vnder the leading of excellent Captains, and those, Dukes and Princes of the Empire. In this war were many conflicts and exploits of Armes worth relating, which I omit for breuitie which I am bound to obserue.

In the end these two mightie Armies ioyned, and fought a battaile neere the riuer *Danubius*, which began about noone, and continued vntill night, without any signe of victorie to either side; the fields lying full of dead bodies, and died with the bloud of the slaine and wounded; and the darknes of the night parted the Armies, and made them leaue fighting: but the Emperor spent the whole night in dressing the wounded, giuing them meate, and encouraging the rest; and as soone as it was day, setting his troupes in order, he took the field, where they againe began the fight, with as great furie as the day before: But the Hungarians began to giue ground, and within short space were ouerthrowne, and the Imperialists made an exceeding great slaughter of them, and obtained one of the most famous victories that hath bin in the world: wherewith the Hungarians were so much daunted, that they neuer durst after that time attempt to make wars in *Germany*. There died that day of the Emperors side some principall men, among which was his sonne-in-law Conrade Duke of *Franconia*, of whom all authors write, that he was the best and most valiant captaine of his time. Of the Hungarians died in a manner all the Nobilitie, and three Dukes or Reguli, were taken prisoners, which the Emperor commanded to be hanged, for an example, and punishment of the rebellion and pride of that nation.

Otho's victorie.

This

This battaile was fought in the eighteenth yeere of his raigne, after which he spent many daies in processions, and in shewing himselfe thankfull to God for so noble a victorie: which being ended, he sent the greatest part of his Armie against the Slauons, and other nations which warred against him; all which he vanquished and subdued with the like felicitie, and then went to visit sundrie townes and cities of his Empire, to the great ioy of his subiects. Great matters in these times passed in *France* and in *Spaine*, and in other parts of the world, which I haue not time to relate. In *Italy* Berengarius and his sonne Albert (seeing the Emperor busied in those daungerous warres) forgetting the good which they had receiued from him, committed many tyrannies and insolencies, aswell against the Church of *Rome*, as against the inhabitants of the countrie: and therein also were other tyrants in diuers other parts. At this time died Pope Agapetvs, who held that seate almost ten yeres, and after his death (by sinister meanes more by force and fauour, then by any iust forme of election) Octavianvs, a Romane borne, the sonne of a man of great power and authoritie in *Rome*, was chosen Pope, and called Iohn the twelfth; a most vicious wicked man, and giuen to all kinde of dissolution and ribaudrie; and aboue all, extreme cruell and couetous.

The commendation of Pope Octauianus called Iohn the twelfth.

At this time died also in *Constantinople* Romanvs the Greeke Emperor, who was a Prince farre vnworthie thereof; for he was both wicked and of a base mind, and suffered his seruants to rule him. In his time were two great warres in the East Empire; one against the Mahometists Infidels, who had taken the Ile of *Candia*; and the other in *Asia*, against the Turks and Persians. In the first, Nicephorvs (nephew to that Nicephorvs which in the time of Basilivs was so excellent a Captaine) was Generall, and wan great victories: In the other, Leo was General, cousin germane to this Nicephorvs; both which had happie successe: In the rest of his gouernment he was a wicked and cruell Emperor; for although that he had an excellent sharpe wit and vnderstanding, yet he abused the same. Romanvs being dead, notwithstanding that he left two sonnes, Basilivs and Constantine, and one daughter called Theodora; yet by reason of their young yeeres and the hatred borne to their father, they then obtained not the Empire; but yet afterwards in processe of time they gat it: and the said Captaine Nicephorvs was chosen Emperor, who in the warres was very fortunate, and both valiant and carefull, but in peace careles and couetous.

The Greeke Emperour.

Returning now to our Emperour Otho, I say, that it was aboue six yeeres after his first comming into *Italie*, in which time hauing ended the wars with his sonne, with the Hungarians and with the Slauonians, as we haue declared; when as (besides other times, that he had been prayed and entreated) Ambassadours came vnto him from *Rome*, and from sundrie cities of *Italy*; entreating him to come thither, and to free them from the tyrannie of Berengarius, and the cruell tyrannous Pope Iohn, who also sent Ambassadours to him: whereto Otho consenting, resolued vpon his iourney into *Italie* with strong hand: and staying to set some things in *Germany* in order, he sent his now louing and obedient sonne Lvitolphvs before him with the greatest part of his forces against Berengarius; who after some victories obtained against him, and the taking of many cities, died of an infirmitie: whereupon his father hastened his iourney; but first he made his then eldest sonne called Otho, of the age of seuen yeeres, whom he had by his second wife, Cæsar and his successor. And being come into *Italie*, neither Berengarius nor his sonne Albert durst keepe the field, but fled to their holds and castles; and Albert gat into the Ile of *Corsica*, and Berengarius put himselfe into a very strong castle in Mount *Leon*: And so Otho, without shedding any drop of bloud, took all *Lombardy*, and marched towards *Rome*, where Pope Iohn attended his comming, and had by all meanes possible sought his friendship; his conscience accusing him of his vices. In matters which passed at Otho's second comming into *Italy*, there is some difference betweene the Historiographers which write the same; but I will follow that rule which the most of them haue set downe, and that which by many coniectures seemeth to be most true. Being come to *Rome* (where of long time they had not sene any Emperor) he was receiued with great solemnitie and incredible pompe, by Pope Iohn and the Romanes; and with the like was by him crowned, hauing first sworne those things contained in the Chapter *Tibi Domine* in the thirteenth Distinction. The Emperour being enformed in what manner Pope Iohn had attained to the Papacie, and withall of his loose kind of life; after that he had remained there certaine daies, in friendly sort hee secretly admonished him to reforme his dissolute life, and the manner of his gouernment in the Church; and seeing that his secret warning preuailed not, he spake to him in the Consistorie before his Cardinals, with greater authoritie & seueritie,

The death of Luitolphus.

The Emperor Otho crowned by Pope Iohn the twelfth.

then the other would he should haue done: which being ended, in hope that the Pope would haue reformed himselfe, he departed from *Rome*, to seeke Berengarius; and besieging him in a Citie which he had fortified, he daily assailed it with great force and resolution: in the meane time that he busied himselfe herein, Pope Iohn, with some of his confederats (shewing himselfe an enemy to the Emperor) called Albert the son of Berengarius into *Italie*, and made a reuolt against him: whereupon, Otho leauing to besiege Berengarius, returned towards *Rome*, where the Pope had vsed great cruelty to those which held for the Emperour; among which (it is said) that he cut off the Noses, and put out the Eyes of some of the Cardinals and Citizens: but knowing with what furie the Emperour came, he durst not stay his comming, but fled, and so lurked in sundry parts: and Otho being comn, the greatest part of the Cardinals, Clergie, and People of *Rome* informed him of the Popes lewde life, and the insufficiency of his election; desiring him to place a new: whereto he answered, that if their informations were true, they had authority of themselues to choose whom they listed: And they holding Iohns election to be of no effect, made choise of another, whose name was Leo, the eighth of that name, who was presently receiued for Pope, the Emperour holding him for such. And leauing him seated in his throne, Otho went from *Rome*, returning to his enterprise against Berengarius and his sonne Albert; wherein he vsed such diligence, and had so good successe, that Berengarius despairing to be able to defend himselfe, yeelded to his mercie; and his sonne Albert, with his wife and children, were taken prisoners: And the Emperour Otho (vsing his accustomed clemency and magnanity) would not put them to death, but contented himselfe to banish them: Berengarius he sent prisoner, and banished into a strong Castle in *Saxony*; and his sonne Albert to *Constantinople*, and so ended the tyranny of the Berengarii in *Italie*.

Berengarius condemned to perpetuall imprisonment, and his sonne Albert to be exild, by the Emperor Otho the second.

Blondus and other authors write that their imprisonment was as soone as Otho came into *Italy*: but I follow the Abbot Wesspergensis, and the most part of all the other Historiographers.

Within few daies after that Otho was departed from *Rome*, wherein he had left Leo the eighth for Pope; the Romane people, by the perswasion of Pope Iohn, and of his Allies and kindred (with the like lightnesse as they vsually are moued) altred their mindes, and determined to cast out Leo, and to receiue Iohn; and so Iohn was restored, and Leo driuen to flie, and to complaine to the Emperor at *Spoleto*.

When the Emperor was aduertised hereof, making an end of such businesse as he then had in hand, he concluded to come within few daies with his forces to *Rome*, against his enemy Pope Iohn, who died there before his comming: some writers say, that a Roman, taking him with his wife, slew him, when he had continued Pope nine yeeres. The Romanes hating Pope Leo, who was now with the Emperor, chose another called Benedict the fift; and hee and they presently sent their Ambassadours to the Emperour, to entreate him to be pleased with his election: wherewith the Emperour was more offended then before, and gaue them a very sharpe answere: But the Romanes (who by this time loathed the Germanes, murmurring against the Emperour) persisted in their opinion of holding Benedict for Pope: for this cause, Otho remoued with his Army, and came to *Rome*, where Pope Benedict and the Romanes had made prouision of men and munition for their defence; and he first spoyling the territory thereof, besieged the Citie, and brought it to such distresse, that they write wonders of the famine and want which the besieged endured; which was such, that being vnable to endure the extremity thereof, they gaue vp the City to Otho; who being now Lord of that Citie, deposed Benedict whom he held for no Pope; and reestablished Leo, whom he brought with him: then he stayed some daies in *Rome*, setting all things in good order, and carrying Benedict with him, whom they had chosen in contempt of him, together with the sonnes of many of the chiefe men in *Rome* for his better securitie; he departed thence, and came into *Lombardy*, wherein, placing gouernours and garrisons in all the Cities which appertained to the Empire, he returned into *Germany*; where he was solemnly receiued by all the Princes and estates thereof: Within few daies Benedict (whom the Emperour brought with him) died of sorrow, six moneths after his election; so that Pope Leo remained sole Pope without any competency: but his prosperity continued but a while: for within little more then one yeere, after that he came to be Pope, he died also; and through his death they chose Pope Iohn the fourteenth of that name, but he was not receiued; for the President of *Rome*, who then was called Peter, rose against him, and with the fauour and assistance of the

Rome besieged and taken by the Emperor Otho.

the *Decarconi*, which were Rulers for one yeere; and of the two Consuls of the City (this was the manner of their gouernment at that time) and a certaine Prince which was Earle of *Campania*, whose name was Gotheredvs, rising against the Pope, they became so mighty, that they apprehended him, and committed him to the Castle S. *Angelo*; and afterwards, being masters of the Citie, they released him thence; so as he liued exiled eleuen moneths: which being past, with the aid of Iohn, Prince or Duke of *Capua*, he was restored to his estate, and the aforesaid Gotheredvs was put to death: this was in the yeere of our Lord, nine hundred sixty and seuen. Otho hauing raigned Emperour thirtie and odde yeeres; and being in *Germany* aduised of what passed in *Rome*, and much grieued therewith, he resolued presently to take his way towards *Italie*, to punish so great a contempt, and to supplant other Tyrants; and putting the same in execution, he came thither with great forces of foot and horse, and brought with him his eldest sonne and successor; comming to *Rome*, hee inflicted notable punishment vpon this prefect Peter, and the rest of the principall offenders.

Pope Iohn prisoner in the castle S. Angelo.

This being ended, he sent his sonne Otho with part of his Armie against the Moores, who held many Townes in *Pulia*; and this Otho draue them thence by force, and was then contracted by his Ambassadors to Theophania daughter to Nicephorvs, at that time Emperor of *Constantinople*: And for as much as her father would not send her vnto him, he resolued to make a conquest of those Lands which were subiect to that Empire in *Italie*, and did so: for which cause (as some authors write) the Greekes rebelled against Nicephorvs, and depriuing him of his Empire slew him, taking Iohn for Emperor, whose sister or cosin germane Otho afterwards married.

Otho's second coming into Italy.

The death of the Greek Emperor Nicephorus.

Others say that the cause of this warre was, for that the Greekes which dwelt in *Pulia*, held peace and friendshippe with the Infidels which dwelt among them, and did assist them. But, whatsoeuer was the occasion, Otho and his sonne bereaued them of the best lands that they held in *Italie*; wherein Pandvlphvs Duke of *Capua* did him especiall seruice. All which being brought to a wished end; Pope Iohn, with the consent and good liking of Otho, crowned and made his sonne Otho his companion in the Empire, with great feasting and solemnity: and so, very joyfull and victorious, both the father and the sonne returned into *Germany*, leauing the Pope in peace absolute Lord of *Rome*; and so was *Italie* maintained seuen yeers in peace without any tyranny.

The Emperors, being comn into *Germany*, were with great joy receiued; and to them came Ambassadors of amity and friendship from all the Princes Christian. The rest of his life, which was not long, he spent in doing iustice, in building of Churches and Monasteries, and in such like exercises: In which; in the six and thirtith yeer of his Raign in *Germany*, and the thirteenth yeer after his Coronation in *Rome*, it pleased God to take him out of this world, in the month of May, in the yeer of our Lord 974.

The death of the Emperor Otho

A little before the death of Otho, Nicephorvs Emperor of *Constantinople* was deposed and slain, who had raigned six or seuen yeers, and had obtained great victories against the Infidels: but, through his euill gouerument in time of peace, they rebelled and slue him; And an excellent Captain, whose name was Zimices, was chosen Emperor: who, the better to confirm himself in the Empire, chose for his companions the two sonnes of Romanvs, who was Emperor before Nicephorvs, whose names were Basilivs and Constantine; and married himself to a sister of theirs called Theodora. This proued an excellent and valiant Emperor, and subdued the Russians, and other northerly Nations, and also Phocas a Tyrant, who rebelled against him: of whose end you shall hear more hereafter.



THE LIFE OF OTHO, THE THIRD OF THAT NAME, AND FOVRSCORE & EIGHTTH ROMANE Emperor; And of IOHN, BASILIVS & CONSTANTINE, Emperors of *Constantinople*.

(***)

974

This Otho was according to the order of the Roman Emperors, the Second; but the third Roman Emperor of that name.

OTHO the sonne of OTHO, and therefore called the Second (yet in truth he was the Third) as soon as his father was dead; as well for his fathers worthinesse, as for that in his life time he was elect and crowned in *Rome* by the Pope, as wee haue related, was without any contradiction receiued and obeyed for Emperor. This OTHO was a man of a great spirit, and very valiant, and so shewed himself in all his actions; though in the later end of his Raign hee was vnfortunate, as you shall vnderstand. Hee beginning to rule the Empire, all Christian Princes sent Ambassadors vnto him, to condole the death of his father, and to congratulate his succession; and the Princes of *Germany* came to do him homage: onely HENRY Duke of *Bauiere* (who was his cosin germane, sonne of the other HENRY, brother to his father OTHO, of whom we haue made some mention, and whom his father made Duke of *Bauria*; being a man of great power, and therewith very proud) refused to yeeld obedience to the new Emperor: but OTHO raised an Army, and went against him, and compelled him to submit himself, and to yeeld his obedience; this befell in the first yeer of his Raign. From thence hee marched against some Towns in *Slauonia*, which took Arms against him. In the mean time, in the Prouince of *Lorrain* were some combustions, procured by LOTHARIVS King of *France*; vpon the newes whereof, OTHO returned into *Germany*: but the French King had raised such forces, and was so suddenly entred *Lorrain*, that he made himself Lord thereof; pretending, that the Prouince did appertain to the Crown of *France*. And not content to haue subdued all that Country, within fewe daies after he marched forwards, spoiling and wasting the Country euen to *Aken*; where OTHO then was with small forces, nothing mistrusting that the King of *France* would haue proceeded so farre in that warre, where he was like to haue been taken, and was driuen to depart thence in more than haste: but the French King retiring with great prey and spoils; the Emperor, much displeased with his doings, raised a very mighty Army, and the next yeer following, with great courage and equall power, entred the Kingdome of *France*; in such manner, that the French King neither durst nor was able to fight with him; but retired, and fortified himself in the City of *Paris*: whither OTHO came (the King being therein) and spoiled the Country, in reuenge of the harms receiued; and in coming within sight of the City, he lost some of his people in a skirmish against the French: and seeing that the King salied not forth to giue him battell, and that he could not besiege him with any aduantage, he resolued for that winter to return into his Country: and in his retreit the King of *France* sent the Duke of *Burgundy* and other Princes, to charge him in the arieregard (as GAGVIN and other French Historians write) and at the passage ouer a riuer, which was growne so high by reason of the raine, that it could not be waded through, he receiued great harme by his enemies, and they slew a great part of his Armie; which the Germanes doe not so brauely describe (yet they acknowledge to haue lost som of their people at that passage) and the Emperor being returned, resolued to haue prosecuted that warre; but it hapned otherwise: for he gaue eare to a treatie of peace betweene him and the French king, moued by certaine prelates; which was concluded, as we will shew you; whereof the warres in *Italie*, made by the Greeke Emperor, were the chief occasion; which passed in this manner.

IOHN ZIMICES (as is before recited) hauing obtained the Empire of *Constantinople* by the death of NICEPHORVS, and taken for his companions the two sons of the Emperor ROMANVS, whose names were BASILIVS and CONSTANTINE; and hauing obtained many victories, and gouerned the Empire very well, was poisoned in *Constantinople*, when hee had raigned six yeers and a halfe, and BASILIVS, and his brother CONSTANTINE, which were his brothers in law, remained Emperors; but BASILIVS bare the chiefest sway in the gouernment, being now twenty yeeres old; who in processe of time wan many great victories, as well against tyrants which rebelled, as other people, and raigned fifty and od yeers; in which time many raigned in *Germany*, the story whereof I am to write, although I euer make some mention of *Constantinople*, as I haue done hitherto.

The Emperor of Constantinople poysoned Basilius, and his brother Constantine succeeded Iohn *in the Greeke Empire.*

In the beginning of the raigne of BASILVS, and of his brother CONSTANTINE, they being both yong, and of great power, and seeing that OTHO was busied in the warres of *France*, and grieuing that he and his father had taken the lands belonging to the Greeke Empire in *Pulia* and in *Calabria*; they resolued to recouer the same, imbracing the oportunitie, considering that OTHO was pestered with these troubles, and that the Popes were of small power by reason of the great tyrants which were in *Rome*, and in a manner through all *Italie* by reason of the Emperors absence. The two brethren hauing placed good Captaines and Garrisons in the prouinces of *Asia*, and *Gracia*, tooke their passage into *Italie*, and brought in their Armie many Infidels, as well such as were newly entertained, as such as in former time had made warre in that countrie; and began to take Cities and Castles, and in short space tooke all the rest of *Pulia*, and *Calabria*: and *Rome* it selfe and all the countrie thereabout stood in great feare of them.

OTHO hauing intelligence hereof (at what time as he was in parley of peace with *France*) and grieuing much that the Greekes should recouer what he had conquered at the time of his fathers coronation in *Rome*, with a resolution to recouer and to defend the same, he concluded a peace with the French: wherein was granted to him the supreme jurisdiction, and all the prouince of *Lotharingia*, otherwise called *Austrasia*, which afterwards was diuided into sundrie estates, as *Braband*, *Gelders*, *Cleue*, *Gulick*, and that which now is called *Lorraine*; whereof he gaue the Dominion to the French kings brother, whose name was CHARLES, with the title of Duke, the more to binde the king of *France* to obserue the peace: And hauing taken such order herein, and in the rest of *Germany*, as was expedient; he went with great power into *Italie*, where his comming was long expected; and taking his way towards *Rome*, he was there againe crowned by the Pope, notwithstanding that he was so in the time of his father: and he required the Cities of *Italie*, that at a certaine time and place appointed, they should send him their men of warre, which was performed accordingly: and staying but a very small time in *Rome*, he drew all his Armie to one head; and so went to seeke his enemies, who refused not the battell: and both parties desiring the same, it was fought, wherein OTHO had very ill successe. For, hauing a greater number, and better men then were the Greekes, the Romanes, the Beneuentanes, and others which had the auauntguard, at the first encounter charged so cowardly, that without making any resistance, they abandoned the field in such confusion, that they disordered the other Battalions and Squadrons of the Germanes: so as the Greekes encouraged hereby, followed the chace of them which fled; in such manner that OTHO's people, being vnable to doe as they would, and ought to haue done, were broken and ouerthrowne, and a very great number of them slaine.

The Emperour made peace with France.

The Emperour seeing no hope of better helpe, fled from the battaile; and comming to the Sea side (which was not farre from thence) put himself into a small boat, which he found there by chance, thinking so to escape: but he was taken vnknowne by a Pirat, and carried into Sicilia, where he was discouered by a Merchant of *Slauonia*; who, vpon promise of reward made by the Emperor, bewrayed him not, but agreed for his ransome. This is reported in sundry sorts: but

Otho taken by a Sea-rouer.

but in the end he was deliuered by the Merchants means, they nothing knowing that hee was an Emperor. And so he returned into *Italie*, and came to *Rome*, whereof the Greeks might haue been masters if they had knowne how to haue followed their aduantage; for, their enemies being ouerthrowne, they had not found therein any resistance: but, God hauing otherwise ordained, they left the war, contenting themselues with the victory.

OTHO, being comn to *Rome*, gathered together the remainder of his Armie; and, adding thereto new supplies, the first enterprise that he attempted, was, to go to *Beneuent*: where hee put the greatest part of the Inhabitants to the sword, and sacked the City, becausse they fledde from the battell. It is written of him, that hee inflicted cruell punishment in *Rome* for the same cause; so as he was therefore called bloudy: the cause whereof was, The great grief and sorrow which he conceiued for the losse of the battell, and his flight; considering, that through the fault and cowardize of his friends it had hapned: so as they write of him, that euer after, whilst hee liued, his countenance was euer sad and pensiue, and that hee often gaue great gronos and sighes: and, finally, in his apparell, and in all other things, he shewed continuall sorrow and extreme heauinesse; and all his speeches and discourses were, how he might be reuenged, and recouer this losse.

The death of the Emperour Otho the third

After this, liuing in this care and melancholie in the City of *Rome*, he was taken with a mortall infirmity, which (as some say) came through sorrow (but not without suspicion of poison) which increased so, that hee died thereof, hauing raigned tenne yeers, in the yeer of our Lord nine hundred fourescore and foure. He left behinde him, when he died, one sonne called OTHO (as himselfe) of the age of twelue yeers, who was afterwards Emperor; and another called HVGH, who was Duke of *Saxonie*, and one daughter called ALASIA, which afterwards was married to a Prince of *Saxony*, whose name was ALRANE or ALEDRANE, and was Marquesse of *Monferrato*; in whom that house and state had beginning. All these hee had by his first wife, whose name was THEOPHANIA, who had been late wife to IOHN Emperor of *Constantinople*. He had also another daughter called VTILHVIDA, by his second wife, which was the Marquesse of *Austrich* his daughter, who was married to THEODORICVS, the first Earl of *Holland*: and, OTHO being dead, the Greeks for that time continued Lords of *Pulia* and *Calabria*.

THE LIFE OF OTHO, BEING THE FOVRTH OF THAT NAME, AND FOVRSCORE AND NINTH ROMANE Emperor; And of BASILIVS & CONSTANTINE, Emperors of *Constantinople*.

(***)

THE ARGVMENT.

AFter long disputations and contentions about the election of the Emperor, betweene the Romans and the Princes of Germany; in the end Otho *the sonne of the deceased Emperor, was chosen, being a childe not fully twelue yeeres old; and so one* Crescencius *in the beginning of his raigne rebelled against him in Rome; who aspired to the Empire, and made himselfe a tyrant ouer many Countries, and persecuted the Pope, driuing him to flie; but finally for feare of the Emperour, who came into Italy to protect the Pope, he made his peace with him, and became his subiect: the Emperor being departed,* Crescencius *againe tooke Armes and made a new Pope: and persecuting the Pope made by the Emperor, he constrained him to flie to the Emperor, who conducting him into Italie, tooke Rome, and slew* Crescencius; *and the other Pope died miserably. At this time, an order and forme was set downe for the choosing of the Emperor, and the honor being giuen to the Germanes, the Romanes were therewith much displeased; and conspiring against the Emperour, put him so to his shifts, that he was driuen to flie disguised; but in the end, vnable to eschew treason, he died of poyson, when hee had raigned eighteene yeeres.*



IN such manner as I haue declared, the Emperor called OTHO the Third deceased: and in the Citie of *Rome*, was great contention and controuersie about the election of a new Emperor, betweene the Princes of *Germany* which were there, and came with him; for some would haue his sonne to succeede him, whose name also was OTHO, being then but a childe of eleuen and halfe yeeres old; being the fourth of that name, but the third of the Germanes. Others were of opinion (by reason of the childes nonage) to make HENRY Duke of *Bauaria* Emperor, who was his fathers Cosin-germane, the first OTHO's brothers sonne; who being a mighty man and there present, sought to haue gotten his yong cosine into his power, to the end that he should not haue been chosen; and did so, and tooke vpon him the title of Emperor: And the Romane and Italian Princes (desiring to be freed from the Gouernement of the Germanes whom they naturally hated) sought by all meanes that an Italian might haue beene chosen; and they named one who was a very mightie Romane, called CRESCENCIVS NVMITANVS, who at that time was Gouernour, and Consull in *Rome*: for (as it is said) they had established a new manner of Gouernement, imitating the antient custome; for at this time they had a certaine kinde of Consulate.

Obseruing the ordinary course, this Otho *was the fourth of that name, although the third of the Germane Emperor.*

The Princes of *Germany* standing in feare of the Romane and Italian people (in a manner) by common consent, maugre HENRY Cuke of *Bauaria* (who thought to haue beene Emperour) resolued to choose OTHO sonne to the last OTHO; for although that hee were but young and scarcely twelue yeeres old, yet he gaue great signes and hope of a future excellent Prince; & taking him out of the power of the said HENRY of *Bauiere*, they departed with him from *Rome* towards *Germany*, and came with him to the Citie of *Aken*, where he was crowned with great solemnity, and obeyed and held for Emperor; and so he was in *Milan*, and in other parts of the Empire. But in *Rome* CRESCENCIVS NVMITANVS, who (as we said) sought to haue beene Emperour, possessed himselfe of the Citie, and of the territory thereof: and for asmuch as Pope IOHN tooke part with OTHO, he made him to be apprehended in the third moneth of his Papacie, and committed him prisoner to the Castle of Saint *Angelo*, a wicked and impious act, where within fiue moneths after he died of sorrow. Afterwards IOHN the sixteenth came to be Pope, who was a couetous wicked man, and consented to the Tyranny of CRESCENCIVS afore named, and rebelled with *Rome* against the Emperour OTHO (whereof the Emperours nonage gaue the chiefe occasion, and for the same cause som Princes of *Germany* likewise rebelled against him) but within short space; hauing attained to the age of fourteene yeeres, he was of such courage and discretion, as he might well be accounted for a perfect staid man: And with the ayde of those which continued his loyall subjects, he subdued and ouercame (although long first) all such as rebelled against him; with such happinesse and good successe, that he was held for the wonder of the World, seeing in him so great valour and so ripe a judgement in so greene yeers.

Crescencius apprehended Pope Iohn *the fift, and committed him prisoner to the Castle S. Angelo, where he died of sorrow.*

What Rebellions these were, and in what manner he had so great good fortune, none of the Historiographers doe write particularly, that I could euer see; so briefly they passe ouer this place: Wherefore I can relate no more then I finde written; onely this they affirme, that for

for the ſpace of ten yeeres, he was buſied in pacifying and ordering the ſtate of *Germany*: in which time CRESCENTIVS *tyrannized Rome; which paſſed in this manner:*

Pope IOHN *the* ſixteenth, who (as I ſaid) ſucceeded IOHN the fifteenth (as it pleaſed God) liued Pope but ſeuen moneths; all which he ſpent vilely: and hee being dead, a learned man was choſen, whoſe name was IOHN alſo, which was IOHN the ſeuenteenth, but much vnlike his Predeceſſor; for, he was an honeſt man: and for being ſo, was ſoon at variance with the Tyrant CRESCENTIVS; who was of ſuch power, that Pope IOHN was driuen to leaue *Rome*, and to giue place to his tyranny. He oftentimes ſent to the Emperor OTHO for ſuccours, and to come and reform the ſtate of *Rome* and *Italie*: But the Emperor could not then perform his requeſt, by reaſon of his other waighty affairs; yet afterwards he did it, as you ſhall hear.

In the mean time, CRESCENTIVS fearing the Emperors coming, acknowledging his error, practiſed with Pope IOHN to return, promiſing him to bee obeyed and reſpected: and he ſo effectually handled the matter, that a peace was concluded between them; and the Pope came, and was receiued with great ſolemnity. But, this notwithſtanding, the Emperour held on his way, and came into *Italie* with great power (which was in the eleuenth yeer of his raign) and was receiued euery where as he paſſed, with great joy and feaſting: and ſo he came to *Rome*, where the Pope and CRESCENTIVS (after ſome treaties and ambaſſages which paſſed) made great preparation to receiue him. And the Emperor beeing comn neer to the City; the Pope, accompanied with all his Cardinals and Clergie, and with all the Roman Nobilitie and Gentlemen, went forth to entertain him: and ſo in peace and good friendſhip the Emperour ſtaied ſome daies in *Rome*; and, to gratifie the Pope and the Romans, hee went with his Armie to *Capua* and to *Beneuent*, which diſobeyed, and were at warres among themſelues: whom hee compelled to liue in peace, to the contentment of the Romans.

The coming of the Emperor Otho into Italy

About this time died Pope IOHN; and the Emperor, returning to *Rome*, procured an vncle of his of the houſe of *Saxony*, whoſe name was BRVNO, to bee made Pope, and hee was called GREGORY the Fift: who, being ſeated in his papall dignity, anointed and crowned the Emperor, with ſuch ſolemnity and pomp as his father and grandfather had been before him. Which being ended, and OTHO imagining that the eſtate of *Italie* ſtood now in good form and order (conſidering that his vncle remained higheſt Biſhop) he took his way towards *Germany*, and by the way viſited *Lombardy*, and other parts ſubject to the Empire.

In the mean time, whil'ſt that OTHO was buſied about the affairs of *Italie*, the Succeſſors of CHARLES the Great were depoſed from the Crown of *France*; which although it concern not our Hiſtory, yet for as much as it is a matter of great importance, I think it worthy to bee reduced to memory; and thus it was: King LOTHARY being dead (who as we ſaid made war againſt OTHO the Second) his ſonne LEVVES, ſucceeding him, within one yeer died alſo. This LEVVES being dead; HVGH called CAPVTIVS or CAPET, Earle or Gouerner of *Paris*, being a man of great power and authority in that Kingdome, tyrannically took vpon him the title of King, and made himſelf Lord of *France*; hauing no right thereto, but the right of warre: and firſt he took CHARLES (brother to LOTHARIVS) priſoner by treaſon (who, by the death of his nephew LEVVES, was called King) and cauſed him to dy in priſon, and (ſubduing all ſuch as made any reſiſtance) got the Crown and Kingdom; which hath continued in his Succeſſors vnto this day.

Hugh Capet *vſurped the kingdoms of France.*

OTHO being returned into *Italie*; the Romans, who had euer murmured at the election of Pope GREGORY, and loathed the rule and command of the Germanes, choſe the Tyrant CRESCENTIVS for Conſul: by whoſe aid and counſel they again rebeld againſt the Pope; in ſuch ſort, that hee was driuen to flee *Rome*, and earneſtly to intreat the Emperor to relieue him; in hope that he would haue comn to his reſcue, or that CRESCENTIVS and the Romans, fearing the Emperors coming, would haue recalled him, and haue made peace with him, as they had done with his Predeceſſor. But it fell out cleen contrary: for, CRESCENTIVS, alleaging that Pope GREGORY's elelection was violent (the Emperor forcing the ſame) hee cauſed the Biſhop of *Placentia* to be choſen and made Pope, who was called IOHN the eighteenth (yet ſundry Authors hould him not for Pope). Wherefore Pope GREGORY, leauing *Italie*, went into *Germany* to the Emperor; who, being highly diſpleaſed, leuied an Armie, and came into *Italie*, and ſo directly to *Rome*, where CRESCENTIVS had fortified himſelf, and prouided a garriſon to defend the ſame; and the Emperor beſieged the City: which put the Romans in ſuch fear, that they durſt not ſtand to their defenſe; but, opening the gates, deſired the

the Emperor to pardon them; and the two tyrants, CRESCENTIVS and Pope IOHN, withdrew themſelues into the caſtell S. *Angelo*, which CRESCENTIVS had ſo well fortified, that it was held for impregnable: whereupon OTHO came to a parley with him, to the end that he ſhould haue yeelded: and CRESCENTIVS preſuming that his life ſhould haue been ſaued (whereof he was put in ſome hope) deliuered vp the caſtle; and hee and the Pope comming towards the Emperor, were apprehended vpon the way; and CRESCENTIVS was preſently put to death by his commandement, as a violater of his faith, and one that had been twice a traytor. Others write that he cauſed him to be hanged, and Pope IOHNS eyes to be put out, who afterwards died miſerably: ſuch are the rewards which the world beſtoweth vpon thoſe which to follow the ſame forget God, their owne honour and honeſtie. Theſe tyrants being ſuppreſſed, the Emperor reſtored Pope GREGORIE to his ſeate and dignitie, and ſet the beſt order in all matters in *Rome*, that the time would permit.

Creſcentius put to death.

Pope Iohn the eighteenth had his eyes put out.

Pope Gregorie reſtored to his ſeate.

All this which I haue recited being ended, Pope GREGORY acknowledging the ſuccours which the Church of *Rome* had receiued from the Emperour, and from the Princes of *Germany* (as a man affected to his native countrey, and to the Germane nation; by the will and conſent of the Emperor, and to preuent and eſchue the diſcord which did ariſe, or might happen, about the chuſing of the Emperor) made a law and Cation, which hath laſted about ſix hundred yeres, euen vntill this day, which was, that the election of the Emperor, ſo long as the Empire ſhould be voide, ſhould appertaine to ſixe Princes onely, which we will preſently nominate; three, whereof were Prelates, and the other three, ſecular Princes, *viz.* a Duke, a Marqueſſe, and an Earle, and if by chaunce there ſhould be equality of voyces betweene theſe ſix, the King of *Bohemia* (which then was no King) ſhould alſo haue his voyce, and the party whereto he inclined, ſhould make the choiſe, and their election ſhould ſtand: the Prelates are, the Archbiſhop of *Mentz*, the Archbiſhop of *Colein*, and the Archbiſhop of *Treuier*: the Princes are the Count Palatine of *Rhine*, the Duke of *Saxony*, and the Marqueſſe of *Brandenburgh*. And he further ordained, that no man ſhould be choſen Emperor, except he were a Germane borne; and that being choſen by the Princes Electors aforeſaid, hee ſhould bee called King of the Romanes, and not Emperor *Auguſtus*, vntill that he were confirmed and crowned by the Pope, as it is obſerued vnto this day.

The originall of the order of the chuſing of the Emperours, ordained by Pope Gregorie *the fift.*

This decree and law (as moſt authors write) was made in the yeere, one thouſand and two: which cannot be ſo, for all agree, that Pope GREGORIE the fift which made the ſame, died in the yeere, nine hundred ninetie and ſeuen: but this contrarietie is eaſily ſalued, for the Emperor OTHO died in the yeere, one thouſand and two, or three; and ſo in that yeere, or the next, that law was put in execution, notwithſtanding that it was made ſome time before, and therefore they ſay that it was made that yeere: And thus they are excuſed, which attribute this order and forme of election to Pope SYLVESTER, which ſucceeded Pope GREGORIE, who indeed was the man which made the ſame. And hee further ordained, that the election ſhould bee made in the citie of *Frankford*, and that hee which was choſen, ſhould come to the citie of *Aken* to bee crowned King of the Romanes. And the Emperour OTHO ordained certaine preheminences and offices, which each of theſe Electors ſhould hold in the Emperors houſe and court; as one to beare his Sword, another to be his Cupbearer, with ſuch like, which concerne not our hiſtorie.

This being ended and concluded in this manner; ſome authors write, that the Emperour went into *Germany*, to ſet an order in the affaires of the Empire, where this election before recited was approoued & ratified: others make no mention of this his going, but rather report, that he ſpent the reſt of his time in *Rome*. Howſoeuer it was, after the death of Pope GREGORIE (which was when he had been Pope two yeeres and halfe) in his place was choſen one GILBERT, a more excellent man for wit and learning, then any in his time was to be found: but he abuſed and ill employed the ſame; for he was a great Necromancer and enchaunter, and gaue himſelf to bargaining with the diuell, and to other vnlawfull Artes: he was a French-man born, and was called SYLVESTER, and had been the Emperours Schoole-maſter, whom moſt authors affirme, to haue learned Magicke in the citie of *Seuill* in *Spaine*: which notwithſtanding that it was in the power of Infidels, yet the Artes and Philoſophie did floriſh there.

Pope Sylueſter a Necromancer.

This people held the chaire foure yeeres, in which time the Emperour came againe to *Rome* (or had not gone foorth of it) and very effectually applied himſelf to the good gouernment of the Empire, puniſhing and reforming the abuſes committed by ſundrie, through the ſmall

authority and worth of former Popes, and the tyrannies and factions which had beene in *Rome*, all which was done by the Popes consent, as by him which had been the Emperours Schoolemaster; and was placed there by his authority. The Emperour (as it is written of him) was a man of great vnderstanding, and of a very good condition: But the Romanes, who now were much discontented with the forme set downe, for choosing the Emperour, wherein they had no voice or authoritie, either to chuse or to be chosen; it being the chiefe seate and head of the Empire; and being also extreamely grieued, to see that OTHO did so absolutely command in *Rome* and in *Italie*, and made so long abode there: first they began to murmure thereat, and afterwards secretly to conspire, and to practice his death; and in the end their enuie encreasing, their audaciousnes and contempt likewise encreased: whereupon, one day when the Emperour suspected no such matter, and the people which he then had with him in the Citie being but onely Courtiers, the Romanes arose with a great tumult, and putting themselues in Armes, slew many of the Germanes: and then went to the Palace where the Emperor was, and being vnable to enter at their first approach (for that his guard and Gentlemen which repaired thither defended the same) they compassed the house, in such sort as the Emperour had been either presently taken, or slaine; but that one HVGH (who was his Lieutenant, and gouerned a great part of the Emperors countries in *Italie*, with the title of Marquesse, and was well beloued amongst the Romanes) came to a parley with them, desiring some treaties of peace and agreement: and with him ioyned HENRY Duke of *Bauiere*, to whom they also gaue eare; which restrained the furie and rage of the people: and holding them thus in talke, a meane was found whereby the Emperour (changing his habit) gat forth of the Citie, not being discouered, and went to the place where his forces lay (and the Pope did the like) whither repaired to him all those which fled from the furie: and so for that time he escaped death. But although that he was delinered from this publike treason, yet he could not free himselfe from that which was secret: for within short space after, being busie in gathering his forces together (with an intent (as some say) to haue gone into *Germany*, and as others say, against *Rome*) he was poisoned (as some write) by the wife of CRESCENTIVS the tyrant before named (whom he commanded to be hanged in *Rome*) with whom, as she was the faireſt woman of her time, they say, that the Emperor being in *Rome* had secret conuersation; and that she fayning to be greatly in loue, poysoned him in a paire of Gloues, which she sent him excellently perfumed: whereof within three or foure daies after, he died, the poyson working slowly and leisurely.

The Romanes made an insurrection against the Emperour & would haue slain him.

The death of the Emperour Otho by poyson Anno 1002.

Other Authors beleeue not this, but that he was poysoned by others; yet they all agree that he died of poyson, in the yeere of our Lord, one thousand and two; when he had raigned eighteen yeers compleat, and liued only nine and twenty and a halfe, leauing no sonne to succeede him: which some affirm was the cause why he procured Pope GREGORIE to ordaine that manner of choosing the Emperour, as I haue already described: And they say moreouer that he was married with the king of *Arragons* daughter, whose name was MARY, a woman not so carefull for the preseruation of the honour and honesty of her person, as shee ought to haue beene.

This Prince is accounted amongst the good Emperors, for his many vertues, and for that he ruled the Empire with iustice, and vprightly. Before his death there appeared great signes in the firmament, as Comets, which continued many daies; and the most notable was, that one day in the morning about nine of the clock, there appeared in the element a great flaming fire, like to a burning torch, which continued a great while; and the light being vanished, there appeared in the same place the likenes of a Serpent. The body of the Emperour was carried by HENRY Duke of *Bauiere*, and the other great Lords, into *Germany*, and buried in the Citie of *Aken*. A little before his death Pope SYLVESTER *died in Rome*, whither it seemeth that he was returned, who died through Gods great goodnes (as it is written) very penitent for his sinnes; and in his place was chosen IOHN the 19, who dying within foure moneths after without doing ought worth the writing, another IOHN succeeded him, which was IOHN the 20, of whom we will hereafter make mention.

The Emperor Otho buried in Aken.

During the raigne of OTHO; in *Constantinople* raigned BASILIVS and CONSTANTINE, brethren; but (as I said) BASILIVS was the more valiant, and the man by whose counsell and direction, all actions were worthily and happily atchieued in the wars: for he inlarged that Empire both in *Asia* and *Europe*, and obtained many great victories. In the beginning of their raigne (as is before declared) they came into *Italie*, and ouerthrew OTHO the Second: after this, their quarrels were with tirants, the first was with a Captain called SCLERVS a very valiant

valiant man, and of great power, who was their Lieutenant in *Syria* and in *Phenicia*; who rebelling, made himselfe to be called Emperour: this was a very dangerous warre, but in the end he was ouerthrowne, and escaped by flight to *Babylon*: but afterwards (many things happening in the meane time) hee was reduced to their seruice. The second was with PHOCAS, another Captaine of no lesse renowne and valour then SCLERVS, who would also haue been Emperour, and to that effect had leuied so great an armie, that hee doubted not to fight a battaile with BASILIVS, wherein he was slaine, and therewith ended his life and tiranny; and so atchieued BASILIVS these two great exploits: after which ensued the warre which hee had begun with SAMVEL, King of the Bulgarians; from whom, the lands of the Empire had receiued much harme by fire and sword, in the time of the warres with the Tirants aforesaid; of whom BASILIVS was sufficiently reuenged in many battailes, as hereafter shall bee related when time shall serue: the Greeke Emperours also held the greatest part of *Pulia* and *Calabria*; for the said BASILIVS and CONSTANTINE recouered the same, when they ouerthrew OTHO the second in *Italy*; and they sent some thither, with the titles of Gouernours and Captaines, who were calle *Caliſti*, as in auntient time were the Exarchi: yet *Sicilia* was in a manner wholly possessed by the Infidels of *Africa*.

THE LIFE OF HENRY, THE SECOND OF THAT NAME, AND FOVRSCORE AND TENTH ROMANE EMPEROVR.

(***)

THE ARGVMENT.

OTho *being dead, the Germane Princes Electors, according to their authority chose and crowned* Henry *Duke of Bauiere* (*Cousin Germane to the deceased* Otho) *Emperour. This Prince, in the beginning of his raigne, was much troubled, by reason of certaine rebels. He warred against* Robert *King of France, and leuied a power against the Duke of Bohemia which rebelled: in both which attempts, he obtained honourable victories. He made the King of Hungarie (who desired his sister in marriage) to be baptized; and went into Italie, whereto he had a great desire; and marching with an Army against the Infidels, which held many Townes in Italie, chiefly in Pulia, he subdued them. Returning into Germany, he inuited Pope* Benedict *to come to visit him; and the Pope coming thither, he was receiued with exceeding great honour. He liued with his wife in continuall chastitie, and left her as good a maide as he found her; and so falling sick of an extreame infirmity, hauing performed all things appertaining to a good Christian, he departed out of this life; but he first intreated the Princes Electors, to make choice of a good Emperour.* 1002

IT cannot be denied, but that the three OTHOE's, the Father, the Sonne, and the Nephew, of whom but euen now we left to discourse, were very valiant and worthie Princes; and which repaired the credit and reputation of the Empire, very much torne and decayed; and for such are commended and recorded by Historiographers. OTHO then dying in *Italie* (as I haue declared) after that the Germane Princes and people were returned into their Countrie, with the Emperours dead bodie, and had buried the same, with such solemnity as thereto appertained: the afore named Princes, that were made Princes Electors (which were the Archbishoppes of *Mentz*, *Colayn*, and *Trenter*;

the Duke of *Saxony*, the Marqueſſe of *Brandenburgh*, and the Count Palatine of the *Rhine*) purpoſing to ſhew their Authority, and to chooſe an Emperour, met together in the Citie of *Frankford*; where knowing the many vertues and merits of HENRY Duke of *Bauiere*, they choſe him for King of the Romanes, and future Emperour AVGVSTVS; and hee was anoynted in *Aken* by the Archbiſhop of *Mentz*, which was in a manner by the common conſent of them all, excepting HERBERT Archbiſhoppe of *Coleyn*, who was of a contrary faction.

This HENRY was couſin german to OTHO, whom he ſucceeded in the Empire, and Nephew to HENRY Duke of *Bauiere*, Brother to OTHO the firſt (yet ſecond of that name) who by the ſame OTHO was made Duke of *Bauiere*, as in his life we haue ſpecified; and was *the ſecond of the Emperors ſo called: yet the Italian writers ſay, that he was the firſt, for they* doe not reckon the other HENRY, Duke of *Saxony*, for Emperor (whoſe life we haue before written, who was Father to OTHO the firſt) for that he came not into *Italie*, neither was crowned there by the Pope. The election of the new Emperor was commended and approued by all thoſe which deſired the good of the Common-wealth, for that he was a good man: yet there were ſome ambitious, and vnquiet Princes, which rebelling, took Armes againſt him; but he ſhewing his power and valour, in ſhort ſpace tamed and brought them to his obedience: who they were which thus rebelled againſt the Emperour HENRY, I could neuer reade, for writers doe not ſpecifie the ſame.

Henry the ſecond choſen Emperor.

This HENRY being confirmed and aſſured in his ſeate, deſired to come into *Italy*: but hee *could not bring it to paſſe, vntill the eleuenth yeare of his raigne*, by reaſon of ſuch warrs as happened. Firſt, ſome Authors write, that there preſently grew warres betweene him, and ROBERT King of *France*, who (by the report of all writers) was alſo an excellent Prince, although the ſon of HVGH CAPET, which vſurped thoſe Kingdomes: for what cauſe thoſe two good Princes fell at variance I finde not written: but thoſe which make mention thereof, ſay, that HENRY had the victorie in this warre; and that afterwards they came to an agreement: which being ended, there followed a farre more dangerous warre than the former: which was againſt BODISLAVS D. of *Bohemia*; who being of great power & ayded by the Slauons, the Polacres, Moranians and other nations, rebelled againſt the Empire; and the Emperour with a great power reſolutely marching againſt him, the warres grew to bee very cruell; and ſome battailes were fought, wherein BODISLAVS was ouerthrowne: but not diſmayed therewith, perſiſting in his rebellion, he reinforced his armie, and leuied the greateſt power hee was able, and againe gaue the Emperour battaile; which, through the valour and courage of the Captaines and Souldiers of either ſide, was very doubtfull and terrible, but the Emperour HENRY with much difficultie obtained the victorie; and followed the ſame in ſuch manner as BODISLAVS was conſtrained humbly to craue pardon, and ſue for peace: which was granted vpon very hard and heauy conditions; and ſo hee was ſubdued, and made ſubiect to the Empire, together with his Confederates.

Bodiſlaus Duke of Bohemia, ouerthrown by the Emperor.

This enterpriſe being ended, and hee free from warre, in the meane time that hee made preparation for his going into *Italy*, (which hee greatly deſired) hee applied himſelfe to matters of peace and good gouernment, doing iuſtice to all men indifferently; and builded and enriched many Churches and Monaſteries; and honored and aduanc't Biſhops, Monks, Prieſts, Friars, and other ſuch like religious people. In thoſe dayes (being importuned, and in a manner compelled by the great Princes of the Empire, wholly againſt his will) hee married the daughter of the Count Palatine of *Rhine*, called AMIGYNDA, a religious Lady: with whom (vndiſcouered and vnknowne to any, vntill his death) he liued moſt chaſtely, both of them obſeruing voluntary virginity, without hauing any carnall knowledge the one of the other; which is one of the moſt rare things that I euer read, of any King or Emperour.

Voluntary chaſtity obſerued by the Emperor & the Empreſſe.

This Emperor had alſo a ſiſter called GISELA, which (as they write) was the faireſt woman of her time, whom STEPHEN, Duke and Lord of *Hungarie*, deſiring to haue to wife, he could not obtaine his ſute, except hee would firſt become a Chriſtian, and be baptized (for although that in that Kingdome were many Chriſtians, yet the Princes were Infidels) whereto STEPHEN yeelded, and became ſo deuout, that he is accounted amongſt the Saints: and the Emperour gaue him his Siſter, and with her the title of King, and ſo he was the firſt that was called King of *Hungary*. Some write that this GISELA was Neece and not Siſter to the Emperour. In theſe accidents before related, HENRY ſpent ten yeeres of his raigne, and

The King of Hungary became a Chriſtian, and was baptized.

and then reſolued to leuie a great Armie to go into *Italy*, wherein had paſſed ſome great matters: among which, MOLOCHVS, Gouerner of *Pulia* and *Calabria* for the Emperor of *Conſtantinople*, and with him WILLIAM, and his other brothers, ſonnes to the Duke of *Normandy* (a Prince and great Lord in *France*, who at that time was in *Italy* with great forces, whither they came about ſome certain enterpriſes) joyned their forces together, and agreed with the Duke of *Salerno* and other Princes, to expell the Infidels of *Africa* out of the Ile of *Sicilia* where they inhabited; which they did with ſuch force and courage, that within leſſe than two yeers they recouered the whole Iland: whereof (according to the agreement) certain Cities and Towns were to haue bin giuen to the ſaid WILLIAM, and to the other Dukes; but MOLOCHVS ſatisfying the debt with part of the prey and booty which they had taken, of all the reſt would part with nothing, but put garriſons into all the Towns, to hould the ſame for his Lord the Emperor. WILLIAM and the reſt, being diſcontent heerwith, came into *Italie*, where they tooke by force ſuch Cities as were vnder MOLOCHVS gouernment: and MOLOCHVS coming out of *Sicilia* to make head againſt him, they joyned battell; and WILLIAM, obtaining the victory, became Lord of the moſt part of *Pulia* and *Calabria*: where dying, his brother DROGVS ſucceeded; and afterward, through ſundry accidents, his of-ſpring becam Lords of thoſe Prouinces, and in proceſſe of time of *Sicilia* alſo for a long time after (firſt with the title of Dukes, and afterwards of Kings of *Sicilia*) and in the end of both the *Sicilies*, which are *Sicilia* and *Naples*, as in time ſhall be remembred in our Hiſtory. Of the time when this WILLIAM and the Normans came into *Italy*, Authors differ: but ſo farre as I can conjecture by the true computation of times, it hapned at ſuch time as I haue ſet down. This being paſt, Pope SERGIVS died in *Rome*, and BENEDICT the Eighth ſucceeded him: yet BLONDVS cals him STEPHEN, which is contrary to the opinion of all other Hiſtoriographers; ſo as I imagine it was through the errour of the Writer: for, in that time there was not any Pope that was called after that name.

In the time of this BENEDICT, the Emperor HENRY prepared for his comming into *Italie*, and came very mighty: and by the way viſiting *Milan*, and the other Imperiall Cities, he came to *Rome*, where by Pope BENEDICT he was moſt ſolemnly receiued, and afterward crowned with exceeding feaſting and magnificence; where making his abode ſome few daies ſpace, he marched thence with his Armie againſt the Infidels, which through the aid and permiſſion of the Greeks (to vſe their ſeruice againſt the Normans) came into *Italie*, and had beſieged the City of *Capua*: with whom the Emperor fought, and, ouerthrowing them, forc't them to abandon the Country.

The Emperor Henry's coming into Italie.

After this, he went againſt SVBAGENVS, Generall for the Emperor BASILIVS, for that he had ſupported the Infidels in *Pulia*; and, making cruell warre againſt him, diſpoſſeſſed him of many Towns: and in the end laying ſiege (which laſted foure moneths) to the City of *Treya* which was but newly erected and ennobled, he took it by force; ſo as, expelling the Infidels, and taming the Greeks, leauing them ſome part of *Calabria* to inhabit, and in part fauouring the Normans, as thoſe which had ſhewed themſelues his obedient and dutifull ſeruants, hee left to them *Pulia*, whereof they were already poſſeſſed; and, returning to *Rome*, ſtaied there certain daies, and thence went into *Germanie* with great honor; and by the way viſiting *Milan* and other Towns, was receiued in *Germany* with great joy and ſolemnity: and ſo, his dominions being in peace, he ſpent his time in miniſtring juſtice, and in well gouerning his Empire. As the Emperor HENRY buſied himſelf in thoſe actions before ſpecified, and had raigned two and twenty yeers (ſome ſay, two yeers leſſe; yet PLATINA and BLONDVS write, that hee raigned but eight yeers, wherein they are much deceiued: but I think for certain, that, as they were Italians, ſo they reckon his Raign but from the time that hee was crowned in *Rome*, which was in the twelfth yeer thereof; and ſo cometh their account to agree with the reſt of the Authors: whereof let the Reader be well aduiſed, as well in this, as in what ſhall be ſaid heerafter) at the end of this time he was taken with a greeuous ſickneſs; wherewith ſeeing himſelf oppreſſed, he commanded ſuch of the Princes Electors as might come in ſo ſhort ſpace, to be ſent for: who being comn, hee counſelled them, that after his deceaſe they ſhould chuſe the valiant Prince CONRADE, Emperor; who was one of the Dukes of *Suenia*, others ſay of *Francconia*: the cauſe whereof may be, that he came of both houſes; and ſo, after the German manner, was called by both names, as at this day the Dukes of *Bauiere* are called Count Palatines of *Rhine*. Hee nominated this man vnto them, for that he thought hee was deſirous of the Empire; and within fewe daies after died, *viz.* in the yeer of our Lord one thouſand foure and twenty, leauing his

The death of the Emperor Henry the Second.

wife as good a virgin as she came to him. It is written that she being accused of adultery, shewed her innocencie, by going barefooted vpon certaine places of fiery hot yron; and that the Emperor became very penitent for permitting her to expose herselfe to such danger, being so chaste and vertuous a woman.

The death of Basilius Emperor of Constantinople.

In a manner about this time died BASILIVS Emperor of *Constantinople*: I say in a manner, for that in this place, it is a hard matter to reconcile the times, by reason of the incertaintie and varietie among writers. BASILIVS when hee died was seuentie and two yeeres old, and had raigned two and fiftie, in most matters, in great prosperitie, at least in Armes, as well against the Bulgarians, whom he compelled to pay him tribute, as against the Infidels; and dying left his Empire to his brother CONSTANTINE, who raigned three yeeres, and gouerned the same negligently and viciously: and he before his decease, ordained and left a great and valiant personage, called ROMANVS ARGIROPHILVS, for Emperour; whom he first married to his daughter.

This ROMANVS in the beginning, shewed himselfe to be an excellent and valiant Prince: but being afterwards ouerthrowne by the Infidels in *Asia*, he altering his condition, became couetous, and gaue himselfe ouer to many other vices; for which cause hee grew to be so much hated, that hauing raigned but fiue yeeres, his owne wife ZOE practised his death, by the hands of one MICHAEL PAPHLAGONVS, with whom she liued in adulterie; and afterwards married him, being a man very well conditioned; who by her meanes had the Empire, which he valiantly and manfully defended the space of seauen yeres, in the warres which he held with the Infidels in *Asia*, in *Soria* defending the frontires of *Phenicia*.

THE LIFE OF CONRADE, THE SECOND OF THAT NAME, AND FOVRESCORE AND ELEVENTH ROMANE EMPEROVR; AND OF MICHAEL, Emperour of *Constantinople*.

(***)

THE ARGVMENT.

CONRADE *the second was chosen Emperour accordingly as the Emperour* Henry *before his death had ordained, and thereto had perswaded the Princes Electours; yet notwithstanding, his election was not without some contradiction and difficultie. Being in possession of the Empire, he was to prouide for many matters, and to subdue many Rebels, which rebelled through the long vacation of the Imperiall seate, which was two yeeres without any Souereigne. But all these rebellions and tumults of warre were pacified without shedding any drop of blood, or drawing of sword; for he subdued them all through his humanitie and courtesie: these warres hindred him three yeeres. This being done, he came into Italie with a verie great Armie, and tooke* Milan: *which was a more rebellious Citie, then any of the rest; and comming to Rome was crowned by Pope* Iohn *the one and twentith. Afterwards vnderstanding of certaine tumults in Germany, hee speedily returned: and that enterprise*

prise being ended, he came againe into Italie, where many Cities had reuolted: but inflicting terrible punishments vpon the malefactors, he came at length to Rome, to relieue the Pope against such as molested him; and hauing reformed all matters in Italie, he returned into Germany: where being assailed by an infirmitie, hee died, hauing raigned Emperour ten yeeres.



1024

THE Princes Electors of the Empire being assembled, to choose a successor to the Emperor HENRY (whose History we haue now written) notwithstanding that he aduised them to make choice of CONRADE, yet they could not so easily agree, but that the difference continued betweene them the space of two yeeres, not being able to resolue, who should, or ought to be Emperour, whereof many inconueniences and disorders ensued, and many Cities and Townes in *Italie*, and some Princes in *Germany*, attempted to set themselues at libertie, and to shake off the Imperiall yoake: wherewith the new Emperor Elect was afterwards greatly troubled. At the end of this time, the aforesaid CONRADE was chosen & crowned Emperor, as HENRY had willed; yet he was in *som sort contradicted*, particularly by CONON one of the Dukes of *Bauiere*, and Vncle to the late Emperour HENRY; who would haue been Emperor.

This Emperor CONRADE was a singular good man at armes, and had been Generall in the warres for the Emperor HENRY. Here authors doe vary, and contend about the matter, viz. Whether, that he were of the Dukes of *Sueuia*, or of *Franconia*, and spend many speeches about prouing their opinions; but I will auoide this trauell, notwithstanding that it seemeth to be most certaine, that hee was of the house of *Suenia*, or (as I said aboue) was peraduenture descended from both the houses, and after the Germane manner, enioyed both titles, as at this day is vsed. But let it be, as it shall please the reader. He was chosen as a man which best deserued the same; which hee afterwards very well verefied and made manifest. As soone as hee was inuested, he wrote his letters to all parts, procuring peace and friendship with all the Kings and princes which desired it, and commanded his subiects duely to obserue the same: but the two yeeres vacation had bred such a custome of libertie, as they rebelled against him. The first was BODISLAVS Duke of *Austria*, whom HENRY had subdued, and made tributarie to the Empire; who (taking vpon him the title of King) denied both his vassalage and tribute: against whom CONRADE leuied an Armie, purposing to haue gone against him in person; but at the same time BODISLAVS died and left two sonnes, the one called OTHO, and the other MISICVS. MISICVS was the elder brother, and remained absolute Lord, and imitating his father, persisted in his rebellion against the Emperor, and expelled his brother OTHO, because he would not ioyne with him in the action; and this OTHO departed presently to the Emperor, who entertained him well, but was so much displeased with his brother MISICVS his presumption, as he sent the same OTHO with part of his Armie to begin the warre: and within few daies, he himselfe followed with the rest, and entred the countrie with such power, that MISICVS durst not abide his comming, but went into *Bohemia*, to craue ayde of WALDERICVS Duke and Lord thereof, who was also one of those which rebelled against the new Emperor.

The loyaltie of the Emperor Conrade.

WALDERICVS hauing entertained and assured him; in lieu of ayding him, sent to treat secretly with the Emperor, with an intent to haue deliuered him into his hands, thinking by this meane to haue comn to the better composition. But the Emperor disdaining to circumuent his enemy by Treason, was so much displeased with WALDERICVS for his treacherie, as besides that he would not accept his offer, he shewed the greatnesse of his generous and noble disposition, by sending to MISICVS, secretly aduising him to come to his obedience, or to seeke relieefe some where else; for in *Bohemia* he had no securitie. MISICVS vnderstanding what passed, and well considering the Emperors bountie, went out of *Bohemia*; and comming into his countrie, left the Ensignes and title of King, which his father and he had vsurped, and with a small traine, came and yeelded himselfe into the Emperors power, humbly submitting

himselfe, more in regard of his kinde and gentle admonition and aduice, then for feare of his force: and the Emperor pardoned him, and granted him peace vpon the same conditions as before.

Following the example of MISICVS, the Duke of *Poland* and all the rest which had taken Armes, and rebelled, came to the Emperors seruice and obedience; amongst which were STEPHEN King of *Hungary*, and WALDERICVS Duke of *Bohemia*, notwithstanding that they first failed not to try the vtmost of what they were able to doe by Armes. In all which, CONRADE spent the first three yeeres of his raigne, and could not (accordingly as he desired) goe into *Italie* to be crowned; where he had much to doe, by reason of the great leagues and confederacies made against him, that they might free themselues from the imperiall yoake and subiection.

Conrade *came into Italy.*

This time being expired, and hauing taken order for the estate of *Germany*, he leuied the greatest Army he could, and came into *Italie*; but he first nominated his sonne HENRY, King of the Romanes: and forasmuch as *Milan*, and all the Townes in that quarter, which in former time were wont to be most seruiceable and in greatest subiection, were now in Armes, and rebelled, he therefore marched directly thither, and so it behoued him to doe: for Pope GREGORIE the fift (in the rule and Canon which he made in the time of OTHO the Third, concerning the Princes Electors, and the choosing of the Emperor) instituted and ordained, that he which was chosen, besides the golden Crowne which he should receiue of the Pope, should be crowned with two other Crownes; the one of straw in *Monza*, a Citie in *Lombardie*; and the other of Iron, in the Citie of *Milan*; which (of set purpose) I haue reserued to be written in this place, and doe here finde it written by those Authors which I follow. Wherefore, for the full accomplishment hereof (although I haue not read that any his predecessors had done the like) the Emperor, battering and forcing such townes as would not receiue him, came to *Milan*, which then was more obstinate and rebellious then any other: and doing much harme in the territorie thereof, he narrowly begirt the citie with a siege, with a resolution to haue ruinated and burnt the same, for the great displeasure which he had conceiued against it; and for an example to the rest. Which he might and had easily performed, and that in short space (as many writers affirme) but that (I know not vpon what occasion) he raised his siege and went towards *Rome* (no man daring to make head against him) where Pope IOHN the one and twentith most solemnly receiued him, and with the like solemnitie crowned him with the Crown of gold: at which coronation (as affirme some authors which I follow) was KANVTVS King of *England* in pilgrimage, with whose daughter, they say, that HENRY, sonne to this Emperour CONRADE, was before this time married. And there was also RODVLPH, King of *Burgundie*, and Vncle to GISELA the Empresse, who was descended from CHARLES the Great; and being depriued of his estate of *Burgundie*, by ROBERT brother to the French king, came to implore the Emperors aide and succours.

CONRADE being in *Rome*, there arose a great tumult betweene his traine, and the citizens; in so much that they all took Armes and fought a whole day together, and many were slaine of either side, but the Imperialists had the better; and the Emperour in the best manner he could, pacified this ryot: and staying but a short space after this in *Rome*, he departed thence and out of *Italy* also towards *Germany*; for his sonne-in-law ERNESTVS Duke of *Sueuia*, son to the Empresse GESILA, by her first husband Duke of *Sueuia*, rebelled, and made warre, seeing him possessed in *Italy*. But he being come into *Germany*. ERNESTVS, being of no sufficient power long to defend himself, was soone ouerthrowne, and fled to the Mountaines: where he was afterwards taken and slaine by the Emperors souldiers, and his estate was giuen to his brother, whose name was HARMAN. At this his comming (so farre as I can gather, comparing the times with the accidents) CONRADE gat by his Captaines the countrie of *Burgundie*, and made it subiect to the Empire, which one hundred and odde yeeres had been subiect to the house of *France* (but yet there had been very mightie Kings and Dukes therein) which was effected by the will and testament of RODVLPH, who was present at the Emperors coronation in *Rome*: and hee bequeathed it to the Emperors son HENRY, which could not be done without war and bloudshed; for the King of *France* of the one part, and a certaine mightie Earle of another, pretended right thereto, and were possessed of great part of the countrie; but to be short (for herein much might be said) at this time the supreme dignitie of *Burgundie* was transported to the Empire: yet ROBERT GAGVIN in the end of his fift booke, saith, that *Burgundie* was then diuided into two pars, the one remaining subiect to the French, and the other to the Empire.

The diuision of Burgundie into the Duchy and the Countie.

The

The Emperor CONRADE hauing ended these things so happily for his profit, after that he had liued quietly some yeers in *Germany*, without any accident worthy writing (by reason of which, the History of his time is more brief than of other Emperors) he resolued to come the second time into *Italie*: for at the first, by reason of the small time that he made his abode there, he could not settle things in such order as hee desired; and also for that he vnderstood that the Italians sought aid and relief from the Slauons and the Hungars, against him, with a determination not to yeeld him any obedience. So as, hauing all things in a readinesse for his journey, as speedily as he could he departed, and came with greater expedition and power than anie man thought of: and in his journey ruinating some Towns, and punishing some offenders, which thought to haue made head against him, he came to *Milan*, which presently yeelded; where he punished the guilty for former offenses, and remained some daies therein.

Conrade's *second coming into Italie.*

Departing from thence, he took all the Cities in that Territory; and then went to *Rome* to see the Pope, and to relieue him against such as disobeyed him (which now, as I conjecture, was BENEDICT the Ninth, IOHN the one and twentith being dead, who was Pope eleuen yeers). And from thence with great power he trauelled ouer all *Italy*, visiting all the lands belonging to the Church of *Rome* and to the Empire, not finding any resistance whatsoeuer: yet in *Pulia* and in *Calabria* the warres were still on foot between the Grecians and the Normans.

In this manner returned CONRADE into *Germany* triumphing and mighty, whose History I haue written very briefly; for, so do Authors handle the same: and thinking now to repose himself after his former toils (which for the space of fifteen yeers that he was Emperor he had endured) he was taken with an infirmity, whereof within fewe daies hee died, in the yeer of our Lord one thousand and fortie; some adde thereto three yeers. Hee left behinde him one sonne whose name was HENRY; who, as I will presently tell you, succeeded him in the Empire.

The death of the Emperor Conrade.

In the time of the Emperor CONRADE, MICHAEL PAPHLAGONVS (as is already said) raigned Emperor of *Constantinople*, for that ZOE took him for her husband; with whom she had liued euer since the decease of ARGIROPHILVS her first husband; and hee ruled the Empire seuen yeers. After his decease shee took another husband of the same name, called MICHAEL CALAFATES; and, being accustomed to that trade, she made him Emperor: but, for that he liued with her but foure moneths, shee remained a widow. By reason whereof, the same ZOE, together with her sister THEODORA (which were the Emperor CONSTANTINE's daughters) gouerned the Empire three moneths: and as shee was both inconstant and incontinent, so shee resolued once again to haue a husband; and vpon this occasion banished her sister, and married a man whose name was CONSTANTINVS MONACVS, for that he came of the line of the Emperors; who neuertheless was a wicked and euill Emperor: which was the occasion that the Empire began to decline, and to be of small account. At this time died the Emperor CONRADE. What end this Emperor CONSTANTINVS MONACVS made, more shall be said hereafter.

THE

THE LIFE OF HENRY, THE THIRD OF THAT NAME, AND THE FOVRESCORE AND TWELFTH ROMAN Emperour; And of those which in his time raigned in CONSTANTINOPLE.

(*)

THE ARGVMENT.

IN the beginning of this Emperors Raign there were some troubles, for that he was not chosen according to order: nevertheless, being held for such, he warred upon the Duke of Bohemia, which denied him tribute; and, taking him prisoner, constrained him to become a good and obedient subiect. He afterwardi took Armi against the Hungars, as well for that they had given aid to the Bohemians, as for committing some unlawfull mouations; and gaue them a very great ouerthrow: and their King being dead (who knew not how to make benefit of the Emperors clemency) hee restored Peter to the Crown; and afterwards subdued the Duke of Berwin, which denied him obedience. He came into Italie; where he reformed the estate of the Church, which was fan out of order, and was crowned in Rome; and afterwards, bending his forces against the Infidels, he drave them out of Italy, and being come into Germany, he sent a Pope to Rome (having accepted the offers made vnto him by the Cardinals concerning the Popes election) who being received by the Cardinall Vbaldo, a Pope this Pope, being against the Duke of Normandy, being in a battell taken prisoner, was the very same day set at liberty; and obeyed by the victor. This Emperor ouce again made war against the Hungars, for pursuing Peter their King to death: and after many accidents chanced in agreement with them: in which time there were so many calamities and scourges sent from God into the world, that the Emperor falling sicke, died of sorrow when he had held the Empire 17 yeers.



IT cannot be denied, after that the Empire was wholly transported to the Germanes in the person of OTHO, but that the Emperours thereof defended and gouerned the same very valiantly, as by the History appeareth; principally, the OTHONS and the HENRIES, as will appear by the two of whom we are to treat. This HENRY, being the son of CONRADE, was a good Emperor, and in condition no lesse vertuous than his father, or any of the HENRIES, or other his Predecessors; neither in Arms of lesse valour and courage. We haue told you before, how that his father in his liue time had made him King of the Romanes, which was a policy that the Emperors haue euer since vsed, to procure the Empire for their sons; and by that meanes to leaue the same to them by election, seeing they could not do it by inheritance: which in truth seems to be but a deuice to frustrate and preuent the law and decree made and established by the Emperor OTHO the Third, and Pope GREGORY the Fift, concerning the place where, in what manner, and by whom, the Emperors (the Empire being void) should be chosen; and that it should not be inherited by succession, but by *election*: whereupon there grew some question & doubt about the matter; *viz.* Whether this HENRY should bee held for Emperor or no: for, the Princes of *Germany* held it for very inconuenient and vnfit, that his father should nominate him, and that it was a dangerous matter to introduce such a custome; for, this was a thing that ought to be done by the Princes Electors onely: but in the end (they acknowledging his good parts and deserts) he was confirmed and crowned Emperor, and generally obeyed for such, according to the accustomed manner: onely GRATISLAVS Duke of *Bohemia*, whom the Abbat WESPERGENSIS, BLONDVS, PLATINA, and OLDERICVS, call FRATISLAVS (a man of great power) rebelled against him, denying any superiority, or to pay him any tribute, which (as IOHN CVSPINIAN saith) was one hundred cowes, and fiue hundred *Marks* of siluer yeerly. Against whom, HENRY (as a new Emperor, of a great courage, and desirous to winne honour and reputation) raised a great Armie, and that sooner than he should haue done: for, they write, that he began his warre in the winter, and therefore failed of his expectation, and that through the vnseasonablenesse of the time, and the distemperature of the Countrie, in skirmishes and encounters he lost many of his men, which were taken and slain by the enemie; so as for that time hee had the worst, and was driuen to retire, without accomplishing what he had projected, and with losse of reputation: wherewith he was so much grieued and ashamed, that presently in the beginning of the next spring he returned to the warres of *Bohemia* with all the force he was able to make: and GRATISLAVS, growne proud of his late good successe, and through the new supplies which came to him out of *Hungary*, offred him battell; wherein (notwithstanding that both Armies fought courageously) in the end the Duke was ouerthrowne, and afterward taken flying: and the Emperor (shewing what compassion the other craued) granted him life, and pardoned the offense vpon security, that from thenceforth he should be a loyall subject; first gathering-in the arrerages of three yeers tribute which was behinde vnpaid, as COSMVS *de Andrepragana* recounteth in his Annals; whereby the Emperor wonne much honour. And presently after this, followed another warre against the Hungarians for the same occasion.

Henry the Third chosen & crowned Emperor.

The Emperor Henry's victory against the king of Hungary.

By the death of King STEPHEN, who was K. of *Hungary*, PETER came to the Crown: against whom, for some ill vsage, his subiects rebelled, and made a kinsman of his, King; whom the Abbat WESPERGENSIS cals VBO, and others call him ABA: and the Tyrant ABA being of greater power than the King, PETER was expelled his Country, and driuen to seek iustice and relief from the Emperor HENRY; who notwithstanding that hee was not well pleased with him for assisting the Duke of *Bohemia* against him, yet for that he had subdued them both, he as his soueraign Lord entertained him, seeing that to him it appertained to do iustice, and not to permit any tyranny in his time: and ABA or VBO beeing aduertised heerof, and hauing sent his Ambassadors to the Emperor to shew him the equity of his cause, and to desire his confirmation in the Kingdome, not contenting himself in that he had tyrannized *Hungarie*, entred *Austria* and *Bauaria*; and robbing and spoiling those Countries, carried great booty and prey out of those Quarters. This he did at such time as the Emperor held a Diet or Parliament in *Colein*; where the Princes of *Germany* were assembled: whereupon, by the generall consent of them all, the Emperor (accompanied with some of the Princes) with a great Armie departed from *Colein* towards *Hungary*, sending GRATISLAVS Duke of *Bohemia* before to begin the warre: which, ABA the Tyrant-king of *Hungarie* fearing, hee sent Ambassadors to meet the Emperor vpon the way, with all the booty and prey that they had gotten in *Austria* and *Bauaria*; intreating him for peace, promising to do what he should enjoyn him vnto, conditionally that he might not be deposed from that Kingdome: whereto the Emperor for that time yeelded and consented; moued thereto by a rumor spread abroad, that the Duke *Lorrain*, with the aid of *France*, was in Arms and rebelled; which was the occasion of the peace granted to the King of *Hungary*, to the end that the Emperor thereby might haue the better leasure and opportunity to follow the warres of *Lorrain*, which were so much doubted. But ABA made not the benefit of that peace, which a wise and a peacefull Prince would haue done: but hee intreated his subiects rather with greater pride and rigor than before, putting many of the chief of them to death: vpon which occasion the Emperor the next yeer following (with no lesse an Armie than the former, but with greater resolution) entred *Hungarie*; where ABA already attended his

his comming with his whole power; and with such other aide and assistance as he could get; which was such and so great, that assuring himselfe to preuaile against the Emperours forces, he offered him battaile; which was exceeding resolutely fought of either side, and was very bloodie and cruell: but the King in the end was ouerthrowne, and (as writeth HENRICVS MVCIVS) twenty and sixe thousand of his men were slaine: and of the Emperours side who had the victorie, three thousand: ABA escaping by flight, he was afterwards in a village (where he had hidden himselfe) found and slaine by his owne people: yet some say that he was taken and slaine by his competitor PETER. After this ouerthrow, all the whole Kingdome of *Hungary* sued to the Emperour for pardon, imputing all their former faults to their King; and hee gaue them a generall Pardon, and restored King PETER to his throne, first reconciling him to his subiects, and placed a Noble-man to bee in some sort assistant to him in the gouernment: But this King (as he was naturally cruell) agreed so ill with his subiects, as in the end he lost both his Kingdome and his life, as hereafter shall be specified.

Aba king of Hungary ouerthrowne in a battaile by Henry the Emperor, and slaine by his owne people.

In This warre being ended, as I haue related, the Emperor longed to come into *Italie*, aswel to be crowned, as to take away the schisme out of the Church: but first he resolued (for so was it requisite) to tame the pride of GODFREY Duke of *Lorraine*, who would neither obey nor acknowledge him, but rather vsurped some townes of his; which he had long dissembled, attending some fitter oportunitie, thinking that at length he would haue submitted himself to his seruice: but now holding it vnfit any longer to dissemble, calling a Diet or Counsell in the citie of *Spire*, without declaring his intention vntil that all the Princes were assembled, he then manifested the wrongs and contempts committed by the Duke of *Lorraine*, and by common consent it was concluded to make warre against him: whereupon the Emperor without any further delay, departed with such forces as he had alreadie leuied for that purpose, towards *Lorraine*; and made such haste, that the Duke (notwithstanding that hee was promised great aide and fauour both out of *France* and *Germany*) before that he could vnite those forces together, the Emperor had entred his countrie, and besieging him in a towne took him prisoner, and so ended that exploit: yet they write not in what forme the state remained. And so I aduertise the Reader, that in the order and time wherein these warres were, those which wrote the same doe much varie: I therefore haue chosen this which I haue set downe.

The Duke of Lorraine taken prisoner by the Emperor.

The Emperor hauing now ended and performed (so much to his honour) three such enterprises and warres, as these before mentioned, of *Hungary*, *Bohemia*, and *Lorraine*, about which he had spent six yeares, reinforcing his Armyes (wherein he staied some daies) he tooke his way directly towards *Italy* to be crowned, and to procure a reformation of abuses in the Church wherein was a schisme, such as before that time had neuer been, which was thus. The Emperor CONRADE being dead, and BENEDICT the ninth being Pope (as I said) the Emperour HENRY hauing then raigned more then foure yeeres; the Romanes which knew not how to liue without factions and tumults, rebelled against the Pope: the cause whereof, and in what manner it passed, I finde not written; but their boldnes was such, that they deposed him from the Papacie, alleaging that he neither was, neither ought to be Pope, and so they placed in his seate a Bishop, whose name was IOHN, who took part with them, and was called SYLVESTER the Third: And as PLATINA and BLONDVS report, was Pope but ninie and fortie daies, at the end whereof BENEDICT was restored by those of his faction: and he within six weekes after, as a coward (being a wicked man and of ill behauiour and condition) for feare to bee againe deposed, for a certaine summe of money before hand paid, compounded with the Archdeacon of Saint *Iohn de Lateran*, who was a mightie rich man in *Rome*, to renounce to him the Papacie; and did so, but afterwards recanting his bargaine, he challenged to be still Pope: and the Archdeacon with the title of BENEDICTS renunciation, assisted by his friends, was made Pope, and was called GREGORIE the sixt, his owne name being IOHN, alleaging that he held the Papacie by graunt, by renunciation, and also by election; and he enioyed the name and authoritie of Pope (as PLATINA saith) aboue two yeeres: BLONDVS and others say, but one yeere, seuen moneths and halfe: and some authors, as GILBERTVS, and IOHANNES DE COLVMNA, and ANTONINVS are of the same opinion, and write in their histories that he performed the office of a good Pope, and was valiant, administred iustice, maintained the Papall dignitie, and recouered much of the Church patrimonie, which others had vsurped: so as in time of this confusion, and of setting vp, and putting downe Popes (for there were at one time three which were so called, and had been so) and (as writeth GOTHIFREDVS VITERBIENSIS, an author of foure hundred yeeres antiquitie) they all three came to a composition

Pope Benedict sold his papacy, and hauing receiued the money would continue Pope.

Three Popes in Rome at one time.

composition, and diuided the Churchrents amongst them: whereof one of them dwelt hard by S. PETERS Church, another in S. MARIA MAIOR, and this BENEDICT in the palace at LATERAN. Things standing in this estate, the Emperour HENRY with many good men of warre entred *Italy*, and came to *Rome*; whither he called a Synode, and Councel to be held of all the Bishops in *Italy*, and of most parts of Christendome; which being assembled, together with the three Popes, they treated of them three: and (after many consultes and opinions) the Emperor and all the rest concluded, that these three should be held for no Popes, but be deposed, and that another should be chosen; considering the voluntarie renunciation made by BENEDICT, and other nullities and insufficiencies in the three elections: And this resolution was put in effect, and they were condemned, deprived, and banished the countrie: And by the same Councell, with the fauour of the Emperour, a Germane prelate, and Bishop of *Bambargh* was elected, and was called GVIDO the Second, whose name, as he was Pope, anointed and crowned the Emperor, after the accustomed manner, with great feasting and solemnitie.

The Emperor came into Italy.

After this coronation the Emperor departed from *Rome* towards *Capua*, in which the African Infidels had taken, in time of the warres made by the Normanes in those parts, and obtaining notable victories against them, draue them out of the countries: and setting the best order he could in all the rest, returned to *Rome*; and thence visiting *Italy* and *Lombardy*, returned into *Germany*, & was scarcely come thither when POPE CLEMENT the Second (whom he had chosen) died at *Rome*, when he had been Pope but 9 moneths; and that with suspicion of poyson by the practice of one SIDENA B. of *Bauaria*, who more by his force and through friendship then any right of election, got the Papacie, and was called DAMASVS the second: Onely BONAVS putteth another Pope between CLEMENT the Second and DAMASVS, whom he calleth STEPHEN, of whom no other author (that I haue seene) maketh any mention: but Ighesse that he is deceiued in the name, for this DAMASVS was first called STEPHEN: with those times the Popes were of so little worth, and the Church lands were so vsurped by tyrants, that they durst not attempt any thing, and therefore were accordingly disobeyed and lightly regarded. Returning to Pope DAMASVS, I say, that the Papacie which he obtained by force, he held and enioyed the same but three and twentie daies; and being dead, the Romanes neither would, nor durst make choice of a Pope, without the Emperours consent: for (as some write) Pope CLEMENT the Second had so ordained when he was (at his suite) chosen; and they did so, imagining that the Emperor would haue sent them word, that they should haue chosen him whom they should hold most worthie thereof.

Pope Clement the second crowned Henry the Third Emperor.

The newes of Pope CLEMENT's death, and of his successor DAMASVS, and the Ambassadours, came to the Emperor in a manner all at one instant: to the Ambassadours he gaue no such answere as they expected, but accepting their offer, chose the Bishop of *Tulon* a German whose name was BRVNVS, whom he nominated to be chosen Pope, and made him presently to depart towards *Rome*; which the said Bishop was constrained to accept, much against his will, and in a manner perforce. PLATINA and BLONDVS say, that from the time of his departure out of *Germany*, he made him to weare the papall habite: but a Monke whose name was ILDEBRAND meeting him vpon the way, perswaded him to put off that weede, seeing that yet he was not chosen; alleaging further, that the Emperor had no authoritie thereto: which perswasion so much preuailed with BRVNVS, that he went to *Rome* as a priuate man, repenting that he had entred so farre into the action. This was in the yeere of our Lord 1049.

Being come to *Rome*, the Cardinals, clergie, and people consulted about chusing a new Pope, but would not accept of BRVNVS, because the Emperour should not challenge to themselues any right of election: but this ILDEBRAND vsed such meanes, and gaue such counsel to the Cardinals, that by a generall consent BRVNVS was chosen, and called LEO the Ninth; when the Chaire had been voide six moneths. LEO being made Pope, GISVLPHVS Duke of the Normanes, being then Lord of *Pulia* and *Calabria*, made warre against him; and besieged the citie of *Beneuent*, which the Emperor HENRY the Second gaue to the Church of *Rome*: whereof when the Emperour was aduertised, besides the forces which the Pope had already leuied, hee sent him other; with which the Pope departed from *Rome* against GISVLPHVS: but GISVLPHVS being the better man of warre, and hauing already taken the citie of *Beneuent*, gathered his forces together and staied for him in the plaine fields; and the Pope more like a valiant Almaine, then an expert man at Armes, gaue him battaile, and was ouerthrowne and taken prisoner. So, as saith IOANNES DE COLVMNA, it might be said to him

Pope Leo the Ninth was in a battaile ouerthrowne and taken prisoner by Gisulphus Duke of Normandie.

as CHRIST said to S. PETER; Put vp thy sword into the sheath: But being prisoner, GREGORIVS entertained him with great honour, and presently the same day set him at libertie, and gaue him companie and seruants fit to attend on him, wherewith he went to *Rome*, and they afterwards came to a composition between themselues. Herein is a great confusion among the Historiographers: for the Germanes write that this Pope went into *Germanie* to see the Emperor, and that he called a Synode or Councell in the Citie of *Mentz*, and that the Emperor came the second time into *Italie*: Others write nothing, either of the Popes going, or of the Emperors second comming; in the rest they all agree. LEO held the chaire fiue yeeres and a halfe, and when he was dead, one GEBEARDVS a Germane Bishop born in *Bauiere*, was chosen, and called VICTOR the Second; which they did to gratifie the Emperor: and presently without any delay, to the end hee should not be discontented, for that they had made choice of a Pope without his consent; the new Pope and Clergie sent ILDEBRAND to him, who performed his legacie in such sort, as the Emperor approued and confirmed what they had done.

Peter king of Hungary was taken by his subiects, and had his eyes put out.

Whilest these things passed in Italie, the subiects of PETER King of *Hungary* (whom the Emperor had placed in that Kingdome) rebelled against him; and sent into *Poland* for certaine great men of *Hungary* which liued there in exile, one of which was called ANDREVV, and another LEVENTA, who were their Captaines; and after other great matters (which I omit) they seised on their King, and putting out his eyes, caused him die in prison; and with the help of certaine Barbarians and Infidels which came to their aide, slew some Bishops: which when the Emperor vnderstood, he made great preparation for war against them, especially against ANDREVV, who tooke vpon him the name of King; and hauing built and rigged vp a great number of Barkes and Ships, the Emperor came downe the riuer *Danubius*, from *Austria* to *Buda*, and to other places, where this ANDREVV and the rest were; which voiage had ill successe, for his aduersaries gat certain excellent swimmers and diuers which would lie a long time vnder the water, and these in a night bouged the Emperors barkes, in such sort, as the greatest part of his munition and victual was lost; so as he was constrained to returne with his people in the best manner he could, without effecting any thing of worth. Afterwards he twice entred *Hungary*; in the first, notwithstanding that he went with great preparation of horse and foote, yet he obtained no notable victorie; and the third yeere he made peace with the Hungarians, ANDREVV remaining still their King, who acknowledged a certaine kinde of superioritie.

Expert swimmers.

Calamities by Gods prouidence

This being ended, and it seeming a small time since that the Emperor began to repose himselfe; through the secret iudgement of God, great calamities ensued in many countries, as famine, cruell plagues, horrible earth-quakes, and other lamentable disasters: after which ensued the death of the Emperor; the end of whose raigne was, for the causes afore said, pitifull and sorrowfull. It is written, that for sorrow and griefe, to see so great afflictions and miseries happen in his time, he fell sick and died; leauing behinde him one sonne about about ten yeers old, called HENRY, whom before his death he made to be crowned king of the Romanes, the Electors consenting therto; and three daughters, which afterward were married to seuerall princes. He raigned seuenteene yeers, and died in the yeere of our Lord, one thousand fiftie seuen.

The death of the Emperor Henry the Second.

When the Turks began to grow mighty in Asia.

In *Constantinople* during the time of this Emperor HENRY (of whom we now treated) raigned CONSTANTINVS MONACHVS, by his marriage with the Empresse ZOE, as I said in the end of the Emperor CONRADE: This CONSTANTINE was a negligent and vicious Emperor, and a publike ill liuer. In his time began the Turks to be of great power in *Asia*, and did much harme in the territories of the Empire. This Emperor was also much troubled by some which rebelled against him; yet he at length subdued them all: and so betweene prosperity and aduersitie, he raigned thirteene yeers. In his time also the Empire did greatly decay, both in power and authority. One only good qualitie he had, which was, that he was an Almsgiuer, and a great relieuer of the poore; and made a great Hospitall for old men only, such as through their great age being decrepit, could not get their liuing. Both he and the Empresse died (in a manner) at one time; and both of the plague.

The husband and wife being dead, THEODORA, sister to ZOE, had the Empire, by the authoritie and sentence of the Senate, and people of *Constantinople*; and gouerned the same with such equitie, iustice and quietnesse, for the space of two yeers, that they sorrowed she had not liued much longer. Before her death, by the counsell of certaine Eunuches (by

(by whom she was much ruled) she made YSACIVS CONNENVS Generall of her forces, who was a valiant and wise Captaine. THEODORA being dead, a man of great age, called MICHAEL, was made Emperor: but proouing to be incapable and insufficient for the gouernment, which he had not ruled one whole yeere; by a generall consent he was deposed from the Empire, and YSACIVS CONNENVS (whom THEODORA had made her Captaine Generall) was chosen in his place; who raigned two yeeres; and although he made a good shew of himselfe, yet (considering his short time) he could not doe any notable exploit, and him succeeded CONSTANTINVS DVCA.

THE LIFE OF HENRY, THE FOVRTH OF THAT NAME, AND FOVRSCORE AND THIRTEENTH ROMAN Emperour; And of those which in his time raigned in CONSTANTINOPLE.

(***)

THE ARGVMENT.

HENry *being yet a childe when his father died, and chosen and proclaimed Emperor; it behoued him for many yeers space to liue vnder the gouernment of his mother, who by the consent of all men took the charge of him, and the protection of the Empire; but afterwards, being comm to riper yeers, hee would no longer liue vnder her commands, but took the gouernment into his own hands. His first warlike enterprise, was against the Saxons; wherein hee behaued himself so gallantly (notwithstanding that he was but yong) that he brought them to his obedience: yet they afterwards rebelled, for that hee would not endure the insolency of the Pope and Court of Rome, which he little regarded. This second warre was farre more dangerous than the first (although he had the victory) and made him more disobedient to the Pope than before; whereupon he was solemnly excommunicated, and depriued of the title and dignity of the Empire, for that hee cald a Councell in Germany against Pope* Gregory. *Of which excommunication he could neuer be absolued, vntill that hee had three daies together comm barefooted to intreat the Pope for pardon, who met him at Vercelli. Whilest the Emperor was in this parley with the Pope, many Princes of Germany rebelling against him, made another Emperour, which was* Rodulph *Duke of Saxonie: with whom* Henry *coming to a battell, had no such victory as hee expected; but was again excommunicate, and depriued of the title of Emperor, which was giuen to* Rodulph *newly chosen: vpon this occasion,* Henry *being much incensed, chose another Pope called* Clement, *and made a schisme in the Papacy, which was the occasion of very great warre: but* Henry, *after the death of his competitor* Rodulph, *came into Italie, and besieged Rome; and entring it, was crowned by the hands of Pope* Clement; *the other Pope being retired into the Castle Saint Angelo: to whom great succours coming,* Henry *abandoned Rome, and with Pope* Clement *went into Germany; and Pope* Gregory, *accompanied with his crue of Cardinals, went to the City of Salerno, where hee ended his daies. At this time followed the enterprise of Ierusalem, and the rebellion of* Henry's *eldest son* Conrade, *because the Emperor sought to make his second son called also* Henry, *his successor: which being done, he also rebelled against his father; so as there were more than still wars betweene them, neither could there any meanes bee found to appease them, neither could this warre be brought to an end but through the death of the ould Emperor* Henry; *who hauing publiquely (but by constraint) renounced all his iurisdiction of the Empire vnto his sonne, and afterwards repenting,*

and seeking to recouer the same, could obtain no composition with him; and so for sorrow and grief falling sick, died, God suffering him to make a miserable end.

TRuly, the three Emperors called HENRIES, of whom wee haue treated, were very valiant and worthy Princes in Arms; as, the father of him of whom we now begin to write, and the other two before mentioned: but none of them can be compared to this Fourth, of whom wee are now to discourse. It is certain, that he was valiant and addicted to Arms, as being traind vp therin, and was one of the most excellent Princes that euer was; for, vnto this day it is not found written, that any Emperor came so often to blowes with his enemies, as he did: for, all Authors affirm, that he fought in ranged battels with ensignes displaied, threescore and two seuerall times, and for the most part had euer the victorie: to which number IVLIVS CÆSAR or MARCVS MARCELLVS neuer attained (which two in their time excelled all others).

The qualities of the Emperor Henry the Fourth.

This Emperor raigned fifty yeers. He was a man liberall, wel spoken, very wise; and had many other natural gifts and vertues: but (as saith this Author) he stained and blemished them all with his ambition, for hee would be Lord ouer all both spirituall and temporall, contemning the Canons and Decretals of the Church of *Rome*: which was the occasion, that in his later daies, he was disobeyed by those which ought him greatest obedience, which were his owne children. The Historie of his life cannot but be longer then ordinarie, for that it treateth of many great accidents which happened in the space of more then fiftie yeeres that he raigned. I say then, that when his father died, he was not fully ten yeeres old; but yet for his fathers worthinesse, and his mothers vertues, called YNES (an excellent & discreet woman) he was crowned and obeyed for Emperor and King of the Germanes, as his father in his life time had intituled him; and, by the consent of the greatest part of the Princes, his mother gouerned both his person and the Empire: And all that time she ruled very wisely and valiantly, as well in peace as in warre, against some Princes, which, for that she was a woman, and her sonne the Emperor so very a childe, rebelled against him. Into *Italie* she sent one GILBERT for Gouerner, who afterwards was the cause and motiue of great schisms and dissensions in the Church of *Rome*. Of those which rebelled, the first was a great Lord called FREDERICK of *Gilbergh*, and his brethren and kinsfolks, who were men of great power: but she took so good order with them, that she compelled them to sue for pardon, and to yeeld their obedience. The greatest trouble and difficulty that she had, was against RODVLPH Earle of *Reinfelt*; with whom in processe of time, HENRY had most cruell warre: who, by the aid of ROMOLDVS Archbishop of *Constance*, took the Emperors sister MAVD, and maried her; thinking by this title to becom Emperor: and the Empresse (to gratifie him, and to reduce him to her sons seruice) made him Duke of *Suenia*, which then was void through the death of OTHO who died without issue; which Dukedome was promised to a great Earle called BERTOLD: in recompense whereof, the Empresse gaue him *Carinthia*. And so she pacified the great troubles which then arose; and som other by force, with the aid and assistance of such as remained loyall Subjects. But in the end the yong Emperor growing to riper yeers, by the aduice of some which were of his Councell, disobeying his mother, sought to be free from her authority, being thereto perswaded chiefly by ANO (and, as others say, OTHO) Archbishop of *Colein*; who dealt so cunningly, that hee got him into his protection: and by the assistance of some others, hee assembling the Princes, alleaged that it was very vndecent and vnfit to be ruled by a woman, seeing the Emperor was of sufficient discretion and vnderstanding to do what was conuenient.

The Emperor being gotten out of the power and controulement of his mother, the Archbishop commanded in such sort, that all went to wrack: for, being bred vp in such liberty, he did what he listed, which in the end was the cause of his ruine; for, he became both licentious and presumptuous, fauouring some, and grieuing others: by reason whereof he was ill beloued of many; and gaue himself to hunting, and to such other sports as that age is chiefly delighted withall. His mother, seeing herself so little regarded, and that she could bear no more sway with him, went to *Rome*, where she liued and died in a Cloister of Nuns.

The death of pope Nicholas.

Germany standing in these tearms, in *Italie* a little before this time died Pope NICHOLAS the Second, when he had held that Chair foure yeers. This Pope recouered much of the Church-lands which were vsurped by sundry Captaines and Gouernours, which did make themselues tyrants. And he also gaue the title of Duke of *Pulia* and *Calabria*, to GVISCARD a Nor-

a Normane being alreadie Lord of those prouinces, who made himself and his countries subiect and feudatorie to the Church of *Rome*. This Pope held a Councell, wherein he ordained that from thenceforth, the Cardinalls onely should chuse the Popes, thereby to auoide the factions and dissension which arose concerning the same; as it appeareth in the chapter *In nomine Domini* in the three and twentith distinction; which is obserued vnto this day. By this meane, the Deacons and Cardinals Priests attained to great authoritie and credit: for vntill then, they were not of any such account (although alreadie very much esteemed.)

The dignity of Cardinalls.

This name and dignitie of Cardinals, was in *Rome* at the beginning but a troublesome and painefull office; for they were as the Curates of parishes, and had the charge of ministring the Sacraments and of burying the dead, and were called Priests Cardinals, as the more worthie and of greater reputation: and as *Rome* was then held for the head of all other Churches, so these Priests Cardinals were regarded and more respected then any other; and they afterwards attained to greater preheminence, for that they were euer neere vnto the Pope; and being in the time of this Pope NICHOLAS the second established Electors, they grew to be of greater reputation; but not in so high a degree, as wee now see them, vntill the time of Pope INNOCENT the fourth, about the yeere of our Lord, one thousand two hundred foure and fortie; for hee gaue them libertie to ride on their footeclothes, and to weare such robes as they now vse to weare, to the end, that as they did excell other men in their degree and ornaments, so should they in their behauior and vertuous conditions: wherfore to paint Saint AMBROSE with a Cardinals crimson hat is a meere mockery; for in his time there were not any: and so at length the dignitie of Cardinall came to bee the greatest and the highest degree next to the Pope, and they accompany and counsell him in all matters of importance: but many of them haue carried themselues so prophanely, as they haue giuen iust occasion to the world, to note and murmure at their Consistorie.

Pope NICHOLAS being dead, ANSELME Bishop of *Luca* was chosen, and called ALEXANDER the Second; against whom, GILBERT Gouernour of *Lombardy* for the Emperour, by the consent of certaine Bishops of that Prouince, made a Schisme in the Papacie, and chose another Pope: But GOTHIFREDVS and his wife MAVVD, (which were the greatest Princes in *Italie* at that time) protected the first Pope: And in *Rome* and abroade elsewhere; followed many slaughters and murthers of the one and the other partie, vntill that in the end Pope ALEXANDER preuailed, and the other Pope fled to *Milan*.

Whilst these matters passed in *Italie* (the Emperor, as it was said, permitting and allowing the same) the like or greater were tolerated in *Germany*; for he suffered Priests to marry, and gaue Benefices and Bishopricks without the Popes licence or authoritie: wherewith the Pope was much displeased, and twice or thrice sent his Ambassadors to the Emperor about that businesse. And in other matters were great troubles and factions, and many rose against the Emperor: the first were the Saxons: for from OTHO Duke of *Saxonie* and *Bauiere*, who was accused of treason, the Emperor tooke the Duchie of *Bauiere*, which his mother had giuen him, and gaue the same to a Noble man, named GVELPHO; against these Saxons the Emperor attempted his first wars, when he was not full 18 yeers old; wherin shewing himself to be of an high mind, and free from feare or cowardise, he personally fought in many battailes and skirmishes against that people, which is, and euer hath been accounted for one of the most valiant Nations of the world: but he finally ouerthrew them, and compelled them (for this time) to yeeld his seruice.

Hauing obtained these victories, the Emperor sent into *Italie* for his Ambassador to the Pope, the Archbishop of *Coleyn*, with sufficient authority to conclude what to him seemed best to be done, and to excuse him of such things as were laid to his charge: who being come into *Italie*, he put GILBERT out of the Chancelorship and gouernment of *Lombardy*, which the Empresse INES had giuen him, and placed therein the Bishop of *Bercelli*: and from thence, with great authority and majesty, he went to *Rome*, where (Pope ALEXANDER giuing him publike audience) he made a solemne Oration; wherin in effect, in the behalfe of his Lord the Emperor, he reproued the Pope, for hauing accepted the Papacy without his confirmation, with other matters in the behalfe of the Emperour: whereto HILDEBRAND, by the Popes order, answered peremptorily; alleaging that the Pope ought not to attend any such confirmation; and he so sharpely reprehended the Emperor, as the Archb. was constrained to rest satisfied and to craue pardon for his speech. After this, many matters followed in *Italy*, which (vnwillingly) I omit, to the end to treate of what passed in the time of the Emperor HENRY, of whom only I write this History.

About this time, which was in the yeere of our Lord, one thousand sixty and six, EDWARD King of *England* dying without issue, he made WILLIAM Duke of *Normandy* his heire, who with the aide of BALDVVIN Earle of *Flanders*, obtained the Kingdome; and so the houses of *England* and *Normandy* were vnited, and so haue continued a long time in the kings thereof, and in their successors.

The Archbishoppe of *Coleyn* hauing dispatched his businesse in *Italie*, returned (discontent with his answere) into *Germanie*, and within few daies after died Pope ALEXANDER, hauing held that seate eleuen yeeres and a halfe: Afterwards the Archbishoppe of *Rauenna* reuolted from the Church of *Rome*. ALEXANDER being dead, by the generall consent of all the Cardinals and Clergie, HILDEBRAND the Arch-deacon (often before named) was made Pope, and was called GREGORIE the seuenth; who sent his Ambassadours to the Emperour, praying and requiring him to become an obedient sonne to the Church, and to alter the manner of his gouernement in *Germanie*; and thereby gaue him further to vnderstand, that he was resolued not to allow thereof, but to vse his authoritie to reform the same.

Pope GREGORIE at this time (as some approued Authors write) injoyned the Bishops of *Germany* (contrary to the antient Lawes) not to suffer the Emperour to conferre any Bishopricks, who he said would giue them to vnworthy men or not fit, neither should they from that time require any confirmation from the Emperour; which care and ordination did not belong to any secular Princes, but to the holy order, and chiefly to the Bishop of *Rome*, the President thereof.

The Emperour hereto gaue a doubtfull answere, but performed in effect nothing of what was required; maintaining, that the Pope ought not to accept the Papacie without his confirmation, according to the agreement made betweene his father the Emperour, HENRY the third, and Pope CLEMENT the second, and so these Ambassadors returned without any conclusion: this was in the seuenteenth yeere of his raigne, in the yeere of our Lord, one thousand seuenty foure. At this time, (and also before and after it) the Emperour had cruell warres with the Dukes of *Saxonie*, which againe rebelled against him, they alleaging the Emperours disobedience to the Church of *Rome* to be the occasion thereof. This was the most dangerous warre that euer he vndertooke, wherein passed many perilous Incounters, the Emperor hazarding his person (so valiant and warlike he was) and he principally fought one verie bloudy battell, wherein he preuailed; but (as sayth BLONDVS) with the losse of fiue thousand men: and the Emperour and his brother in lawe RODVLPH, who afterward was his great enemy, fought therein with their owne hands most valiantly.

During these Combustions in *Germanie*, *Italie* was not free from factions and controuersies, betweene the Imperialists and the Popes adherents. GILBERT, the abouenamed Archbishop of *Rauenna* (who had been Gouernour for the Emperour in *Italie*) finding that the Pope had resolued to excommunicate the Emperour, he secretly agreed with one CINCIVS a yong Romane Knight, a man of a bold spirit (whose father was Prefect of the Citie) that he should seise vpon the Pope; assuring him that the Emperor would accept thereof, for a speciall peece of seruice; and he accordingly put the matter in execution: the Pope being vpon Christmas Eeue saying Masse in the Church of Saint MARY the greater in *Rome*; this CINCIVS with a good guard, entred the Church, and laying hands vpon him, caried him away, and in a Tower detained him prisoner. But the people as soone as it was day (being aduertised thereof) went to CINCIVS house, and setting the Pope at libertie, rased the Tower, from the toppe to the foundation: And of all such of CINCIVS his seruants as they found, they cut off the Noses, and banished them from *Rome*; and CINCIVS escaping the death (which they desired to haue giuen him) by flight, durst not stay in *Italie*, but went into *Germany* to the Emperour: This Archbishoppe GILBERT, whose practice was not yet discouered, setting a good countenance vpon the matter, departed the Citie; but being come to *Rauenna*, hee was by the Pope excommunicate and depriued of all his ecclesiasticall dignities and Benefices.

A Councell held in Germany against the Pope.

In *Germany* were no lesse contempts, against his Holinesse then in *Italie*: for (as the Abbat WESTPERGENSIS and other Germane Authors report, besides the Italians which verefie the same) by the procurement of SIGEFRIDVS Archbishoppe of *Mentz*, with some other Bishops and Abbats which ioyned with him, a Councell was held against the Pope, (the Bishops of *Saxony* disallowing and contradicting the same) in which Councell it was resolued, that

that GREGORY should not be held for Pope; and that they all should renounce their obedience vnto him: Whereupon the Emperour and his Councell, sent for Ambassadour to Pope GREGORIE, a Priest, whose name was ROVVLAND.

The Pope in like manner called a Councell against the Emperour, at Saint IOHN DE LATERAN in *Rome*; where ROVVLAND being arriued, and the Pope and his Councell giuing him audience, he in the behalf of the Emperor, required GREGORY to desist from any longer exercising the papall function, and to resigne the authority of Pope: and he likewise signified the same to the Cardinals, willing them to repair into *Germany* to the Emperor, who would nominate a Pope. GREGORY was heerwith much troubled; and for as much as ROVVLAND was an Ambassador, he commanded him presently to depart without any answer, and without any other disgrace. But it is also written, that the Emperors mother at the Popes request went into *Germany*, accompanied with many great Prelates, to perswade her sonne to desist from intermeddling with the donation of Bishoprieks or other ecclesiasticall Benefices; to forbid the mariage of Priests, and to yeeld obedience to the Church of *Rome*: but for that it took no effect, the Pope very solemnly excommunicated the Emperor, and depriued him of all imperiall dignity; and he also excommunicated all such as took his part, and freed all the Princes and Lords of *Germany* and elsewhere, which ought him any duty or allegeance, from their oaths, homage, and bands of obedience or subjection, giuing free liberty to all men; and authority to the Princes Electors to chuse another Emperor, such as should best please them. The Archbishop of *Mentz* was likewise excommunicate, and depriued of all ecclesiasticall dignity, and with him all such as had been in the Councell aforesaid: but before the Pope had proceeded so far, he aduertised all the Princes in Christendome, of all, both past and present; and the Emperor wrote to them, in like manner defending his cause, and excusing himselfe against the Popes accusations.

The Emperor Henry the Fourth excommunicated by the pope.

The Popes terrible Sentence being published in *Germany* (as there were many that took his part, principally the Prelates of *Saxony* and others) RODVLPH Duke thereof, with many other Princes, called a Diet or Councell; wherein they resolued to require the Emperor to ask the Pope forgiuenesse, and to submit himselfe to the Church of *Rome*: which if hee refused to doo, they concluded to renounce their obedience vnto him. The Emperor, notwithstanding that he was a very braue man, and exceeding valiant (as some say, fainedly; and as others say, of his owne accord) promised to do what they required, which he openly protested. Finally, it was agreed, To send to the Pope to come into *Germany*, where full and entire obedience should be yeelded to him; and in the name of the Princes and Lords assembled at that Diet or Councell, the Archbishop of *Treuier*, and others of great account, went to the Pope, and intreated him with such instancy, that he was perswaded to take his way toward *Germany* to meet the Emperor, who staied (as they said) for him, and would come to ask him forgiuenesse, and submit himself into his hands. The Pope came to the City of *Bercelli* in *Lombardy*; where being aduertised, that the Emperor marched towards him with great troops of men at Arms, fearing that he would haue either slain him or taken him prisoner, gaue ouer his journey, and turned into the Country of GOTHIREDVS and his wife MAVD, and was by them protected in an expugnable Town and Castle, called *Canusio* or *Canisio*; whither within fewe daies the Emperor came: who, lodging his Army before the Town, in great humility sent to intreat the Pope to absolue him of his excommunication, offering to become his obedient sonne and subject; and three daies together came barefooted to the gates of the City, to sue for this absolution: but the Pope would not yeeld thereto. In conclusion, there passed many treaties, oaths and promises; but at length (through the instant suit of the said MAVD, and of ADELAYS Earle of *Sauoy*, and, as some say, of INES the Emperors mother also) the Pope, admitting the Emperour into his presence, absolued him: but whereas he had depriued him of his Empire, and had laid other penalties vpon him for former matters, he referred that to the iudgement of the next generall Councell, which should presently be called; and the Emperor promised to stand to the Councels arbitrement, and to banish from his company CINCIVS, who seised on the Pope in *Rome*, and some excommunicated Prelates.

The Emperors submission, who came 3 seuerall daies barefooted to the city gates wherein the pope was, ere he (or absolution.

The Emperor continued some daies in those parts (as some write, expecting when the Pope would haue come forth of that City; imagining that he, trusting to the peace, might haue bin apprehended) and departing from thence, he went to *Pauia* in *Lombardy*, where the before-named CINCIVS died; and the Emperor, by reason of the great abundance of rain which fell at that time, made his abode there for certain daies: in which he was giuen to vnderstand, that

in *Germany* the Saxons and other his enemies (among which were BERTOLD Earle of *Carinthia*, the Duke of *Bauiere*, RODVLPH Duke of *Sueuia*, and others) rebelled against him; and assembling themselues together (denying him their obedience) made the Duke of *Saxony* Emperor, *of whom we haue heertofore made mention*; who was a man of the greatest accompt, both for power and valour, of his time in *Germany*. This (after the Abbat WESPERGENSIS his computation) was in the yeer of our Lord 1079, and in the twentith yeer of the raign of the Emperor HENRY the Fourth.

Rodulph Duke of Saxony chosen Emperor.

Li Duke Suevia Emp

These newes being brought to the Emperor HENRY (as hee was a man of an high minde and great courage) with the greatest fury of the world hee departed towards *Germany*, and by the way gathered together all such his friends as took his part, which were many: and RODVLPH, assisted by the Saxons and Sueuians, accompanied with some Princes and great Prelates; the most cruell war began betweene them two, that had been euer seen in *Germany*, which lasted full foure yeers. In the beginning whereof (besides sundry conflicts and accidents of warre, *whereto either of these Emperors did set their hands*) they came to a pitched battail, Armie against Armie: which because that their forces were in a manner equall, and both the Generals very valiant, was very doubtfull and bloody: HENRY to defend the Empire, and RODVLPH to get the same, did both that day marueiles in Armes in their owne persons. Finally, authors affirme, that either partie fought with such resolution, that hauing spent the greatest part of the day, the battell was ended without any certaine apparance of victory, both Campes remaining full of dead and wounded bodies; and each Generall was constrained of necessitie to withdraw his Armie from the other, to refresh and relieue his troupes; but yet the warre ceased not.

A battell betweene the Emperor and the Duke of Saxonie.

In the meane time both these Princes sent their Ambassadours to the Pope, either of them entreating him to condemne the other: and the Pope returned Ambassadours to both these Princes, requiring them both to lay downe their Armes; and HENRY (according to the agreement made with him in *Lanusio*) to permit a generall Councell to be held in *Germany*; and that either of them should stand to such arbitrement, as by that Councell should be concluded. RODVLPH accepted these conditions; but HENRY answered that he was not bound thereto, except the Pope would first excommunicate RODVLPH; and so prosecuted the warre with greater resolution then before. The Pope receiuing this aunswere, sent a new excommunication against him, and ratified the election of RODVLPHVS; to whom (as IOHANNES DE COLVMNA, ANTONINVS, VINCENCIVS, IOHN CVSPINIAN, IOHN CARION, and many others doe write) he sent a Crowne, wherewith he should be crowned, with this inscription, *Petra dedit petro: Petrus diadema Rodulpho.*

After this, both these Emperors resolued againe to try their fortunes by battaile; notwithstanding that it was in the middest of winter, which was no lesse cruell and doubtfull then the former, but rather more, and therein (as saith PLATINA) was as little signe of victorie, as in the last: some authors attribute the victorie to RODVLPH, and others to HENRY; the cause whereof was (as saith the Abbat WESPERGENSIS and some others) for that in the beginning RODVLPH's vauntguard of Saxons was put to flight, and HENRY prosecuted the victorie: wherein the Duke of *Bohemia*, who bare RODVLPH's imperiall standard, made a great shew of his valour, which standard his successors afterwards bare in the wars, in remembrance of this victorie. And in the meane season, RODVLPH's arierguarde spoiled the Emperour HENRIE's campe, and so they might well retire without any defeate, and either party might pretend to haue gotten the victory: this is the cause why it is so diuersly reported. But howsoeuer it was, HENRY was wounded, although not dangerously, but yet the war ceased not; for shortly after either of these Emperors reinforcing his Army, desired to fight the third battaile, with power against power, (notwithstanding that betweene them there were daily some incounters) and neither partie refusing the fight, the two Armies ioyned, and they fought with greater furie then at any time before: for the harmes which were done, and the slaughters of their people of either side were so great and so many, and their hatred and malice was growne to so high a degree, that they thought on nothing else but how to kill and destroy; with this desire and rage they maintained the fight: wherein after the death of an infinite number of men, and the effusion of much bloud, HENRY obtained the victorie, and RODVLPH was ouerthrowne, and lost many of his Saxons, which were very good men; but notwithstanding RODVLPHV's ouerthrow, yet (as a valiant Prince) gathering his forces together, and reinforcing his Armie, he retired into *Saxony*, which was his best refuge: where were some treaties of peace and

A third battaile betweene the Emperour Henry the fourth, and Rodulph Duke of Saxony.

and of a composition to be made betweene the Emperor HENRY and him; which tooke no effect, for HENRY would not determine the warres, but by the sword: for as he was a man of a great and high minde, so hee presumed to subdue all his aduersaries by his power: and his hautie courage was such as could endure no riuall or equall; which through his late victory greatly encreased.

The affaires of *Germany* standing vpon these tearmes, HENRY still following the warre, sought the Popes destruction, and procured to be assembled in a citie in *Germany*, such prelates as took part with him, in the name of a Councel; which chose the before named GILBERT Archbishop of *Rauenna*, Pope (who was Pope GREGORIE's capitall enemie; and a wicked man, and had laid the plot before mentioned for his apprehension in *Rome* by CINCIVS) hee was called CLEMENT. Hereupon besides the miseries which afflicted *Italy* began a schisme and diuision in the Church of *Rome*, for those which took part with the Emperor HENRY held him for Pope. The Emperor at that time sent his sonne HENRY into *Italie*, there to gouern such estates as were subiect vnto him, and to make warre against such as held with Pope GREGORY: of which that MAWD (before named) was the principall; who leuied her forces and came to a battell with HENRY the sonne, wherein she was ouerthrowne: for which the Pope was wonderfully grieued, comparing this ill fortune, with the schisme made by Pope GILBERT. The Emperour was herewith so much encouraged, as leuying the greatest power that he was able to make, he went to seeke RODVLPH; who (as I said) was in *Saxony*, making preparation for the warres, and was alreadie in such order, that he doubted not to fight with the Emperor, in hope to haue ouerthrowne him. And so they fought a most cruell and bloodie battaile; wherein (as then there were no Cannons, Culuerines, Musket shot, or other artillerie, as now is vsed) neither partie wanting either force or courage, or standing in any feare or doubt to come to blowes with the other; with dint of sword and launce, they slew and wounded their enemies; the two Emperours in person fighting in the thickest of the prease. This fight was maintained the greatest part of the day; the end whereof is related by Historiographers diuerslie. The most common opinion is, that the Emperor HENRIE's Armie was ouerthrowne, and that RODVLPH had the victorie; but he was sore wounded and lost his right hand: some say that he receiued that hurt by mischance amongst his owne people; which wound bled so much and pained him so sore, that he could not prosecute the victorie, and therefore was constrained to retire himselfe to a strong castle to be cured; where within few daies after he died. So as the Emperor HENRY of a man conquered became a conqueror: for RODVLPH being missing, his people disbanded, and so HENRY became Master of the field. Yet BLONDVS writeth, that the Emperor HENRY fled out of the field the same day wherein the battaile was fought, and lay close in a castle, vntill that he was certified of the death of RODVLPHVS; and that he then came foorth to enioy the victorie, through the death of his enemie, whom he had not ouerthrowne. CARION writes that when RODVLPH was readie to breath out his last (his right hand which he had lost in the battaile being brought vnto him) detesting the wickednes and the treacherie of Popes too late; *speaking to a troupe of Bishops which were about him*: This is the right hand (sayed he) by the which I confirmed my plighted faith vnto the Emperor. This is an argument of my periurie (you being the motiues) and a testimony of your wicked treacherie whereof you shall giue an account vnto God. RODVLPHVS his seruants going about to burie the body of their deceased Lord, with the ensignes and ornaments of Emperour; some asked of the Emperor HENRY, wherefore he suffered RODVLPHVS to be buried with such honour, seeing that he was a tyrant and his enemie: whereto he made an excellent answere: I would to God (quoth he) that all mine enemies were (like RODVLPH) buried with the ornaments and ensignes of Emperours.

A fourth battaile betweene the Emperor and Duke Rodulph: and his end.

A notable saying of the Emperour Henry the Fourth.

The Emperor HENRY hauing slaine his competitor RODVLPHVS, making small account of the rest, seised *Suenia* into his hands, and dispossessed BERTOLDVS therof; to whom RODVLPH had giuen the same; and leauing garrisons in the frontiers of *Saxony* (which was not yet throughly pacified) and establishing the best order he could in all parts of *Germany*; with his victorious Armie he took his way towards *Italy*; whither he came within few daies, hauing with him Pope CLEMENT who was chosen in *Germany*, with a resolution to depose Pope GREGORIE; to whose aide the forenamed MAVD had sent a great supplie of men; and Pope GREGORIE had alreadie fortified and victualled *Rome*: for the Emperour came with so great force and furie, that there was no reason to attend his comming in the open fields; so as without encountring or resistance, he came to the very walles of the citie, whereto he presently com-

manded assault to be giuen: but he found such resistance, that being out of hope to enter it at that time, he burned and spoiled the suburbs and Countrie round about, continuing his siege before the Citie notwithstanding; which was one of the most famous that hath beene seene before any City in the World, as well for continuance of time, as for the many accidents and aduentures in Armes, for it continued aboue three yeers, in which time there were many cruell assaults and sallies; and the besieged endured great famine, and want of all things necessarie: in the meane time the Emperor made some incursions into *Lombardy*, and into other parts of *Italie*: the Germane Pope CLEMENT commanding his Armie in the time of his absence In this siege the Vaticane was taken, wherein are the Popes Palace, and Saint PETERS Church, which were ruined and burnt by the Emperor, together with the best and faireſt houses and buildings.

Rome besieged by the Emperor Henry.

Whilest now the Emperor was busied in *Italie*, they were not quiet in *Germany*: for besides the ordinary warres, the Saxons aduanced a great man, called HARMAN, to the dignity of Emperour: but this was a matter of small moment which did little disturbe HENRY, for they themselues expelled him. In the end, after so long a time as the Pope was thus besieged in *Rome*, ROBERT GVISCARD a potent Normane, Prince and Lord of *Pulia* and of *Calabria*, grieuing to see the Pope thus distressed, resolued to giue ouer his warres with the Grecians in *Dalmatia* and in other parts, and (as the Popes liege man) to come to the reliefe of *Rome*: and to that effect left his sonne BOHEMVND in his place, and leuied forces and other necessaries, fit for so high an enterprise.

Harman made Emperour in Saxony

The newes hereof, being euery where published, the Emperor with greater care and circumspection more strictly continued his siege; and vsing as well policie as force, he caused to be published amongst the Romanes, that his desire was, but to be absolued and crowned by the Pope, and that confirming him in the Empire, he would presently depart from *Rome*: Whereto the Pope would not giue care, except the Emperour would giue securitie for the performance of his promise: For, knowing that all was but dissembling and deceite, he would rather continue constant in his resolution, then yeeld shamefully to such basenesse, and thereby lose himselfe: But the Emperor vsed such meanes, that the greatest part of the Romanes (being tyred with so long and so cruell a siege) went ouer to the Emperors Campe; and others presumed to tell the Pope to his face, that he did ill in not receiuing him into *Rome*, seeing he promised to depart againe speedily: Besides this, the Pope was certified, that some had resolued whether he would or no, to let the Emperor into the Citie: Whereupon he withdrew himselfe into the Castle S. *Angelo*, and with him all the Cardinals; and made a Nephew of his, whose name was RVSTICVS, to possesse himselfe of another Castle called *Septem Solia*; wherein he was well aduised, for the Emperor was presently receiued into the Citie, and with him the Germane Pope CLEMENT, and the said Castles by his commandement were presently besieged, which was in the yeer of our Lord, one thousand foure score and foure: And the Emperour with great solemnity was anointed and crowned by Pope CLEMENT, more accompanied with men of warre then with Bishops and Prelates. Yet not omitting to batter the Castles, wherein Pope GREGORIE and his Nephew were; the assaults giuen were so furious, that RVSTICVS was driuen to yeeld himselfe prisoner: But the Castle S. *Angelo* was so strong, that the Emperor could not preuaile against it.

1084

The Emperor anointed and crowned in Rome.

The affaires standing in this estate, the said ROBERT GVISCARD so much hastened his comming with so great force, that (as the Italian Authors write) the Emperour durst not stay for him, but giuing it out, that by reason of some vrgent affaires in *Germany*, it behoued him presently to depart; he left part of his forces for the defence of the Citie, and to continue the siege of the Castle, wherein the Pope was; and fortified the Capitoll, which then was strong, and repayred other towers and fortresses decayed.

The Abbat WESPERGINIS, and other Germane Authors write nothing of any such feare the Emperor was in, but make mention of all the rest. But howsoeuer it was, he went out of *Italie*, and with him his Pope, whom RICHARD Duke of *Beneuent* did support for a season. Within few daies following, ROBERT GVISCARD came to *Rome* with all his troops of Normans and Calabrians (it had been better that he had neuer come, as it afterwards happened) and others which came to his aide, to set Pope GREGORIE at libertie: for from elsewhere it was not to be expected, for in *Grecia* the Emperors were at wars: and from *France* could come no reliefe, for that *Lombardy* held for the Emperor: and in *Spaine*, the Princes were troubled and turmoyled with warres against the Moores; so as onely ROBERT GVISCARD, had

had meanes to doe it and none other. Being comm, the Citizens of *Rome* which had receiued the Emperor, with the assistance of those which he had left in garrison, offered themselues to defend the Citie, so as he entred it by force, with the ayde and fauour of some which were within it. He found so great resistance in his aduersaries, that the two factions oftentimes fought within the citie; the greatest part of the citizens taking part with the Imperialists: and there was so great disorder and confusion, that the greatest part of miserable *Rome* was burnt and ruined; for whatsoeuer either partie gat, they ouerthrew or set on fire: so great was the rage and furie wherewith they made this warre. But in the end ROBERT GVISCARD, and the Popes partie preuailing against their enemies, they took, burnt and destroyed the Capitoll; and left *Rome* so ruinated, that neither ATTILA, or any other barbarous nation, did euer commit the like spoiles: for at this day there are orchards, vineyards and gardens, where before that warre, were streetes, houses, Churches and other sumptuous buildings. ROBERT hauing obtained so pitifull a victory, went to the Castle S. *Angelo*, which vntill then was besieged; and freeing Pope GREGORY from thence, restored him to his seate and palace. But within few daies after, the Pope considering into how miserable and pitifull estate the citie was brought, by the counsell of the said ROBERT, he determined to absent himself; and being accompanied with the same ROBERT, and with his Colledge of Cardinals he went to the citie of *Salerno*, where he afterwards died, hauing been Pope twelue yeers, one moneth, and three daies. It is written that this Pope was a iust, an vpright, a wise, and a charitable man, and an almes giuer; but it is certaine that he was an obstinate, presumptuous, stout, and firme defender of the Romane prelacie, with the liberties and immunities thereof. BRVNVS, and SIGISBERTVS report him to haue been both ambitious, a Negromancer, and an Inchaunter; and that he had poysoned seuen other Popes before he could attaine to the Papacie.

Rome ruined.

Hildebrand, called Pope Gregorie the seuenth, a notable Inchaunter and Negromancer.

Before we proceed any further, it shall be very requisite to make some relation of the Emperors of *Constantinople* (seeing that we are not to discourse of other kingdoms and commonwealths) to the end that hauing ended herewith, we may proceede with our HENRY and the successors of Pope GREGORY. I say then that in the space of seuen and twentie yeeres of HENRIE's raigne, little more or lesse, fiue or six Emperors had raigned in *Constantinople*, before which time, the Turkes, Persians and other nations made themselues Lords of what the Greekes held in *Asia*: whose euent was this, as we said in the end of the life of HENRY the Third, father to this HENRY of whom we now write. The better to vnderstand the matter, it shal not be amisse to returne to YSACIVS CONNENVS, who raigned two yeers Emperor in *Constantinople*: to whom succeeded CONSTANTINVS DVCA, who in the beginning behaued himselfe very valiantly, subduing and punishing such as rebelled against him, and in the rest was a very deuout Christian: but, being infected with the disease of couetousnes, he was therefore contemned both by his owne subjects, and by the Barbarians; and in his time were lost many Towns in *Asia*: and in *Constantinople* was so great an earthquake, that the Churches and other Buildings fell down. And so his Empire being infortunate, hee died in the seuenth yeer of his Raign; and his sonnes remaining his successors, his wife EVDOXIA took vpon her the gouernment, who held the same the space of seuen moneths onely: for, by reason of the wars with the Turks and Barbarians, the Greeks made her to take to husband a great man amongst them, called ROMANVS DIOGENES, to help to defend the Empire; who, not content to goueme in the behalfe of her sonnes, but proclaiming himself Emperor, vsurped the Empire, and going into *Asia* with an Army against the Turks, had variable successe, and was sometimes victorious, and sometime vanquished; and in the end was in a battaile ouerthrowne by them, and many of his people slaine; and being afterwards by the Generall of the Infidels well intreated and set at libertie, comming to *Constantinople*, he found alreadie placed in his throne the eldest of his wiues sonnes, called MICHAEL PARAPINASSVS: And notwithstanding that hee attempted by force to haue recouered the Empire, yet he could not bring it to passe, but was taken prisoner, and had his eyes put out (a cruelty much vsed in *Grecia* in those daies) and banished in the habit of a religious man to a certaine Iland, where he died, when he had been Emperor about the space of foure yeeres. MICHAEL PARAPINASSVS remaining in the Imperiall throne, grew to be so careleſse and negligent, and therewith of so little worth, that hee applied himselfe to nothing but to making of verses, and to dresse the gowt wherwith he was grieued: he held the Empire six yeeres and halfe, with great losse in *Asia*, the Infidels conqueting many cities thereof: for which cause his subiects rebelled against him, and chose for their Emperour a man of great fame and parentage, whose name was NICEPHORVS BOTANIATES,

A great earthquake in Constantinople.

brother, who was descended from the Emperor Phocas aboue mentioned: this man much honoured the brothers of his predecessour Maximilian Palæologus; who were the sonnes of Constantine and Helena and of Eudoxia before named: and giuing them offices and commands, louers drew by their assistance Andronicus and Basilius: with which rebelled against him; for which and other faultes which he did, hee was very ill requited; for they being sonnes and brothers to Emperours, sought to be so themselues: and so the youngest and most valiant of them, called Alexius Comnenus (procuring friends) deposed him from the Empire, and gat the same for himself, when he had raigned three yeers, causing him to take religious habit. And this Alexius held the Empire seuen and thirty yeeres, and fought many battailes, both with Infidels and with Christians, but chiefly with Robert Guiscard Lord of *Pulia* and *Calabria*, who reuolted Pope Gregorie as we haue related, who also sought to haue been Emperor of *Græcia*; which warres he continued with the aid of the Venetians. In this estate stood the affaires of *Græcia*, at such time as the Emperor Henry the Fourth departed out of *Italy*, and Pope Gregorie the seuenth died: wherefore let vs now returne to speake of them.

The Emperour Henry being departed out of *Italie* in such manner as wee haue declared, and leauing *Rome* in such combustions as afore said, he came into *Germany*, where he called a Diet or Councell in the Citie of *Mentz*, as well to iustifie himselfe concerning such matters as were done in *Italie*; as to prosecute the warre against the Saxons and their adherents. In this Councell (being perswaded and in a manner compelled by sundry prelates) he yeelded to the altering of some things in the Church; as to decree that Priests should haue no wiues, and some other matters; yet he persecuted in supporting Pope Clement, who was chosen against Pope Gregorie, and in such other things as before he did. This Councell of *Mentz* being dissolued, the Emperour againe prosecuted the warre against the Saxons; in which, betweene both parties endued great spoiles, many slaughters and great battailes and encounters; wherein the Emperour did often hazard his person; and in the most of them fighting most valiantly, obtained the victory, there being of either side great Princes, Captaines, and very valiant men, with many of which he came to an accord in the end, and so grew daily more potent, yet neuer without enemies. Wherein succeeded many and sundry accidents, which the breuitie of the Historie, permitteth me not to relate in particular.

In the meane season, whilest he was thus busied, Pope Gregorie the seuenth died in *Salerno*; in whose place was chosen (notwithstanding that Clement was still called Pope) an Abbat, called Desiderius, who being installed, was called Victor the Third; This Pope also withstood the Emperors proceedings.

At this time also died Robert Guiscard, Lord of *Pulia*, of *Calabria*, and of great part of *Sicilia*, to whom succeeded his sonnes, Roger and Bohemund. Victor continued Pope one yeere and foure moneths onely: and being dead, they chose to succeede him, the Cardinall of *Hostia*, whose name was Otho and called him Vrban the Second; who in the beginning of his Papacie was somewhat troubled in *Rome*, by some which were the Emperours adherents, and tooke part with Pope Clement, who yet liued, whom a certain Duke of *Italie* maintained in his Countrie: Whereupon this Pope (for his better safety) went from *Rome* to the Citie of *Melfi*: but he afterwards remoued to the Citie of *Placencia*, (there to be of the greater power, by reason of Mavvd the great Lady so often before named) where he called a Councell, wherein some new orders were made; but he still vpheld and maintained the quarrell of his predecessors Pope Gregory, and Pope Victor, against the Emperor and his followers: And there also he held not himselfe to be safe, for that the Emperour Henry was of very great power; wherefore he resolued to goe into *France*, where what befell him you shall vnderstand.

A Councell at Placencia.

In this place Authors doe greatly varie, in relating the acts of this Emperour: for some make not any mention of his second comming into *Italie*: others hold it to haue beene at this time; and those which write it, agree not well together in the times, neither doe they distinctly set downe what he did there; which hath been a great trouble to me, and hath bred a great confusion: wherefore let the reader passe it ouer as he may, for I cannot certainly auerre, which accidents preceded the other.

The Abbat Wespergensis, and Blondvs say, that the Emperor Henry after that he had buried his first wife, whose name was Verta, and had married againe the second time, came into *Italie*, and made his abode there about seuen yeeres, making warre against the Popes

Popes dominions in his own person, and that he took many cities by force; among which were *Mantoa* and *Ferrara*, which were held by Mavvd. And Blondvs likewise affirmeth; that others write that these cities were in the same warre recouered by Mavvd, by the sufferance and ayde of Conrade the Emperours eldest sonne, who openly fauoured her and the Pope against his father: whereupon (they say) Mavvd grew to be so hardie as to ioyne all her owne forces, with the power of his friends and allies, to stop the Emperors passage to *Rome*; and that she fought with him and ouerthrew him; so as he was constrained to depart out of *Italy*. Howsoeuer it was, among such diuersitie of opinions, the truth is, and is approoued by all without any difference, that in this time the Pope being come into *France*, he called a generall Councell in the citie of *Cleremount*, in the yeere of our Lord 1094: where hauing treated of many things concerning the faith, hee attempted the greatest matter that euer any other Pope had done; which was, the conquest of *Ierusalem*, and other cities in the East, which of long time had been subiect to Mahomet's successors; and he solicited the same in that Councell, with such instance and efficacie, and his speeches so incensed the hearts of the people, that many great Princes resolued to vndertake the action: for out of *France*, *Spaine*, *England*, *Italy*, and *Germany*, there went so many, that all writers affirme, they did exceede the number of three hundred thousand fighting men, which took for their deuice the signe of the Crosse: the chiefe Commanders of the one side, were Peter the Hermit, and another great Lord Duke of *Lorraine*, called Godfrey of *Buillon*, and his two brethren, the one called Eystace, the other Baldvvin, and with them other great Princes: And on the other side went Hvgh, brother to the French King, Robert Earle of *Flanders*, Robert Duke of *Normandie*, Stephen Earle of *Chartres*, Raimond Earle of *S. Giles*, and Bohemvnd Prince of *Otranto* in *Italy*, and others of equall and inferiour degree.

Councell of Cleremount. 1094

The conquest of the holy Land.

Some taking their way through *Germany*, *Hungary*, and *Græcia*, passed ouer into *Asia*; and others through *Italy*, (taking for their good speede, the Popes blessing with them, who then was Vrban the Second) and passing the seas, they diuided themselues into two Armies, although not without great trouble and difficultie; the cause whereof was Alexivs Emperor of *Constantinople*. In the end, these troupes passed ouer into *Asia*, and made cruell warres in sundry parts, principally in *Soria*, and in *Iudea*: This was one of the greatest actions that euer was: which I forbeare to write at large, as well for that it maketh nothing to my purpose; as also, for that so great an enterprize deserueth a particular historie; but the successe then was, that after many battailes, hauing taken many cities, and continued the warre the space of three yeers; the citie of *Ierusalem* was taken by Godfrey of *Buillon*, the Duke of *Normandy*, and the Earle of *Flanders*, and others, in the yeere of our Lord, one thousand ninety and nine, vpon the 15. day of Iuly: foure hundred and ninety yeeres after that it was first taken by the Sarazins, in the time of the Emperor Heraclivs.

Many Authors write of this warr, as Abbas Wespergensis, *in the life of* Henry *the 4th.* Paulus Emilius *in his fourth booke of the history of* France. Merula *in his third booke of the history of* Milan. 1099 Blondus *in his fourth of his second Decade.* Antoninus. Platina. Sabellicus. Nauclerus.

The citie being taken, the sayd Godfrey was made King thereof, and of all the countrey round about it. Other of the Princes and Captaines before named, remained Lords and gouernours of other great cities and townes in *Syria*; yet many of them returned to their countries, after the performance of so honourable an action; among which were the Earles of *Flanders*, of S. Giles and others: And the war continuing, this kingdome remained in him, and his successors, the space of fourescore and eight yeers: which being expired, through the weakenesse, and dissension among the Princes, it was againe lost, in the time of the Emperor Barbarossa, as hereafter you shall vnderstand.

Let vs now returne to our discourse of the Emperour Henry I. who at such time as these matters passed in *Ierusalem*, being returned out of *Italy*, the last time that euer he was there; wherein he then left his eldest sonne Conrade for his Lieutenant; assembling then some of the Prince Electors in the citie of *Colen*, hee labored to haue his sonne Henry to bee chosen King of Romanes, whom he had alreadie made Duke of *Franconia* (which was his house and patrimonie) which Henry was his second sonne, and whom hee loued best. When this was made knowne to his eldest sonne Conrade, hee was much distempered and grieued at his fathers proceedings; and therefore resolued openly to denie him his obedience (as to an Emperour; which was a Schismatike, and excommunicated) and so hee seised into his hands all the Lands of the Empire in *ITALIE*, finding all men well affected thereunto, for the hatred which they bare to his father; and he held the same nine yeeres with the title of King of *Italy*; his father either dissembling, or not daring to come against him. And they say that he gouerned as a wise and vertuous Prince: at the end of which time, he fell sick and dyed, about

Conrade rebelled against his father the Emperor.

Conrade deceased.

The death of Godfrey of Bullon.

about the yeere of our Lord, one thousand and twentie: and at the same time died GODFREY the new King of *Ierusalem*, whom his brother BALDVVIN succeeded, and Pope VRBANE the Second likewise died in *Rome*, and there succeeded PASCAL the Second: and within few daies after died CLEMENT, who was made Pope by the Emperor: and after his decease, the Earle of *Capua*, and others attempted to make one ALBERT Pope; and afterwards one THEODORICVS: and in *Rauenna* one MAGINVLPHVS, a man of great courage and power attempted to haue made himself Pope; but none of all these continued long: and so PASCAL remained Pope in *esse*, who performed great matters both touching the spiritualty and temporalty, in reforming the corruption of manners, and recouering and defending the patrimonie of the Church: which the Emperor could not hinder, as he would haue done; for at that instant, his sonne HENRY (being desirous to rule) rebelled against him, and warres began betweene them two, which were more then ciuill, which I will breefly set downe. The Emperour HENRY (the better to assure himselfe in his estate) procured his sonne HENRY to be chosen King of the Romanes (publishing that he meant to go into *Italy*) and summoned a generall Councell to be held in *Rome*, with intent (as some write) to haue deposed Pope PASCAL. The Pope being aduertised hereof, he presently excommunicated him: for which cause, after many accidents which happned (which for breuitie I ouerpasse) by the aduice and counsell of some of the Princes and prelates of *Germany*, his sonne HENRY began to take Armes against him, pretending that he did it, for that his father was disobedient to the Church, and that he abhorred his Simony, and other crimes which hee laid to his charge: and in short space vnder this pretext (which as is most likely, was rather to depose his father, then for any loue he bare to the Pope) he grew to be so mightie, that his father offered him large compositions, to reduce him to his obedience; which taking no effect (for the son was resolued to be absolute) they took Armes, and each of them assembled their forces and leuied Armies, and began to make cruel war one against the other. The sonne was aided and assisted by the Dukes of *Bauiere* and *Saxony*, and by other Princes and great cities; and the father by the Duke of *Bohemia*, and the Marquesse of *Austria*, with other mightie Dukes and Earles. In the beginning, neere the citie of of *Ratisbone*, with the aide of those of that citie, the father obtained the vpper hand against the son, so as he was driuen to retire to reinforce his troupes: afterwards much desiring a battaile, the sonne came against the father, in whom his men now for his old age had lesse confidence then in former times. And the Armies and Emperors drawing neere together, they stood the space of three dayes continually in sight the one of the other, marshalled, and readie to fight; a little riuer being betweene the two Camps, where were many skirmishes, in which died many notable personages; and both father and sonne being resolued to fight, the night before they should haue fought, LEOPOLDVS the Marquesse of *Austria* being wearie of the fathers quarrell, holding it vniust, counselled him to withdraw himselfe and not to fight; but seeing that his aduice was not accepted, he retyred with all his forces, and the Duke of *Bohemia* being aduertised thereof, did the like, and presently after this there came a gentleman of his sonnes troupes, to warne him to looke to his person, and to take heed whom hee trusted, for hee was in daunger: whereupon the old Emperour, with some small troupes of horse, and those the best that he could chuse, forsooke the Campe, and went into sundrie parts, emploring aide and succors. The sonne by reason of the fathers flight, seised into his hands the best and most of the cities of *Germany*, and the most of the Princes came to his side: and then he went against the citie of *Spire* (wherein his fathers treasure and iewels lay) and took the same.

Henry rebelled against his father the Emperor.

A battaile fought betweene the father and the sonne.

After this were moued some treaties of peace betweene the father and the sonne, which was concluded vpon condition, that they two should meete in the towne of *Binge*, which lieth vpon the *Rhine* side, before that the Councell should be assembled, which the sonne had procured to be called, of all the Princes Secular and Regular, to bee held in the citie of *Mentz*, the next Christmas following; which was in the end of the yeere of our Lord one thousand, one hundred and fiue, and the beginning of the yeere one thousand one hundred and six. They two meeting there, the sonne protested that hee pretended nothing but the peace of the Church of *Rome*, with a reformation of abuses in *Germany*, that his father should be absolued and reduced to the Popes obedience; and that hee neuer meant to bereaue him either of title or dignitie of Emperor, but that he should set matters in such order as was conuenient. The father promised to do al that he ought to doe, and offered more then hee either would or could performe: but the one distrusting the other, the father said that he would stand to that which the estates should conclude in *Mentz*, and in the best maner he could, departed

departed thence to a strong Castle, where he made account to liue in safety in the meane time. But the sonne being there with his troupes, hee shut vp all the waies and passages towards that Castle, in such sort that the Emperour could haue no conference with any, without the knowledge of his sonne. Some authors write, that he was taken and committed thither prisoner by his sonne; and that his sonne made him to renounce the Empire, and that he afterwards died in his power. But the Abbat WESPERGENSIS (an author of those times) and OTHO FRISINGENSIS, and the most and best Historiographers write, as I haue related it.

Christmas day being come, all the great Princes of *Germany* met in *Mentz*, excepting the Duke of *Saxony*, who could not come, by reason of his great age; and with him Pope PASCAL'S Legates; where the said Legates (as it was thought) not without the sonnes consent and procurement, againe pronounced the Popes censure against the father, and all such as took his part: and as they debated hereof, and of the Emperor which was in the Castle (who offered to performe what they required; humbly suing for absolution, for which purpose he desired to come to *Mentz*) the sonne protested that he neither desired, neither pretended any other thing, but that his father should reform himself, and become obedient to the Church of *Rome*, but in truth the issue did manifest, that his principal intent was to make himself Emperor. The Popes Legates aunswered to the Emperors offers and promises, that they neither could, neither had authoritie to appoint any penance for the Emperor, neither could they giue him any absolution, but that it must be done in a general Councel, and that by the Popes direction, as it had been decreed by GREGORIE the Seuenth concerning his depriuation, and all the rest. Matters standing in this estate, all men were now most affected to the sonne, and desiring to winne his grace and fauour; for they saw that he was mightie and victorious, and the father as he was a man of great courage, comming to haue put himselfe into *Mentz*, many Princes and prelates went foorth to meete him, and perswaded him, that vnlesse he would wholly bring himself to ruine, there was no remedie but to renounce the Empire to his sonne, and to repose his trust in him.

The Emperor Henry the Fourth renounced the Empire to his sonne.

HENRY seeing himself thus distressed, and finding no redresse or counsell in any body, accepted hereof, as some say voluntarily, as being tired and worne out with wars and troubles. Finally, reposing his trust in his sonne, or in despaire by reason of the solemne decree, he resigned his title to the Empire to his sonne HENRY; and sent to him from the Castle wherein he was, the Crosse, the Launce, the Scepter, the Globe, the Crowne, and his other Imperiall ensignes and ornaments: which renunciation being receiued in the Councell, by a generall consent HENRY the sonne was chosen and created Emperor, and called HENRY the Fift, after the Germane, and Fourth after the Italian writers; for they allow not of HENRY the First, as is before said: and the election was confirmed and ratified by the Popes Legates; and like an Emperour, in that Councell, he treated with the Popes Legates, and with the Princes of *Germany*, of all matters spirituall and temporall, concerning the Empire: and for his Ambassadours he sent certaine men of great account and authoritie to Pope PASCAL, and so continued and was held for Emperour. But before many daies were past, the father seeing himselfe deprined; and his sonne exalted, repenting, secretly sought and procured friends, to the end to haue been restored; and wrote to the French King, and to other Kings and Princes, complaining of his sonne, alleaging that he was forced to what he did; and standing in some good hope, he openly shewed his intent, and leuied men of warre, the Duke of *Lorraine* taking his part, and som others, with the cities of *Colen* and *Gulike*, and other imperiall townes.

Henry the Fift chosen Emperor.

Duke of Lorraine for Emperour his brother.

The sonne hauing intelligence hereof, againe raised great forces, and desiring to haue gone to a Councell in the citie of *Liege*, he sent three hundred men at Armes to take a bridge vpon the riuer of *Maze*, all which were either taken or slaine by the Duke of *Lorraine*, who tooke the fathers part, and came vpon them at vnawares: whereupon HENRY the son proclaimed him traitor, and depriued him (being absent) of his Duchy of *Lorraine*: in the meane time, the father entred the citie of *Colen*, fortifying and furnishing the same with men and munition, and thence went to haue put himself into the citie of *Liege*, whither the Councell was called, which is a most strong citie: in hope (as hee was a man of great spirit) to haue been restored, hauing some other assistance, besides those alreadie named; principally amongst the common people, by whom he was wel beloued, they being moued thereto with compassion to see him deposed. The sonne with his forces went against the citie of *Colen*: and they within it fearing the siege sent Letters and messengers, in generall both to him and to all the estates, in the name of his father, complaining in that he was thus deposed and deceiued; and laying great matters to his sonnes charge, he excused and iustified his owne cause, so much as he might, desiring to be relieued

relieued: whereto the ſon made aunſwere, reciting his fathers exceſſe, his ſimonie, his ſchiſme, and rebellion committed againſt the Pope and Church of *Rome*, to the generall preiudice of the ſtates of the whole Empire; proteſting further that what he did, was to doe God ſeruice, by obeying his Vicar, procuring the vnion of the holy mother Church of *Rome*, with many other matters which the Abbat WESPERGENSIS, BLONDVS, and other authors do ſet downe at large. Finally, he ſent him word, that he ſhould not dote by reaſon of his old age, but that he ſhould come priuate, and aske forgiuenes of the Church; and that then the equitie of his cauſe ſhould be heard, both for himſelfe, and for all the princes which were with him. The father not onely refuſed to follow his ſonnes direction, but ill entreated his Ambaſſadours; ſo as they could hardly returne to their Campe before *Colen* in ſafety. Whereupon the Sonne (ſeeing that hee could not take that Citie in any ſhort ſpace) hee marched with his army towards *Lorraine*; and before his departure, ſent a ſecond ambaſſage to his father, the effect whereof was, that if he deſired iuſtice, he ſhould peaceably come to the Councell, which he ſummoned to be held at *Aken*: if otherwiſe, he gaue him to vnderſtand, that by the conſent and will of all the Princes, he was reſolued to make warre vpon him, as againſt a common enemie. Theſe Ambaſſadours came to the citie of *Liege*, where HENRY the father then lay; who was ſo enraged with his ſonnes anſwere and reſolution, that he did and ſaid many things in furie. Matters ſtanding in this eſtate (whereof it was both thought and feared, that great warres, troubles, and other euils would haue enſued) it pleaſed God to take compaſſion of his people, which by reaſon of the cruel warres betweene the father and the ſonne, endured daily grieuous and intolerable oppreſſions, robberies, and irreparable calamities; which was, by taking the old Emperor HENRY out of this world; which happened on the ſeuenth day of Auguſt, about the fiftith yeere of his raigne, and in the yeere of our Lord, one, thouſand, one hundred and ſix. It is written, that he died of paſſion and griefe to ſee himſelf (as it were) a priſoner, and beſieged in that caſtle, and depoſed and forſaken by his owne ſonne and blood. By the diſcourſe of this Hiſtorie, it may ſeem to the Reader that the Emperor HENRY was an vnworthie and ill deſeruing Prince, conſidering that he was excommunicated by the Pope, and his Empire giuen to an other, his onely Sonne took Armes againſt him, his Nobles rebelled, his ſubiects forſooke him, and in a manner all the world abandoned him, being in the end forced to reſigne the Empire to his Sonne, and the Imperial enſignes and ornaments violently wreſted from him: yet for the Readers better ſatisfaction, I will ſet downe what CARION (whom MEXIA voucheth among his other Authors) writeth of him in theſe tearmes. Thus dyed HENRY the Fourth, a valiant and warlike Emperor, moſt louing to his Countrie, the laſt reuenger of the Imperiall Maieſtie; who when hee had fought 62 battailes, hauing felt the ſharpeſt ſtormes of aduerſe fortune, yet he was neuer daunted nor dejected, neither did he euer abandon or betraie himſelfe, or thoſe things which concerned the Maieſtie of the Empire by the conſtitutions of his Predeceſſors. The dead bodie of the Emperor HENRY, was buried by the Biſhop of the place where he died, in a Monaſtery; from whence (by the decree of the Prelates, and conſent of his owne ſonne) it was afterwards remoued, to the end, that (as a man excommunicate) he ſhould not be buried in Chriſtian buriall, and was caried to *Spire*, where, in a prophane place, was made for him a marble ſepulchre, wherein he lay fiue yeeres; at the end of which time it pleaſed the Pope to permit him to bee buried in Chriſtian buriall. This Emperor had two ſonnes, and three daughters by his firſt wife VBERTA, who was the daughter of a great Marqueſſe in *Italy*, allyed to the Lady MAVVD: his ſonnes were CONRADE, who died before him, and HENRY the Fift which ſucceeded him; his daughters names were INES, which married with FREDERICK Duke of *Sueuia*, and was mother to the Emperor CONRADE the Second; and LIMPERGA which married with the Duke of *Carinthia*; and SOPHIA, which was wife to the King of *Hungary*. In *Conſtantinople* at this time raigned ALEXIVS, whoſe Empire continued ſeuen and thirtie yeeres, and hee died afterwards in the time of HENRY the Fift: and to him ſucceeded his ſonne CALOIOANNES, as hereafter you ſhall vnderſtand.

The death of the Emperor Henry the 4.

THE



THE LIFE OF HENRIE, THE FIFT OF THAT NAME, AND FOVRE-SCORE & FOVRTEENTH ROMAN *Emperour; And of* ALEXIVS *and* CALOIOANNES *in Conſtantinople.*

(***)

THE ARGVMENT.

HENRY *hauing taken vpon him the gouernment of the Empire, after that the death of his father was known, all the Cities and Princes, which had bin his aduerſaries made their peace with him, and became his ſubiects. He ſent ambaſſadors to the Pope, promiſing to become his good ſonne; to whom he granted to call a Councell, wherein all matters concerning the Church ſhould be reformed, chiefly thoſe which were introduced by his father. He committed the Count Palatine to priſon, by reaſon of ſome alterations, and made warre againſt the king of Polonia, who intituled himſelfe King, and ſubdued him; but not without great difficulty. He came afterwards into Italy to be crowned by Pope* Paſcal: *and being come to Rome in S.* Peters *Church, he ſeized vpon the Pope, and committed him to priſon, ſacking Rome and the territory therof; neither would he releaſe the Pope vntill that he had confirmed his priuiledges of inueſting Prelates in the Beneſices of Germany: the Pope being out of priſon, and the Emperor returning crowned in Germany, the Councell did annulled the authority giuen him of inueſtiture, as a matter granted by force: which when he vnderſtood, he was incenſed and commaunded the Biſhop of Mentz to priſon, who fauoured the Popes party. But the Emperor comming into that City, the people matined and apprehended him, and would not releaſe him, vntill that he had promiſed to ſet their Biſhop at liberty. He was afterward excommunicated and in danger to haue bin depoſed from the Empire; but leauing Germany, he went to Rome, where he found not the Pope, neither would he come thither ſo long as the Emperor was therein, neither would he giue credit to his promiſes, or believe any thing that he ſaid. He againe returned the third time into Italy, and ſet a ſchiſme in the Church: and vnderſtanding of the Popes comming againſt him, he returned into Germany, and then made his peace with the Pope baſely, humbly ſubmitting himſelfe to him. There enſued in thoſe parts a very grieuous famine, and peſtilence, and the Emperor falling extremely ſick, dyed, without leauing any ſonne to ſucceed him; when he had raigned Emperor, little leſſe then twenty yeeres.*

IN that I was longer then ordinarie in writing the life of the Emperor HENRY the Fourth, whom the Italian writers call the Third, I haue alreadie made my excuſe; which was, for that he raigned a long time, in which many great accidents happened: and as hee was a moſt warlike Prince, valiant, and high minded, ſo his raigne was troubleſome and vnquiet: by reaſon whereof, all men (excepting ſome few which tooke his part) were well pleaſed with his death, which (as it then ſeemed) brought to the eſtates of *Italy* and *Germany*, a cleere skie and deſired, after the cloudie ſtormes of cruell combuſtions: and to his ſonne HENRY, who was Emperor in his life time, all lay ſmooth before him: *Colein*, and all the other cities which had held againſt him, ſubmitted themſelues, yeelding their obedience; and the Duke of *Lorraine* ſubmitting himſelf, ſought his grace and fauour, and ſo he became abſolute

Lord ouer all: and then sent Ambassadours to Pope PASCAL, who with the assent of his Cardinals and of the Emperours Ambassadours, summoned a Councel to be held in October, in the yeere of our Lord, one thousand, one hundred and six, in a citie of *Lombardie* called *Gardacastello*, vpon the riuer of *Po*; where many things touching the state of the Church both in *Lombardy* and in *Germany* were reformed: and the Pope deposed such as were not confirmed by his authoritie.

The Councell of Treca.

In the second yeere of this Emperour HENRY (the better to corroborate the peace betweene the Pope and him) it was agreed that the Pope should come into *Germany* to the citie of *Auspurgh*, where the Emperor (for certaine daies space) expected him: but the Pope vpon some iealousie & reposing smal trust in the people of that citie, by reason of their ancient hatred, came not, but went into *France*, where he assembled a Synode in a citie called *Trecas*; whither came a great number of prelates: and in that Councell amongst other matters which therein were handled, it was ordained, that the Emperours authoritie concerning the prelacies and Church dignities in *Germany*, should be abolished, and that he should not therein inuest prelates, contrarie to the Popes Canons and Decretals: which when he vnderstood, he sent to the Pope, intreating him not to determine so of the matter, but to allow him such right of donation, as his predecessors had done to the Emperor CHARLES the Great. This matter was greatly argued, but in the end it was deferred till the next generall Councell; and so the Pope returned to *Rome*, and the Emperour in his progresse visited sundrie cities of *Germany*; and vpon some occasion apprehended the Count Palatine of *Rhine*, whose name was SIGIFRED, and for a time held him prisoner: I call him of *Rhine*, for the difference betweene him and other Counties Palatine.

The warres of Hungary.

The warres of Poland.

At this time ALNIVS King of *Hungary*, came vnto him to complaine and to desire iustice against his brother COLOMAN, who had deposed him, and made himself king: whereupon the Emperor entred *Hungary* with an Army, purposing to haue restored him: but through want of victuals, and by meanes of other disasters and disgraces which befell him, he was driuen to retire without effecting aught; and so COLOMAN enioyed the kingdome, the Emperour permitting the same. There likewise grew warre betweene him and the Duke of *Poland*, who without his leaue, entitling himself King, denied to pay him any tribute, or to be subiect: to which warre hee went with a mightie Army (it behooued him to do so, for hee was to encounter a mightie enemie) and some write that they came to blowes, and that the Emperor had the victorie: but not without much bloudshed and great difficultie; and so *Poland* returned to the Emperors deuotion, and paid the tribute accustomed. In these actions and others of lesse moment, the Emperor spent little lesse then fiue yeers, which were in the beginning of his raigne: in the end of which, moued with a desire (common to al Emperors) to be crowned by the Pope, he resolued to come into *Italy*; and to that effect ordained a Diet or Councell to be held in *Ratisbone*; wherein shewing his intent, his departure by common consent was generally applauded: and leuying thirtie thousand choise men (besides the Princes and other voluntaries, which had a desire to serue and follow him in that iourney) he came into *Italy*, where other troupes of the states of *Lombardy* ioyned with him, and by the way befell many accidents, which I omit, to relate such as were of most importance.

The Emperor Henry the Fift came to Rome.

Afterwards taking his way towards *Rome*, many ambassages passed betweene him and Pope PASCAL; he requiring to be crowned, and the other promising the same; but vpon condition, which was, that he should relinquish his demand concerning the inuesting of prelates: about this matter some things so fell out, that the Pope grew iealous and mistrusted the Emperor. But in the end the Emperour promising to maintaine and obserue the priuileges and immunities of the church of *Rome*, and to desist from inuesting of prelates, as is aforesaid; the Pope sent a solemne ambassage to meete him, offering him amiable and friendly entertainment. Whereupon he came to the citie, vpon the twelfth day of February, in the yeere of our Lord, one thousand, one hundred and eleuen, being the first Sunday in Lent, where he was solemnely receiued by all the Clergie and Romane people, with the greatest prouision, and shew of ioy, that the Pope and citizens could possibly make; and the Pope accompanied with al his Cardinals, attended his comming in S. PETER's Church porch. The Emperour with his Princes and men of warre being entred the gate of the Castle S. *Angelo*, alighting, mounted vp the steps to meete him, and kist his foote: and the Pope blest him, and raising him vp, three seuerall times embraced him: and then they went together into the Church, and comming to the high Altar, where the Pope that day was to say Masse, they sate downe vpon seates prouided for them; where the Emperor

Emperor againe desired the Pope to confirme the priuileges which he and his predecessors had held, concerning the nomination of prelates, and the donation of Benefices; which the Pope absolutely denied. Some authors say, that the Pope requested the Emperour (in performance of his promise) to renounce the right which he chalenged to haue in ecclesiasticall causes; and that the Emperor therewith displeased, arose, and with his Germane Bishops and Princes went into a chappell (from whence hee sent him his answere; and denying what was required, persisted in his demand concerning the confirmation of his priuiledge: so as there was much striue and contention about the matter.

Some report this after another manner; which is no great maruel though it so happen amongst Historians; seeing that we daily reade, that when sundry men haue seene a matter which hath happened in their sight, yet the same men which then were present, haue afterwards related it after diuers manners, each one pretending to tell the truth. I say this, for that some men are so hard of beleefe, that if they finde any contrarietie amongst writers, they account the whole Historie to be a lie: which is too great a seueritie. But returning to my storie, I say, that although they differ herein, yet all Authors agree, that vpon this occasion the Emperours Captaines and Companies entred the Church; and the Masse being ended, by the Emperors order, the Pope was apprehended, together with the most part of the Cardinals, and that the Germans made boote or prize of the Bishops, Priests, and other the Popes friends.

Pope Pascal apprehended by the Emperor Henry the fift.

The Citizens and people of *Rome*, tooke this in such disgrace, that betaking them to their weapons, they went against the Imperialists, which held the Vaticane; where, fighting with incredible furie, they forced the Emperor to abandon that part of the Citie, and to withdraw himselfe to his Campe; betweene whom and the Citizens for three or foure daies space, were great skirmishes, and much blood was spilt, and many men were slaine of either side. Yet BLONDVS and some others report, that during the three daies that the fight lasted, the Emperor held the Vaticane, and that he being vnable to defend it, abandoned the same and went vnto his Campe, leading the Pope and his Cardinals with him prisoners. Finally, these three daies being past, he remoued his Armie, and pitcht his tents at the foote of Mount S. *Syluester*: and so marching forwards, left the Pope with some of his Cardinals in a place of strength, and there left he *in another place, guarded with great troupes of* souldiers, and then marched vp and downe the Countrie, burning and spoyling the Castles, Townes, and Villages, neere thereabouts; and so within some few daies after, with great furie returned to *Rome*, and sate downe before it; but the inhabitants were resolued not to receiue him, except hee would first set the Pope and his Cardinals at liberty: But he persseuering earnest in his demand, would haue his request first performed; imitating (in the action, although not in the intent) the Patriarch IACOB, who wrestling with the Angell, said, I will not let thee goe, except thou first blesse me. Wherefore the Pope to auoide further inconueniences, and to get out of the Prison wherein he was detained, came to a composition with the Emperour, and confirmed to him the priuilege of inuestiture which he required, and admitted and allowed those prelates which the Emperor had preferred and inuested. And so all being concluded, the Pope was conducted to *Rome*: and at the day appointed, the Emperour entred the Citie, and came into Saint PETERS Church, first setting a good guard in the Ports and Turrets of the Vaticane; and with the accustomed solemnitie was therein by the Pope crowned, with apparance of very great ioy and gladnesse generally, by reason of the wished peace, after so long and tedious warre.

Pope Pascal being released from the Emperors prison, crowned him Roman Emperor.

The coronation being ended, the Emperor (taking his leaue, and the Popes blessing with him for his good speede) departed from *Rome* very peaceably; and so passing through *Italy*, and the estate of *Lombardy*, he returned into *Germany*; where hauing made sufficient proofe that his father dying, and acknowledging his fault, desired to be forgiuen, he obtained leaue to burie him in the Church; which was performed with accustomed solemnity; and in *Italy* and in *Germany* generally was peace.

A little while after this, died that great and mighty Princesse MAVD, who was Lady of many Townes in *Italy*: This Lady after her death, left a great part of her estate to the Church, among which, is reckoned the Citie of *Ferrara*: but the Emperor FREDERICK neuertheless afterwards challenged to be her heire, by reason of the alliance betweene her and his mother. The Emperor being in *England* solemnizing his marriage with another MAVD, daughter to the King of that Countrie; Pope PASCAL at the request and perswasion of his Cardinals and Clergie, summoned a Councell of Bishops and Prelates of many Nations; in which

Mawd the Empresse daughter of Henry the First, King of England, and wife of the Emperor Henry the fift.

Councell (amongst other matters) it was concluded; that the priuilege granted by the Pope to the Emperour, for the inuesting of Bishoppes and other Clergie men, should be reuoked, and held for none; sith it was exacted by force, the Pope being then his Prisoner; and for such they declared and published the same, excommunicating the Emperour, if he persisted in the execution thereof: in this Councell were one hundred Bishops, some Archbishops and Patriarchs, and all the Cardinals.

This being made knowne to the Emperour, he was much discontented for the same: and much more, after that he vnderstood that many of the principall prelates in *Germany* tooke part with the Pope against him, and had left his seruice; amongst which was ALDELBERT Archbishoppe of *Mentz*, a very mightie Prince, whom the Emperour commaunded to be apprehended, and held him aboue two yeeres Prisoner; whereof ensued many great tumults: And some Bishops were so hardie (being authorised by a Cardinall Legate in *Hungary*) as to excommunicate the Emperour: The number of those which conspired against him, daily encreasing, he fearing the like fortune as befell his father, appointed a Councell to be called in the Citie of *Mentz*, there to treate of those affaires; offering to stand to that which should be determined, and to right any wrong that he had done.

The day appointed for this Councell being come, and the Emperour therein appearing, so few made their repaire thither, that he was therewith much troubled, and highly discontented, and therefore with greater instance procured the assemblie, but it little auailed him: for before they could come, the inhabitants of *Mentz* mutined against him; as well for that he held their Bishop Prisoner, as for that in former time in the warres betweene him and his father, that Citie had endured much losse by his meanes: whereupon they putting themselues in Armes, went to the palace where he was, whereof they became masters, and of his person also; and threatning to kill him, they made him to promise satisfaction for the losses and injuries they had receiued, and that he should presently set their Bishop ALDELBERT at libertie: all which he promised and confirmed with an oath, in such manner that they holding themselues satisfied, left the Palace; and the Emperour departed, and in performance of his promise, presently released the Archbishop: but yet notwithstanding he continued much displeased, for the affront done him in that Citie, and no lesse with them which failed to come to the Councell. The next yeere, which was in the yeere of our Lord, one thousand, one hundred and sixteenth, he holding his Christmas in *Spire*, many prelates assembled themselues in the Citie of *Coleyn*, and with them some Princes, with a resolution to seeke to depriue him, for that he was excommunicated, and disobedient to the Church of *Rome*: which he (to his great disliking) hauing vnderstood, and desiring to redresse the same, sent his Ambassadors to that assemblie, promising to beare what should be imposed, and protesting that he was in all points ready to satisfie the Pope: but his Ambassage was ill receiued, and as ill answered; for they sent him word, that he should make his peace with the Pope, and conforme himself to his will; otherwise, they would neither serue, nor obey him, but generally would all forsake him. Whereupon hee tried his friends, seeking ayde by all meanes possibly; and as Princes neuer faile to finde some to helpe and assist them (some of duty, and others in hope of gaine) he gathered many men together, thinking to effect his businesse by force: and depriuing some of his aduersaries, which held with the Pope against him, of their estates, be bestowed many graces and fauours vpon his followers; and leuying a great Armie, resolued to goe into *Italie*, as well to be farre absent from the fury of *Germany*, as for that he purposed (as he gaue it out) to come to some agreement with the Pope: for he had newes (which were certaine) that through factions and partialities in *Rome*, which arose for that the Pope would not bestow the Prefecture, or office of Lord President, vpon the sonne of him which last presided, the most part of the people rebelled against him, and fought with such as took his part; and the matter came to this issue, that it behoued him to leaue *Rome*, and to goe into *Pulia*, where he was harboured by WILLIAM the Feudatorie Duke thereof, and by some other Princes.

The Emperor coming with his Army into *Italy*, he tooke his way directly for *Rome*: yet some write that he first sent his Ambassadors to the Pope, and requiring absolution vsed some complements; but for as much as he would not make such satisfaction as was required at his hands, the Pope would not absolue him.

Others write, that the Emperours Ambassadors found the Pope in *Rome*, and that he, vnderstanding of his comming, would not stay for him. But howsoeuer it was, he came to *Rome* with his wife without any resistance (but yet he found not the Pope there) hauing first made

cruell warres in the territories of the Church as he came: And pretending that his coronation was violent, and done by force, although by the Pope, he therefore made himselfe to be crowned againe by an Archbishoppe, whose name was MAVRICE DE BRACHIA, whom he brought with him; the whole Clergie, together with the people of *Rome* murmuring thereat.

This being done, he departed thence, and made very cruell warres against all such townes as held for Pope PASCAL: But knowing that through his absence *Germany* was like to bee lost, for (as all writers affirm) at that time iustice and equitie took no place, and there were such warres, factions, robberies, insolencies and other disorders, as cannot be recited: Wherefore he marched with his Armie thitherwards, taking his way through *Lombardy*. Comming into *Germany*, with the aid of FREDERICK Duke of *Sueuia*, and of CONRADE Duke of *Franconia*, which were his Nephews (being his sisters sonnes) and of some other Princes which followed him, without any stay he went to make warre against the Duke of *Saxony*, who renouncing his obedience held for the Pope; with whom he fought a terrible battail, and had the victory; whereby his power and authoritie greatly encreased with those which had rebelled against him.

A battaile betweene the Emperor and the Duke of Saxony

While these things passed in *Germany*, Pope PASCAL came to *Rome*, and after some troubles which there arose, he departed out of this life, hauing been Pope thirteene yeeres and a halfe, in the yeere of our Lord, one thousand, one hundred and eighteene: and in his place was chosen a Cardinall, whose name was IOHN, and was called GELASIVS the Second. About this time also died ALEXIVS the Emperour of *Constantinople*, and to him succeeded his son CALOIOANNES, as I haue said.

The Emperor hauing receiued newes of the death of Pope PASCAL, and of the Election of GELASIVS (seeing himselfe excommunicate, and shunned by many prelates and Princes, which neither serued him, nor saw him, although they warred not against him) setting the affaires of *Germany* in the best order he could, with a great Army, he came the third time into *Italie*, addressing his way to *Rome*, where Pope GELASIVS durst not stay his comming; for in *Rome* were partialities and factions against him. Whereof the Frangepanes (who were many in number, and of great power) were the chiefe; yet some others tooke his part, as the Cossi, the Normanes, the families of the Leoni, and the Colunnesi, which then beganne to growe great.

The Emperors third going to Rome.

The Pope being fled from *Rome* in his Gallies downe the riuer of *Tiber*; the Emperor comming thither, he pretended that the Election of GELASIVS was insufficient, for that he was chosen without his consent, and therefore procured such Bishops and prelates as were of his faction, to make that MAVRICE, who (as I said) crowned him, Pope: and they did so, and called him GREGORY; who being installed and lodged in the papall Palace, absolued the Emperour, and confirmed and ratified his donations and inuestitures: And hauing set vp this new Idol, whom the Romanes in disgrace called *Burdino*, the Emperor recommended him to the protection of the Frangepanes: who were so much discontented with the Election of GELASIVS, that they would haue killed him; and then tooke the field and spoiled the Lands of the Church, to make his Pope GREGORY Lord thereof. Which Pope GELASIVS vnderstanding, with the aide of WILLIAM Duke of *Pulia*, ROBERT Duke of *Capua*, RICHARD, and other great Lords of *Italie*, he leuied such an Army, that the Emperor doubting what would follow, published, that sith he was absolued of his excommunication, he meant to returne into Germany. And being departed, Pope GELASIVS (leauing the Army which he had raised) came to *Rome*; where, betweene such as took part with him, and the Frangepanes, which held with Pope GREGORY, were so many encounters, and so many men slaine, that he was driuen to forsake *Rome*, and (in a manner) to flie into *France*, where he died in the Monastery of *Clunia*, hauing been Pope almost one whole yeer and a halfe.

He being dead, CALIXTVS the Second was chosen, who before was called GVIDO; and before his comming to *Rome*, the Anti-pope GREGORY BVRDINO, departed thence, and went to a Towne that was called *Sutrio*, where what happened to him, you shall hereafter vnderstand.

The Emperour to auoide losse of time, presently when he came into *Germany* besieged the Citie of *Mentz*, against which hee bare an old grudge, for the injurie which he had receiued: and holding it straightly besieged, sundry insurrections were raysed against him; for such as before had shewed themselues his enemies, feared that he would now be reuenged on them all:

Wherfore

Wherefore with him, and againſt him, were euery where making of parties. ALDELBERT Archbiſhop of *Mentz*, with the aide of the Duke of *Saxony*, and of other Princes and Prelates, had a great Armie in a readineſſe: and of the contrary ſide, the Duke of *Suevia*, and others, had no leſſe on his behalfe; in ſuch manner as it was feared that great warres would haue enſued. But the Emperor (being perſwaded by ſome, his loyall ſeruants, and certaine other Eccleſiaſticall perſons, which interpoſed themſelues) inclined to peace, which was treated of; and all the differences and controuerſies were referred to the arbitrement of certain Princes of the Empire; and a Diet or Councell was appointed to be holden in the Citie of *Wittenbergh*, where all controuerſies ſhould be decided and ended: and it was ſo. And thoſe which were appointed to be Arbitrators and Iudges of this controuerſie, and of the reſt, being there aſſembled (and certaine Legates, as ſome ſay, being alſo there from Pope CALIXTVS) it was by common conſent determined, that through all *Germany* a generall and vniuerſall peace ſhould be proclaimed and kept betweene the Emperour, and all the Princes both Eccleſiaſticall and Secular; and that the Princes in like manner ſhould maintaine the ſame peace amongſt themſelues, vpon paine of death: And that whatſoeuer was taken from any Church, ſhould preſently be reſtored: and that the like ſhould be done by any thing withheld from the Emperours chamber of accounts or Exchequer: And that the like ſhould alſo be done betweene all eſtates, which had taken aught (from other) by violence: And that all matters in controuerſie ſhould be ſpeedily decided: And that iuſtice ſhould be equally adminiſtred in all parts: And that all offences and wrongs paſt ſhould be forgiuen and forgotten: And that theeues and robbers by the highwaies, ſhould be ſought out and puniſhed: And that ſuch order ſhould be taken, that the countrey ſhould be maintained in peace: For the due execution whereof, the moſt ſufficient perſonages that could be found, were appointed; and euery where was done all that was poſſible to further the ſame.

As touching the excommunication and the Popes fulminations and cenſures; and the differences betweene the Emperour and him, all was referred to be at Pope CALIXTVS his order and diſcretion; to whom the Emperour ſent Ambaſſadours about the ſame in great humilitie.

This being ended, Pope CALIXTVS ſent his Legate *Alatere*, and Ambaſſadours Cardinals, to another meeting or generall Diet held at *Wormes*; the Emperour being there preſent, where peace and concord was concluded betweene them: And the Emperour acknowledging the Pope for Chriſts Vicar here on earth, and vniuerſall Pope of the Church, deſired abſolution; and reſigned into the Legates hands, all the right and title that he could pretend to the inueſting of Prelates, and donation of any ſpirituall dignities; and then gaue vp the poſſeſſion of all Townes and goods belonging to any Church; and bound himſelfe to vſe his beſt meanes, that if any other Princes vſurped any, they ſhould be reſtored; and himſelfe to be obedient to the commandements and Injunctions of the Church, and to aide, protect, and defend the ſame. The Deedes and Letters-patents made hereof at large, were carried to the Pope, who allowed thereof, and gaue his Bull; whereby he granted that all the Prelacies and Abbeyes which in *Germanie* ſhould be voide, ſhould be prouided by the Election of the Chapters of the ſame Churches, and that the Emperour might be preſent at the Election: prouided alwaies that it ſhould not be made by force, or for bribes, or through any other kinde of Simonie; and that hee which was choſen might receiue from the Emperour, all that was meerely Laicall or Temporall; but muſt haue recourſe to the Sea of *Rome* for the reſt, according to the Popes Canons.

The Emperor reconciled to the Pope.

This being ended, the Emperour and all thoſe which ſtood excommunicate, were publikely abſolued, and then the Letters-patents and inſtruments were ſolemnly read; which befell in the Moneth of September, in the yeere of our Lord, one thouſand, one hundred, twenty two: But thus (ſaith CARION) the Conſtitutions and Imperiall Lawes made by CHARLES the Great, and maintained for the ſpace of three hundred yeers, by the ſeditious conſpiracy of his owne ſubiects, and a fatall ſucceſſe, in fauour of the Popes, almoſt in an inſtant, were made void and ouerthrowne: What miſeries fell both vpon Church and Common-wealth by this grant; What miſchiefes Popes haue done, being armed with this tyranny; what did they not attempt to ouerthrow the authority of Emperors, being much ſhaken? Finally, how often by their cruell practices, *Germany* being in combuſtion, hath taken Armes againſt it ſelfe, and imbrued her ſelf, with her own blood, our fore-fathers haue felt and lamented: By pretext of this Seſſion, the Popes haue violently taken the lawfull power of the Keyes of the vniuerſall Church, and haue fayned

fayned themſelues to be diuinely conſtituted Lords and Iudges of all Churches, Biſhops, Paſtors and Kings: Finally, of the whole Chriſtian World, in all cauſes whatſoeuer: they forced Biſhops to take the power of their adminiſtration from them, and to the Keyes they added new diuine worſhip, and the making of new Lawes, which whoſoeuer ſhould infringe, it was lawfull for them to declare them members cut off from the bodie of Chriſt, ſeditious Hereticks, Schiſmaticks, and to damne them perpetually: Finally, by the weapon of excommunication, they haue vſurped earthly poſſeſſions, and haue ſettled and diſpoſſeſſed Kings.

The Emperour from thence went to *Norenbergh*, from whence he diſpatched the Popes Legates very well contented, with great gifts and preſents both for the Pope and themſelues, and they returned to *Rome*: By reaſon whereof Pope CALIXTVS and all the Romiſh Court *made ſhew of great ioy, for the recouery of their loſt ſatte Sheepe*: and truely they had great reaſon, for it much imported them; and they recouered him but by great good hap.

The Emperor abſolued from the Popes excommunication.

In this time ROGER Earle of *Sicilia*, who afterwards was King, and very mightie, being Vncle to WILLIAM Duke of *Pulia* and *Calabria*, knowing that WILLIAM was gone to marrie with the Emperours ſiſter of *Conſtantinople*, came into *Italie*, and by force tooke all that his Nephew held there; and hauing made himſelfe Lord thereof, he was called King of *Italie*; and afterwards leauing the title of *Italie*, he was called King of *Sicilia*: I haue reduced this to memory, to the end that the Reader may haue the better light of what ſhall be ſaid hereafter; and may alſo vnderſtand, that his ſucceſſors haue beene euer ſince called Kings of both *Sicilies*, which are *Naples* and *Sicilia*.

The Emperour HENRY being reduced to the Popes obedience; in little more then two yeeres which he liued afterwards, he had two warres, the one againſt the Hollanders, and the other againſt LEVES the French King: Againſt the Hollanders he went with an Armie, and ſubdued them; againſt the King of *France* he leuied a great Army, in the behalfe of his father in law, HENRY King of *England*; and marching towards *France* the warre ceaſed, and he returned; for the Citie of *Wormes* rebelled, and he went thither, and beſieging it, tooke it by compoſition, and puniſhed the offenders.

At this time in *Rome* died Pope CALIXTVS when he had beene Pope ſix yeeres, within two moneths; and in his place was choſen LAMBERT Biſhop of *Oſtia*, and was called HONORIVS the Second. CALIXTVS before his death ſent a great Army, vnder the command of a Cardinall, againſt Pope GREGORIE who liued in *Sutrio*; which beſieging the place, tooke him priſoner, and brought him to *Rome*, where he was ſhamefully (to diſgrace him) made to ride vpon a Cammell, and the Pope granted him his life vpon condition that he ſhould ſpend the reſt of his time in a Monaſterie.

In *Germany* the Emperour applied himſelfe to purchaſe the good will of his ſubiects, and to make himſelfe well beloued; taking warning by his fathers ſucceſſe. But there befell in all that Countrie ſo great a peſtilence and famine, that it was thought (as all writers affirme) that the third part of the people periſhed: for which calamitie and affliction, the Emperour being very ſorrowfull, fell ſick, and within few daies died, penitent for his ſinnes, deſiring God to forgiue the ſame. And although it pleaſed God to giue him a good death, yet he left neither ſon nor daughter that might ſucceede him, but two Nephewes which were his ſiſters ſonnes; the mightie Dukes of *Suevia*, and of *Franconia*, the one called FREDERICK, and the other CONRADE: ſome Authors call CONRADE Duke of *Suinia*, and others of *Franconia*: hee died the firſt day of Iune, in the yeere of our Lord one thouſand one hundred twentie and fiue, when he had raigned about twenty yeeres: and thoſe which account but fourteen, reckon but from the time of his coronation in *Rome*; but I euer make my account from the day of his Election; His body was embalmed and borne to *Spire*, and there buried amongſt his Anceſtors.

The death of the Emperor Henry the fift.

When the Emperour HENRY died, in *Conſtantinople* raigned CALOIOANNES; who was an excellent Prince and very neceſſarie for that Empire. Hee was very liberall, loued iuſtice and equitie, and obtained many great victories in *Aſia* againſt the Turkes and Perſians, and recouered from them many Cities which his father and predeceſſours had loſt; His brother ISACIVS being Generall of his Armies, whom hee deerely loued, and leuied Italian ſouldiers in ſteed of Greekes. But with theſe vertues, enuying the Warres and Conqueſt which were made in *Aſia*, hee did greatly hinder the French and others which went thither, and for the ſame occaſion fell at variance with the Venetians, which

which tooke from him by force certaine Ilands in the *Archipelagus* : of his end shall be spoken hereafter.

The beginning of the order of the Knights Templers, and of S. Iohns, or of the Rhodes.

At this time in *Ierusalem* beganne the order of the Knights Templers, and also the order of the Knights of Saint IOHN, called afterwards of *Rhodes*, and now of *Malta*, where they inhabite.

THE LIFE OF LOTHARIVS, THE SECOND OF THAT NAME, AND FOVRSCORE AND FIFTEENTH ROMAN Emperour; And of CALOIOANNES, Emperour of *Constantinople*.

(***)

THE ARGVMENT.

HEnry *the fift being dead*, Lothary *Duke of Saxony was chosen Emperor: against whom* Henries *Nephewes (aspiring to the Empire) in the beginning of his raigne rebelled, who after many fortunes of warre, in the end became his subiects. He came into Italie, to the aide of Pope* Innocent; *against a Pseudo-pope which had driuen him out of Rome. The Emperor was no sooner returned into Germany, but the other Anti-pope, whose name was* Anacletus *(through the fauor and assistance of the King of Sicilia) made Pope* Innocent *to flie: Whereof the Emperor being aduertised, hee returned into Italie, and restored* Innocent *to his seate, and tamed* Roger *King of both the Sicilies. But returning victorious towards Germany, he died in the Mountaines of Trent; when he had ruled the Empire fourteene yeeres, leauing neuer a sonne, that might succeede him in the Empire.*



THE two HENRIES, father and sonne, which held the Empire seuentie yeers, being dead; LOTHARY Duke of *Saxony*, a mighty Prince (like as his predecessors had beene before him) was chosen Emperor. His house euer (or for the most part) was enemy to the Emperour HENRY, and to his house and familie, and rebelled against him: wherefore for his vertues, and for the worthines of his person, many of the Princes and people of *Germany*, as soone as the Emperour HENRY was dead, fixed their eyes vpon him, to the end to haue him for their Emperor and Soueraigne Lord: for they hauing been likewise enemies to HENRY, stood in feare of his Nephewes, CONRADE and FREDERICK, Dukes of *Sueuia*, and *Francconia*, who had euer held with him; and for the same reason, the two brothers sought by all meanes that the one of them might haue beene Emperour, and with all their might withstood LOTHARY. These two brothers (as I said) were Nephews to the Emperor HENRY the Fift, and his sisters sonnes, who was the daughter of the Emperour HENRY the Fourth. LEOPOLD Marquesse of *Austria*, and CHARLES Earle of *Flanders*, by reason of their estates and power, sought also to haue gotten the Empire. These foure great Princes being competitors, by the procurement and industry of ALBERT, Archbishoppe of *Mentz*, who remembring that he had beene imprisoned, and ill entreated by HENRY, for contradicting his friends; found meanes to draw the Princes Electors to meete at *Mentz*, where they chose LOTHARY Duke of *Saxony*, Emperor. Wherewith CONRADE and FREDERICK were so much discontented, that in lieu of doing him homage as to their Emperor, they rebelled against him as their enemy : and in him wanted neither will nor industry to persecute them.

Lothary the second chosen Emperor.

First, he sent to Pope HONORIVS the Second, to complaine of them; who approued and was well pleased with the election of the Duke of *Saxony*; for as much as by that house the Popes had euer been relieued and supported; wherefore he might easily obtain of the Pope, to command them (by his censures) to yeeld their obedience. But these two brothers (taking Armes) found so many friends, and their Lands and Countries were such and so great, that a cruell warre began between them; which I omit, for that I finde it briefly written : yet it continued many daies, and came to that issue, that CONRADE the elder of these two brethren, with the help of his brother FREDERICK, and of GODFREY Count Palatine of the *Rhine*, was called Emperor : and raising the greatest power that he was able (leauing his brother in *Germany* to make head against LOTHARY) he went into *Italy*, and took many Imperiall cities in the state of *Lombardy*; where the Archbishop of *Milan* crowned him with the Crown of iron: by reason whereof, Pope HONORIVS afterwards depriu'd him of his Archbishoprick, and set another in his place : and the Emperor LOTHARY being thus distressed, knowing that HENRY of *Bauiere* (who was called the Proud, and was descended from the linage of the famous GVELPHONS; of which, the Abbat WESPERGENSIS and other Authors make so great account) was a mighty Prince and very valiant, he practised with him to marry his onely daughter, whose name was GERTRVDE; and to the end that he should be a faithfull and loyall seruant vnto him, he gaue him with her for her dowry, the title and succession of the Duchie of *Saxony*, which after his death he enjoyed, and was Lord of both estates : yet afterwards in processe of time there were alterations in them, and in others; whereof I will make no speciall relation, for that it requireth too long a time : yet I will sometimes speak thereof as occasion shall be offered.

The Duke of *Bauiere*, and other Princes now helping the Emperor with all their powers, made cruell warre in CONRADE's Countries, whil'st that he was busie about his Coronation in *Lombardy*, with intent to haue gone to *Rome*. But as he had leuied mo men than he was able to pay, and wanted means to giue them satisfaction, he was driuen to return into his Country, and to join with his brother; and being returned, *was not of power able to make* head against the Emperor, or at the least to go through with what he had begun : whereupon he sought to make some agreement with him, and to obtain his fauour; which was effected (as saith the Abbat WESPERGENSIS) at the intercession of Saint BERNARD, he renouncing the name and title of Emperor, and giuing other security to serue him as a Subject : the like did his brother FREDERICK. And so ended the Emperor LOTHARY this warre, which (as he writeth) was very bloudy : during the which, in *Rome* died HONORIVS the Second, hauing bin Pope fiue yeers; and to him succeeded INNOCENTIVS the Second, a Roman born, who as soon as he was Pope, resolued to haue driuen ROGER Earle of *Sicilia* out of *Pulia*; where ROGER was called King of *Italy* (as I said in the end of the life of the Emperour HENRY) hauing taken the same from WILLIAM, who was his Nephew, or (as some say) his cosin germane : and leuying a great Army for those warres, he went thither in person. But for as much as Authors differ in the recitall thereof (the Italians accounting it to be at this time, that the Pope was taken prisoner there : and the Germanes affirme it to haue happened in the time of CONRADE the Third, who succeeded LOTHARY) we will therefore leaue it vntill that time; in which it seemed most likely to haue passed.

But here we will speake of another disaster, which befell Pope INNOCENTIVS; which was, that with the fame of his imprisonment, or (as I rather beleeue) of his death; a mighty Romane, of great power, whose name was PETER LEO, came to *Rome*, publishing the news thereof: and procuring fauour and assistance, was chosen Pope, and called ANACLETVS; who taking all the Gold and Siluer out of the Temples and Churches, and giuing the same to his followers, grew to be of such power, that Pope INNOCENTIVS being returned to *Rome*,

could not make his partie good against him, but was constrained in a manner by flight, to get him into *France*, and from thence into *Germany*, to the Emperor LOTHARY; who by reason of the peace and agreement betweene him and Duke CONRADE, was growne very rich and of great power; who giuing him very good entertainment, offered to goe in person to restore him to his estate: and although that the affaires of *Germany* were not yet throughly settled, yet he in short space made ready a faire Army, and they both together departed towards *Italie*, but by seuerall waies, diuiding their Army, to the end to march the more commodiously: and a-

The Emperor Lothary in Italy.

gaine meeting neere to *Rome*, were there receiued, where Pope ANACLETVS durst make no resistance; whom his friends had hid so secretly, as at that time, he could not be found; which was in the sixt yere of the Emperors raigne: And so with great solemnity Pope INNOCENT was restored to his chaire; and with the like or greater, the Emperor LOTHARY was by him crowned; and within few daies after, returned with his Army into *Germany*, not finding any contradiction or resistance.

The Emperour LOTHARY being arriued in *Germany*, and hauing by the consent of the Princes thereof summoned a Councell to bee held there: By the Authority of the Empire, hee resolued to goe himselfe in person against the Duke of *Polonia*, because hee refused to pay the Tribute, in acknowledgement of superioritie, which he ought for the space of twelue yeeres behinde-hand, vnpaid: But the Polacres not daring to stand to the hazard of Warre; the Duke accompanied with men of peace, came forth of his Countrie to receiue the Emperour; whom the Emperour would not see, neither admitte into his presence, before such time as hee had paid him all the arieareages due for so many yeeres past; and the Duke accomplishing the same, came to see the Emperour in the Duchie of *Saxony*; whither being comn, and hauing promised to perform the premisses, he return'd home in peace.

At the same time the King of *Hungary* sent his Ambassadors and presents, in acknowledgement of superiority. Pope INNOCENT in the meane time had ill successe; for within few daies after the Emperours departure out of *Italy*, and that he had called a Councell to be held in the City of *Spire*; Pope ANACLETVS aforesaid (through the fauour and assistance of his friends and kinsfolks, and of ROGER which was called King of the two *Sicilies*) returned againe to *Rome*, and tooke vpon him as Pope, being already Lord of the Citie, and of some other fortresses: whereupon Pope INNOCENT sent to the Emperour, imploring his aide and succor, to restore him to his dignity.

The Emperor setting the affairs of *Germany* apart, and raising a greater Army then at the first; within short space came into *Italie*; with whom (besides those which the Abbat WESPERGENSIS setteth downe) came his sonne in law HENRY Duke of *Bauiere*, with great and very good troups of men of warre: OTHO FRISINGENSIS saith, that CONRADE Duke of *Sueuia*, which in former time had beene his enemy, came with him also: and being arriued in *Italie*, entring *Lombardy*, he found great warre and dissension between the Cities of *Cremona*, and of *Milan*, and he as soueraigne Lord, tooke vpon him to decide the cause of their difference; and finding those of *Cremona* to be faultie, he proceeded against them; and they rebelling were by him subdued by force. From thence he went to the Citie of *Pauia*, and so to *Bolonia*, visiting and pacifying the other Cities of *Lombardy*; which through ciuill contention, and the long absence of the Emperours, were in a manner at liberty, and tyrannized; all which he subdued and brought to subjection: and from thence (sending his sonne in law with the one halfe of his Army into *Tuscane*, to receiue the Pope, which lay in *Pisa*) he himself by another way went with the rest into the *Marca di Ancona*, wherein he assaulted and tooke many townes which rebelled; as well against him as against the Church of *Rome*; which he recouered and restored. Afterwards joyning with the Pope and with his son in law HENRY, he took his way towards *Rome*, where he restored the Pope to his seate and Palace; and thence marched forwards, to warre against ROGER, who with the helpe of his friends and subjects, had raised a great Army, vaunting in braue tearmes, that he would fight with the Emperor. But ROGER shamefully retiring without daring to meete him, put his men into garrisons, to defend his countries; but the Emperor followed the warres with such expedition and courage, that within short space he became Lord of *Pulia*, and *Calabria*, and of all the rest that ROGER held; and constrained him to flie out of *Italy*, and to get him into *Sicily*. And to the Emperor at his being there came Ambassadors from CALOIOANNES Emperor of *Constantinople*, to congratulate his victories obtained against ROGER, whom he much hated, and against whom he had afterwards great warres.

Roger king of Sicil a driuen out of Italy.

A

At this time died the Antipope ANACLETVS. And so the Emperor finding no resistance in *Italie* (hauing subdued the rebellious, and rewarded and honoured those which had faithfully and valiantly serued him, in such manner that they write of him, that since the time of CHARLES the Great, not any Emperor had euer liued there in so great power and authority) he returned into *Germany*: but before his departure, he bestowed vpon a great German Prince, who was his neere kinseman and fauorite, whose name was RAYNOLD, the State of *Pulia*, with the title of Duke thereof, which he tooke from ROGER. About which gift, notwithstanding that the Pope was well content therewith, OTHO FRISINGENSIS (who was an eye witnesse and an Author of those times) writeth, that there was some difference betweene the Emperour and the Pope; The Pope alleaging the Countries of *Pulia* and *Calabria* to be subject and feudatory to the Church of *Rome*; and that the fauor and title which was giuen to RAYNOLD, should haue beene giuen by him, and not by the Emperor: but in the end, a meane was found, that it was done in both their names; and the Armes and Ensignes of Duke, were giuen to RAYNOLD by them both; and so RAYNOLD remained a Duke; and the Emperor departing, left many good men of warre with him, whereof he afterwards stood in neede, as you shall heare: And so leauing the Pope in *Rome*, he returned towards his countrey, triumphing of his victories. Vpon the way comming to the Mountaines of *Trent*, he fell so grieuously sick, that vnable to trauell any further, he died in a little village, in the thirteenth yeere after that he was chosen Emperor, and in the seuenth after his coronation in *Rome*, in the yeere of our Lord, one thousand, one hundred thirty and eight: his body was carried into *Saxony*, and there most sumptuously entombed, and by his death grew great alterations, both in *Italy* and *Germany*, as shall be related.

Raynold made Duke of Pulia and Calabria

The death of the Emperor Lothary.

1138

He left no more children behinde him when he died, but his only daughter GERTRVDE, who (I said) was married to HENRY Duke of *Bauiere*; for his onely sonne called LOTHARY died a childe before him.

In the time of this Emperour (as he was a great Iusticer) the lawes and institutions collected by the Emperor IVSTINIAN, were againe reuiued and tooke effect; which through the diuision and declining of the Empire, were growne out of vse, and in a manner quite forgotten; and VERNERIVS whom ACVRSIVS (a glosser vpon the ciuill law) calleth YRNERIVS, sought, and tooke out of the auntient Libraries, the bookes of the lawes which IVSTINIAN had compiled, and abbreuiated out of the institutions of the Pretors and Ediles, and auntient Emperors; which lay forgotten, and euen lost: and hee corrected and reduced the same into the best form he was able; which the Emperor LOTHARY commanded to be read in Schooles, and that all Pleas should bee determined by them; and so it is obserued vnto this day.

A reformation in the Ciuill law.

Within a while after this, these lawes beganne to be glosed vpon by AZO a famous Doctor; and afterwards succeeded ACVRSIVS: and they haue still so encreased, that since that time there haue been many great and famous men in that facultie; which hold the greatest authority and degree in the estate and gouernment of all Common-wealths. In *Constantinople* yet raigned CALOIOANNES, warring against the Infidels, and against ROGER King of *Sicily*.

The beginning of the Ciuill Lawyers.

THE

THE LIFE OF CONRADE, THE THIRD OF THAT NAME, AND FOVRSCORE AND SIXTEENTH ROMAN Emperour. And therein is treated of CALOIOANNES, and of his sonne EMANVEL, Emperours of *Constantinople*.

(***)

THE ARGVMENT.

AFter Lothary *succeeded* Conrade, *Nephew to the Emperor* Henry *the Fift; who was chosen by the Electors, and confirmed by the Popes Legate. He was in the beginning of his raigne disturbed by the sonne in law of* Lotharius, *who withheld from him the Imperiall ensignes; and not only refused to deliuer them, but also to yeelde him any obedience; whereupon the Emperor proclaimed him Rebell, and tooke from him by force many estates: but this warr had so many variable accidents, that the Emperor therein spent seuen yeeres, during which time, he tooke no great care how matters went in Italie. He went to the warres of the Holyland, and being comn iato his enemies Countries, receined so great an ouerthrow, as there scarcely remained the tenth man of those which went with him. After this rout, he prosecuted his attempt, in company of the French King, from whom he afterwards departed; holding his being with him for dishonorable. He returned thither the third time, and together with the Kings of France and of Ierusalem, did nothing of any account. Afterwards, sith it pleased not God to fauor the proceedings of the Christians in this enterprise, eyther of the Princes returned into his Countrey: And the Emperor being comn into Germany, whilst he was making preparation for his going into Italy, to be crowned, died (as many men thought) of poyson, in the fifteenth yeer of his raigne.*

HAue already related how that the Emperor LOTHARY married his only daughter to HENRY Duke of *Bauiere* (called the Proud) who was a valiant and mighty Prince; and that he gaue him the title of Duke of *Saxony*, which was his house and patrimonie: and that this HENRY did him great seruice in his journey into *Italy*, and also against the two mightie brethren, CONRADE and FREDERICK, Dukes of *Sueuia* and *Franconia*, who were his enemies a long time: for when LOTHARY was chosen Emperor, they thought to haue had it for one of themselues, being Nephews to the deceased Emperor HENRY the Fift, and Grand-children of the Emperour HENRY the Fourth. When-as the Emperour LOTHARY was dead, his sonne in law HENRY Duke of *Bauiere*, who came with him, and was already called Duke of *Saxony*, gat into his custody the Imperiall Ensignes; as the Scepter, the Crosse, the Crowne, and the Globe, imagining that he should haue had vse for them, for that he thought to haue beene Emperour, but they were of little vse to him: For the two brethren, CONRADE and FREDERICK Dukes of

of *Sueuia* and *Franconia* (afore named) were of so great power and authoritie, as assembling the Princes Electors in *Confluence* (where the Riuer of *Mosella* joyneth with the *Rhine*, THEODORICVS a Cardinall and the Popes Legate being there present) CONRADE was chosen Emperour, and all the Princes sware to him homage and obedience; which the Saxons and Bauarians onely opposed with HENRY their Lord, and his brother GVELPHO, who was a great and valiant Prince. Whereupon the new Emperor called a generall Diet or Councell to be *held in the citie of Bambergh*, whither came the widow Empresse, late wife to LOTHARIVS, and the Deputies of *Saxony*, to acknowledge and yeeld obedience vnto him; But Duke HENRY would not appeare, neither would he send the Imperiall Ensignes which he had in his power: and so by all the Princes there assembled, with the Emperours authoritie, he was enioyned to appeare and to send the Ensignes aforesaid, by the feast day of Saint PETER and PAVL then next following; which he did (for he durst doe no other) but would not come himselfe in person: Whereupon the Emperor (desiring to be at peace) after two or three summons, enjoyned him, within a certaine prefixed time, to make his appearance in the Citie of *Ausburgh*; for which purpose he presently caused a Councell to be summoned, and made great preparation, meaning to haue proceeded against him with all rigour and seueritie.

Conrade chosen Emperor.

The Councell being assembled, HENRY accompanied with many men of warre, of *Saxony* and of *Bauiere*, came neere to that place where it was held, and lodged his Campe, and began to treate of meanes to come to the Emperors obedience; which treaty continued three daies without any conclusion: for the Emperour required him to resigne certain lands which his father in law the Emperor LOTHARY had giuen him: but the Emperor holding himselfe not in safety in that Citie, departed without any speech of his remouing, vntill he was gone, and went to the Citie of *Herbipoli*: where many Princes meeting, by the generall consent of them all, he pronounced sentence against HENRY of *Bauiere*; whereby he condemned him in the losse of all his estates: and many great matters happened, which we will declare, when we haue told you what befell in *Italie* to the Pope and to Duke RAINOLD, whom the Emperour LOTHARY made Duke of *Pulia* and *Calabria*, with ROGER King of *Sicily*; which passed in this manner:

As soone as the Emperor LOTHARY was dead, there grew so great alterations and troubles in *Italy*, that ROGER in great haste raised his forces, and went into *Pulia*, with a resolution to haue reconquered those Countries, whereof he was dispossessed: But RAINOLD had so good men with him, that he fought with him in battell, and ouerthrew him; so as he was driuen to returne with losse of part of his Army: And being busied about making new preparation for the same enterprise, RAINOLD died in the time of his good fortune; so as without any great difficultie, ROGER recouered all the Countries of *Pulia* and *Calabria*, which he first tooke from his Nephew, and which had been his grand-fathers. Pope INNOCENT seeing what passed, he sent to the Emperor to desire him to come into *Italie*, or to send an Army to driue ROGER out of that Countrey: but for as much as the succours came slowly (as writeth GOTHIFREDVS VITERBIENSIS) the Pope leuied a great Army, and went against ROGER: but as he was no very expert man of warre, so by a deuice his Army was ouerthrowne, and himselfe together with his Cardinals taken prisoner. But ROGER making a conscience of the matter, set both him and all his Cardinals at liberty: for which his liberality and courtesie the Pope confirmed him King of *Sicilia*; and ROGER as his liege man did homage to the Pope, calling his Countries the Church Patrimony; and so remayned ROGER and his successors kings of *Sicilia*, and Lords of *Pulia* and *Calabria*, and was a very mighty Prince.

Warres between the Pope and Roger King of Sicilia: wherein the Pope was ouerthrown, and taken prisoner, with all his Cardinals.

This being passed, ROGER fearing the Emperors comming into *Italie*, he sent to solicite HENRY the proud, and his brother GVELPHO, with Letters and money to beare Armes against the Emperour CONRADE, with whom they already had great warres; for HENRY the Proud being condemned by the Emperour, in the losse of all his estates of *Bauiere* and *Saxony*; and the Emperour hauing giuen the Duchie of *Saxony* to ALBERT cousin-germane to the Duke; and *Bauiere* to LEOPOLD sonne to the Marquesse of *Austria* (who was the Emperours mothers brother) so as all was in combustion, and the warre was prosecuted with great cruelty, the one party seeking to hold and to defend their estates, and the other to get the same: and he which chiefly followed this warre was GVELPHO, brother to HENRY the Proud; for HENRY now by reason of his old age could not well beare Armes; and hauing prouided a very good Armie, the Emperour went against GVELPHO, and fought a battaile with him,

Warres between the Emperor & the duke of Bauiere and Saxony.

which was very doubtfull, for GVELPHO was an excellent Captaine and very valiant: but he being ouer-matched, was ouerthrowne, and lost many of his men, both Bauarians and Italians; which ROGER King of *Sicilie* had sent to his aide, and he himselfe escaped by flight. But he was a man of so haughtie a minde, and therewith vsed such industry and expedition, that within few daies he reinforced his Army; and sought aide of the King of *Hungary*, who repined at the prosperity of the Empire, for that he would not acknowledge any superiour: and so to his ayde came many Calabrians and Sicilians, sent by ROGER King of *Sicilie*; and the Emperour of necessitie was driuen to doe the like, and made his eldest sonne called HENRY Generall of his Army, who afterwards died before his father: and he besieged a Towne called *Winsperg* And lying before it, his sonne HENRY, neer to a place called *Elnosen*, fought a battaile with GVELPHO, in which, some of GVELPHO his partie (which were Italians) cryed, GVELPHO, GVELPHO, after the name of their Generall; and the Imperialists cryed, GIBELLIN, GIBELLIN, for that HENRY their Generall was bred vp in a place so called.

The originall of the Guelfs and Gibelins.

Some Authors affirme, that vpon this occasion it afterwards followed, that in the controuersies betweene the Emperours and Popes, the Imperialists tooke their name of Gibellins; and the Popes partie, Guelphs. And from hence sprang the cruell factions of the Guelphs and Gibelins in *Italie*: Heerof are other opinions, which import not much to be treated of in this place.

The battell was very cruell, but GVELPHO his troupes (being of diuers Nations and conditions) did not so well second and relieue one another, as HENRIE's did, so as GVELPHO was likely to haue been ouerthrowne. And finding no other remedie, to auoide a further danger, he abandoned the field, and HENRY apparantly had the victory: who after that he left the pursuit, joyned with his father the Emperour at the siege of *Winsperg*; which being greatly distressed, yeelded to mercy. But all the grace the Emperor would grant to the inhabitants, was to permit all the women which were in the Town, freely to depart, and to haue to their owne vse whatsoeuer they could beare on their backs: Whereupon they vsed a commendable and memorable deceit, which was, that as they went forth of the Towne, each of them tooke her husband vpon her back, and those which had none, tooke their children or brothers, and so comming into the fields, set them at libertie: and notwithstanding that FREDERICK the Emperours brother alleaged that it was deceit and cosonage, and therefore not to be permitted; neuertheless the Emperor held it for well done, and commended them for the same. And truely I hold it for one of the most memorable acts done by women that euer I read of.

A commendable deceit vsed by women in Germany.

Through these two ouerthrowes, the partie of GVELPHO, and of his brother HENRY the Proud, was so broken and weakened, as ALBERT, to whom the Emperour had giuen the title of Duke of *Saxony*, had time and oportunitie to make himselfe Lord thereof: And LEOPOLD, to whom he had giuen the Duchie of *Bauiere*, made daily Conquest of more and more of that Countrey. Duke HENRY seeing this, came disguised to such places as held for him in *Saxony*, where he vsed such effectuall speeches, and wrote so pittifull Letters to his friends and subjects, that they being moued therewith, repaired vnto him in such order, that ALBERT was driuen to flie to the Emperour for helpe; and HENRY the Proud hauing this good successe, and being in hope to haue preuailed, died; after whose decease, the Saxons in despite of the Emperour, tooke a sonne of his called also HENRY, for their Lord; and they recouered great part of that estate: But LEOPOLD was seised of the greatest part of the Duchie of *Bauiere*, who (as I said) was the Emperours mothers brother: GVELPHO as soone as his brother HENRY the Proud was dead, was called Duke of *Bauiere*, pretending that it did belong vnto him by inheritance: and many friends repairing vnto him, cruell warres beganne between him and LEOPOID, and GVELPHO ouerthrew LEOPOLD in a battaile: The Emperour seeking redresse (to the end he would not at one time haue so many Irons in the fire together) compounded and made peace with the Saxons, marrying the widow Ducheese of *Saxony*, daughter to the Emperour LOTHARY, with whom HENRY the Proud had that Dukedome, of the greatest part whereof his sonne HENRY was then in possession: and this being effected, he resoluted to aide LEOPOLD against GVELPHO: but in the meane time LEOPOLD died, and with the same trouble his sonne called HENRY had the Duchie of *Bauiere*, against whom (with no lesse courage and diligence) GVELPHO prosecuted the warre: But CONRADE assisting his cousin-Germane the new Duke, neither GVELPHO nor his Nephew

phew HENRY Duke of *Saxony*, could preuaile against him; notwithstanding that GVELPHO was a warlike and valiant Captain.

CONRADE hauing spent six or seuen yeeres of his raigne in these ciuill wars, a voyage was pretended to *Ierusalem*; which although it had no great good successe, yet it was good and commendable. And to the end that you may the better vnderstand the same, it shal be requisite briefly to set downe the most important causes thereof, and the estate wherein the affaires of *Graecia* then stood, and of *Italie* also; which was in this manner: The Christians hauing possessed *Ierusalem*, and many other Cities in *Syria* and *Mesopotamia*, now aboue fiue and forty yeers, and hauing performed wonderfull matters in their continuall warres against the Infidels, which they waged at what time as CONRADE was busie about this quarrell; FVLCO sonne-in-law to BALDVVIN, being then the fourth King of *Ierusalem*, and hauing done great exploites against the Sarazins, there arose some controuersies betweene some Princes, Dukes of certaine places in the East; and so betweene them, and CALOIOANNES, Emperor of *Constantinople*, which gaue occasion to the King of *Persia* his Captaines, to doe much harme in the countries which the Christians possessed: against whom, FVLCO King of *Ierusalem* made the greatest resistance he was able, and did many worthie exploits.

The Emperor Conrade his attempt for the conquest of Ierusalem.

Then ensued the death of the Grecke Emperor, who had raigned six and twentie yeeres: And although that hee had troubled the state of the East, yet neuertheless by reason of his great power he was much feared of the Infidels; and died of a small wound giuen him in the left hand with a poysoned arrow: by his last will and testament, he ordained his youngest sonne for his successor, for that his eldest sonne was incapable of the gouernment. The state of *Syria* being thus troubled, FVLCO King of *Ierusalem* went to encounter a great Armie of Turks and Persians, which came against the citie of *Antioch*; and ioyning in battaile, ouerthrew and slew three thousand of them: whereupon the Soldane King of *Persia*, whose name was ALAPH, drew together all his whole power, and came before *Edissa*, a very mightie citie in *Mesopotamia*, which the Christians had held fiue and fortie yeeres; which citie by the Iewes is called *Aracna*, and is very famous, through the fertilitie and greatnes thereof; and for that it was the place, whither TOBIAS sent his sonne TOBIAS to GABELVS for his mony, and the same was conuerted to the Christian faith by THADEVS; and adorned with the bones of S. THOMAS the Apostle, and at this time was inhabited and frequented by excellent Christians: But ALAPH comming in person against it, King FVLCO not being able to relieue the citie, it was taken and sackt; wherein the Infidels vsed such cruelties and villanies, as haue not been heard of: some writers reckon the losse of this citie to haue happened after the decease of King FVLCO: but PLATINA and BLONDVS relate it as I haue done.

After the losse of this citie, another great misfortune ensued, which was the vnhappie death of FVLCO King of *Ierusalem* in this manner: As he was busie, applying himself to recouer this lost citie, and to leuie new troupes of souldiers, being one day in the fields hunting the Hare, his horse fell with him, and his head fell vnder the backe part of the saddle, wherewith hee was bruised, and so sore hurt, that losing both his speech and senses, hee died within three daies, leauing behinde him two young sonnes, the eldest of which called BALDVVIN, had the title and kingdome of *Ierusalem*: but through the want of FVLCO, and other occasions, the Infidels daily took townes, and did much hurt to the Christians.

The death of Fulco King of Ierusalem.

Pope INNOCENT and the Christian Princes vnderstanding how matters went in the East, and being sorie to heare thereof (as indeede they had reason, especially for the losse of the great citie of *Edissa*) they began to consult of some redresse and reliefe for the same; and as S. BERNARD was then in great credit and very famous, he took vpon him to perswade the Christians Princes, to goe in person to this warre, Pope INNOCENT giuing him in charge to performe that action; which Pope hauing held that seate the space of fourteene yeeres, died (as saith PLATINA) in the yeere of our Lord 1144. and to him succeeded CELESTIN the Second, who was Pope but fiue moneths; and he being dead, LVCIVS the Second was made Pope, in whose time (as saith PLATINA and BLONDVS) S. BERNARD vndertook this enterprise; and as others say, in the time of INNOCENTIVS. This difference doth not discredit the authors: for the losse of the citie of *Edissa*, and the death of King FVLCO, and other matters which happened in the East, passed at seuerall times, and might happen in the time of all these Popes, for the small time they liued: for LVCIVS the Second was not Pope fully one yeere, and this was in the time of his successor EVGENIVS. I say then that by meanes of the Popes Letters, together with the perswasion of S. BERNARD, LEVVES who then was king

of *France*, taking for his deuice the signe of the Crosse determined with many great Lords and Knights of his countries, to goe to this warre in the East, in the behalfe of the King of *Ierusalem*; and leuying an Army, BERNARD went into *Germany* to the Emperor CONRADE (whose life we write) and obtained of him to doe the like, as the French King pretended to doe: where- to he willingly and speedily prepared himselfe; and it pleased God that this iourney was so well liked of by all men, that notwithstanding that there were very sharpe and hot warres betweene the Emperor, and GVELPHO with his adherents, yet GVELPHO notwithstanding offered to goe this iourney with him, and to do him seruice therein. And so the Emperour and the French King (by their Letters) agreed to goe to that enterprise personally. But forasmuch as they both could not conueniently march together in companie, by reason of the great multitudes of their people; it was concluded that the Emperor should first set forwards (and so he did) in the yeere of our Lord 1147, according to most authors, yet some write one yeere lesse: and he departed, accompanied by these Princes, FREDERICK Duke of *Sueuia*, sonne to his brother FREDERICK deceased, the Duke of *Lorraine*, the Earle of *Flanders* and *Friseland*, the Marquesse of *Austria*, and GVELPHO his former cruell enemie, but then his seruant and companion, whome the Emperor in all that iourney called fellow souldier, and made great account of his person, with many other Princes and Lords of great account. In this all authors agree, that of the Emperors owne forces, with the forces of these Princes, together with the aduenturers, which came from al parts, vpon the report of so zealous an enterprise, his Army amounted to the number of threescore and tenne thousand horse, and (in a manner) as many foote: with which, marching through *Austria* and *Hungary*, he directed his iourney towards *Constantinople*; where he was very ioyfully and honourably receiued by the Emperor EMANVEL, son to CALOIOANNES; and his troupes were lodged in townes and places neere at hand; and staying there some few dayes, he crossed ouer the straight of *Constantinople* with his whole Armie, with lesse store of victuals then was needfull in such an action, through the Emperour of *Constantinople* his counsell and default, who promised to furnish him with all things necessarie; and so hee marched through the Emperors Countries, in *Asia* the lesse, and had Greekes for his guides, such as well knew the Country.

The Emperor Conrade and Lewes King of France went to Ierusalem.

Passing through the Prouince of *Licaonia*, which bordereth vpon *Galacia*, in the middest of *Asia* the lesse, being in his enemies Country in great want of victuals, all his guides in one night forsooke him: which, as some write, was thought to haue been done by the direction of the Emperor of *Constantinople*, who of malice or enuie repined at this war. Others imagine that they stood in feare, and fled, for that they saw the Army so vnprouided of victualls, or for that they had missed of their way: but howsoeuer it was, the Emperour stayed neere to the Citie of *Iconium*, which is in *Silicia*, and (as some say) besieged the same, for that it was rich, well furnished, and of great importance, thinking in short time to haue taken it. But forasmuch as victuals came not according to the trust he reposed in the Greekes; his people within few daies space endured extream hunger and sickues; and falling sick of the chaulk which (as some write) the Greeks did put into their meale, they dyed.

Treatherie of the Emperors guides.

The Emperor seeing himself thus distressed in his enemies countrie, and his friends being doubtfull and variable in their opinions, whether they should goe forwards, or retire (either of which was perillous) in the meane time, so great a multitude of Turks, Persians, and other heathen nations (knowing the distresse wherein the Christians were) assaulted his Campe, in such manner, that his person and Armie were in danger to haue been wholly lost (God in his secret iudgement, permitting it): and the Emperor knowing no better course to be taken, came to a battaile with them; some say two, and that the fight continued two daies together, one after another: and as the greatest part of his Army was sickly, and almost hunger-starued; so after that they had done what they possibly were able, they were broken and ouerthrowne; and so many of them were slaine and taken prisoners, that there remained little more then the tenth man of his Army; with which he escaped by flight, and therein endured extreame hunger and many daungers; and stayed not any where vntill he came to the citie of *Nicea*, in the prouince of *Bythinia*, in *Asia* the lesse, which was subiect to the Greeke Empire; where gathering together the remainder of his Army (which from many parts, held by Christians, came thither to him) he determined to attend the comming of LEVVES the French King, who was alreadie vpon the way. This ouerthrow happened in the moneth of Nouember, in the yeere of our Lord one thousand, one hundred fourtie and seuen.

The Emperor Conrade ouerthrowne by the Sarazens.

At what time as the Emperour CONRADE was thus ouerthrowne by the Infidels, the French

French King was come from *Constantinople* into *Bythinia*; where he had been well receiued and lodged by the Emperour EMANVEL: and within few daies after that the Emperour CONRADE was departed from *Germany*, Pope EVGENIVS the Third, which succeeded LVCIVS, flying from *Rome*, came to him in *France*, by reason of certaine mutinies raised against him in *Rome*, for the people would haue placed certaine citizens in the gouernment of the citie; and the Pope finding the King ready to depart, encouraged him to proceede in his iourney, and gaue him his holy benediction; and the King in requitall gaue him men and money, wherewith he returned to *Rome*, and was with much obedience there receiued.

King LEVVES of *France* being arriued in *Asia*, and vnderstanding nothing of the Emperors misfortune; FREDERICK Duke of *Sueuia*, Nephew to the Emperor, came to him, and certified him of their ouerthrow: wherefore the King hastened his iourney, and finding the Emperor in *Nicea*, he recomforted and perswaded him to proceede in his company; which he then willingly did, and so they marched together to the famous citie of *Ephesus*, which is the cheefe of all *Asia* the lesse, in the prouince of *Ionia*: where the Emperour considering that hee went not according to his estate and honour, going with so small forces, but rather as a subiect to the King of *France*, and for some other respects, giuing good words he tooke his leaue of the King, and departed; and drawing neere to the Sea, sent his people by land, and he by Shippe went to stay for them at *Constantinople*: where dissembling the iniurie he had receiued (or peradventure not suspecting any such matter) he remained the rest of the winter; to the end that reinforcing his Army, he might from thence the next Spring returne to his enterprise.

In the meane time the French King prosecuted his iourney, not without great trouble and losse of many of his men, in a battaile which he wonne; and in another, wherein part of his Armie was ouerthrowne: how it passed I doe not set downe, for that it appertaineth not to my Historie. After this, enduring great toile and dangers, by long iourneies he came to the citie of *Antioch*, in company of RAIMOND or REMON, Lord thereof, who came to meete him vpon the way, and to doe him honor, from whence he afterwards (as I will shew you) came to *Ierusalem*.

The Spring being come, and the Emperour CONRADE hauing leuied new forces, which he ioyned with the remainder of his last Armie; in a great fleete which hee had prepared, with the helpe of the Emperour of *Constantinople*, he embarked, and came therein into *Soria*; and there disembarking in a certaine harbour, came with his Army by land to *Ierusalem*, where, by BALDVVIN the King thereof, he was very ioyfully receiued; and within few daies they had intelligence, that the French King was comming thither also: whom the Emperour, and King BALDVVIN receiued with great ioy; and then to auoyde losse of much time, they presently took counsell about prosecuting the warre against the Infidels; concluding to besiege the citie of *Damasco*, from whence (for that it was very puissant and populous) they daily receiued losse, preiudice, and ill neighbourhood: and so taking that obstacle, they resolued to haue proceeded further, which plot was presently put in execution; and the Emperour, and the two Kings departed, with a great and very well ordered Armie, with a resolution, and in hope to haue effected some great matters: but it pleased God otherwise to dispose of their purpose: for being come to *Damasco*, and hauing encamped themselues on that side of the citie, towards Mount *Libanus*, they had many dangerous skirmishes: wherefore (through the aduice and counsel of certaine men of that countrie, which, being corrupted with mony by the besieged, desired to deceiue these Princes) they remoued their Campe to the other side, and abandoned the most fit place for their siege: whereof it ensued, that the Infidels taking the aduantage of an Hill (which they fortified) did greatly annoy them; and this Hill was so situate, that it stopt the comming of victuals to the Campe: and the besieged defended themselues so valiantly, and famine so much encreased in these Princes armies, that it was impossible for them to liue, if they remained there any longer, so as they were perforce constrained to raise their siege, and returned to *Ierusalem*, sorrowfull and in ill plight, there to consult of what course was best to be taken. In this siege (as saith the Abbat WESPERGENSIS) GVELPHO, the Emperors auntient enemie (yet then his good friend) fell sicke: and fearing to die if he had staied there any longer, he with his followers tooke shipping and sailed into *Sicilia*, where recouering his health; through the counsel and instigation of ROGER King thereof, he went into *Germany*, and there againe rebelling, made warres vpon the Emperours countries.

Damasco besieged by the Christians.

The Emperour and French King then resolued to returne into their dominions, seeing it pleased not God to prosper their proceedings; and the rather to the end to auoyde innouations and

The returne of the Emperor and the French King from the

warres of the Holy land.

and troubles that might grow in the countries, by reason of their absence; and they did so, leauing the affaires of the East in as ill estate as they found the same. The Emperor rigging vp his nauie, embarked himself with his people, and again took land in *Græcia* (as saith OTHO FRISINGENSIS, who accompanied him in all this iourney) and in the prouince of *Achaia*, met the Emperor of *Constantinople:* where refreshing himself awhile after his comming from Sea, he departed from the said Emperour, and took his way into *Germany*, and so ended this religious enterprise, in the fourth yeere after the same began. The French King, within few dayes after the Emperors departure from the Holy land, tooke shipping also; and after some aduentures which befell him in the way, arriued in his countrie, in health and peace; and the Emperour againe warred against GVELPHO, to punish him for his rebellion in his absence: but at the entreatie of his Nephew FREDERICK, Duke of *Sueuia*, who was likewise Nephew to GVELPHO by his mothers side, he pardoned him, and graunted him peace, and allowed him certaine lands and reuenewes for his maintenance.

At this time came Ambassadours to the Emperour from the Christian Kings, and from the Pope, to congratulate his returne; and hee commanded a Diet or Councell to be assembled in the citie of *Confluence*; where, after many matters appertaining to the gouernment of the Common-wealth, he concluded to come into *Italy*, to be crowned (being thereto inuited by Pope VRBANE before named) and making preparation for his iourney, hee was entercepted by death; not without suspicion of poyson, giuen him by an Italian Phisician, through the procurement of ROGER King of *Sicilia*; he died in the yeere of our Lord, one thousand, one hundred fiftie two, in the fifteenth yeere of his raigne (some reckon one thousand, one hundred fiftie and foure) and left one onely sonne called FREDERICK, who afterwards being Duke of *Sueuia*, died in *Italy*: which sonne he had by his wife the Empresse, whose name was GERTRVDE, an Earles daughter which was a great Lord in *Germany*, by whom he also had had another son, called HENRY; of whom mention hath been alreadie made, who died before his father the Emperor.

The death of the Emperor Conrade.

In *Constantinople* raigned EMANVEL, and held the Empire after this almost thirtie yeeres; this Emperour is reckoned amongst the wicked and vicious Emperors, and is greatly condemned, to haue beene the occasion of the losse of the two Armies, *viz.* the Emperors, and the French Kings, as we haue alreadie related. For which cause, it is written that ROGER King of *Sicily* warred against him: and hauing taken certaine Ilands from him; he came so neere to the citie of *Constantinople*, that the arrowes which he shot, fell within his palace; and they affirme, that he gathered apples from the trees, growing in the Orchards and Gardens belonging thereto. This ROGER died within a yeere or two after the Emperor CONRADE; and his sonne WILLIAM the First succeeded him.

Iehan de temps is reported to haue liued three hundred sixtie and one yeeres.

In the time of this Emperour, in the yeere of our Lord, one thousand, one hundred thirtie nine, died in *France*, a man called IOHN *du Temps*, who (as many authors affirme) had liued three hundred sixtie and one yeeres, and had beene an Halberder of the Emperor CHARLES the Great his guard; it is a matter hardly to be beleeued, yet possible; and many authors write the same.

THE LIFE OF FREDERICK THE FIRST OF THAT NAME, SVRNAMED BARBAROSSA; *Foureſcore and ſeuenteenth Romane Emperor. And* of EMANVEL, Emperor of Conſtantinople.

(***)

THE ARGVMENT.

After the deceaſe of Conrade, *his Nephew* Frederick, *Duke of Suevia, was choſen Emperor; a man endued with all excellencies, as well of body as minde, ſaning that he was held to be more deſirous of glory then was conuenient. In the beginning of his raigne he ſhewed himſelfe verie deſirous of peace: but afterwards, in proceſſe of time, he vndertook great warres; and hauing cauſed many combuſtions in Germany, he purpoſed to make a iourney into Italy, there to be crowned. Hauing leuied a great army, and being paſt the Alpes, he much annoyed the Milanois, who made an inſurrection againſt him; but ſpending no long time about thoſe factions, hee went to Rome, where he was crowned by the Pope. In the time of his coronation many troubles aroſe in Rome, wherewith he was much diſpleaſed; which leauing imperfect, he returned into Germany, where he afterwards fell at variance with the Pope, by meanes of the King of Sicilia, who was his enemy: this controuerſie was pacified by Chriſtian Princes, which perſwaded him rather to ſeeke to be reuenged on the Milanois then to war againſt the Pope. Whereupon he reſolued againe to come into Italie, by reaſon of Milan, and came thither and ruined it, and made it to be razed by the Milanois themſelues, who were the Citizens and Inhabitants thereof; and beſides this, he did much more harme. He maintained a ſchiſme in the Church of Rome, and gaue great ayde to the Anti-Pope, whoſe name was* Victor: *but all Italie was diſcontent, by reaſon of the cruell puniſhment inflicted vpon Milan; ſo when as he was gone out of Italy, all the Cities of Lombardie vniting themſelues together made a league againſt him; wherein was included the City of Venice, which tooke the protection of* Pope Alexander. *Which the Emperor hearing, he ſent the Antipope into Italy, who died in Luca; where, by the Emperors conſent, a ſucceſſor was choſen, to maintain the ſchiſme, and he in perſon came againſt the league; wherein all Italy in a manner, being combined, bent againſt him; and comming to Rome, he conſtrained the Pope to fly to Gaeta, hauing firſt done much harme in Tuſcane in the Marca, and particularly in the Citie of Ancona: and after many aduentures, he went out of Italy, without effecting ought againſt the Pope as he deſired. After ſome ſpace, he againe returned into Italy: but, being abandoned by the greateſt part of his followers (inſtigated thereto by* Henry *Duke of Saxony) the Emperor was in ſuch diſtreſſe, as he was conſtrained to go ſomtime diſguiſed, as another manſeruant: but he very ſeuerely puniſhed* Henry, *for his mutining. He againe took his paſſage into Italy, and in a battaile, with his enemies, was vanquiſhed, and held for dead; but recanting his former proceedings, he ſued to be reconciled to the Pope; which was concluded in the City of Venice with a truce, with the cities of Lombardy. This done, all was in peace. Afterwards he went to warre in the Holy land: and hauing done ſome matters worthie memorie, in the moſt flouriſhing time of his victories, going to refreſh himſelfe in a riuer, he was caried downe by the current, his people being vnable to help him, and there was drowned, when he had raigned 28 yeeres.*

NOtwithſtanding that the Emperor CONRADE, when he died, left a ſonne whoſe name was FREDERICK, who was called Duke of *Suevia*; neuertheleſſe, ſo great was the reputation of his Nephew FREDERICK, who was his brother FREDERICKS ſonne, and Duke of *Suevia*, that the Princes Electors being aſſembled in *Franckford*, made him Emperor; and he preſently went to be crowned, with the firſt crowne, in the citie of *Aken*, whither repaired all the Princes of *Germany* to ſee the new Emperor. For without doubt, FREDERICK (as all authors write of him) was a Prince of great valour, and worthie of the Imperiall dignitie, aſwell for the gifts of the body as of the minde. He was of more then a meane ſtature, of great ſtrength and agilitie, very well proportioned in body, and of a faire and pleaſing countenance, accompa-

Frederick Barbaroſſa choſen Emperour.

accompanied with grauitie and maieſtie. His haire and beard were red, wherefore he was called BARBAROSSA or ENOBARBVS. With theſe corporall gifts, he was endued with a ſharpe and excellent wit, and ſpake wiſely and effectually; and was of ſo excellent a memorie, eſpecially concerning the geſture and countenance of a man, that whoſoeuer had once negociated with him, although in long time after he had not ſeene him, yet he would know him at the firſt ſight. He was alſo of a milde and pleaſant conuerſation, very liberall and bountifull, and an enemie to couetouſnes; vertuous, without any noted vice: moſt valiant in Armes, and a contemner of daungers, very actiue both on foote and horſebacke; and very expert, and well aduiſed in the warres and militarie diſcipline. Theſe vertues were accompanied with a great deſire of glorie and renowne; for he was very ambitious, coueting rule and commaund, which in my opinion was the cauſe of many miſchiefes, of great warres, and of the effuſion of much blood in his time: the wars he followed in his owne perſon, with great courage and valour, for the ſpace of thirtie yeeres, that he held the Empire: and imitating HENRY the Fourth, he ſupported and maintained a ſchiſme in the Church of *Rome*, for the ſpace of twentie yeeres; and reuiued the emulation, and competencie betweene the Emperors and Popes, which LOTHARY, and CONRADE had pacified: as we will briefly recite. The firſt thing he did after he came to the Empire, was, to call a Parliament in the citie of *Mesburgh*, whither (amongſt other Princes) came the King of *Denmark*, newly come to his inheritance, who there was crowned by the Emperor FREDERICK, and did him homage, as a King ſubiect to the Empire. And there he alſo receiued the Ambaſſades of other Chriſtian Princes, which ſent to congratulate his election, and he concluded peace with them all. So in his beginning, he made ſhew of a very peaceable Prince, but he afterwards prooued to be one of the greateſt warriors in the world: and it appeared, that in the beginning hee ſought peace, thereby to be afterwards the better able to make warre.

The Emperor Frederickes qualities.

At that time was great contention betweene the Dukes of *Saxony*, and of *Bauiere* (both which were called HENRY) which extended itſelf ouer all *Germany*; ſome fauouring the one partie, and ſome the other. HENRY Duke of *Saxony* made claime to the Duchie of *Bauiere*, which had beene his fathers: whereof he was depriued by the Emperour CONRADE, and now HENRY Marqueſſe of *Auſtria* held the ſame, and was called Duke of *Bauiere*, for that his brother LEOPOLD had left it him; for to him had the Emperor CONRADE giuen it. The Emperor FREDERICK, for that he was neere of kinne to both theſe competitors (for the one of them was his Vncle, and the other his coſin german) reconciled them after this manner; that to HENRY of *Saxony* ſhould be reſtored the Duchie of *Bauiere* (but yet he afterwards loſt the ſame) and he made HENRY Marqueſſe of *Auſtria* (who was called the Duke of *Bauiere*) Duke of *Auſtria*, and gaue him ſome other places; and to GVELPHO, Vncle to the Duke of *Saxony*, he gaue certaine lands, and an eſtate in *Italy*, which he enherited from MAVD, often before mentioned.

This peace and agreement being concluded, and all other actions and debates in *Germany* ended, hee ſpent many daies in eſtabliſhing peace, and in doing iuſtice. After which, HENRY Count Palatine of the *Rhine* (a prince of great poſſeſſions) died without iſſue or any of his howſe, that might ſucceede him; but the Emperor found a meane to make his brother CONRADE his heire; who had that countrie, and he afterwards dying, left it to his onely daughter, which was maried to HENRY Duke of *Saxony*, by which mariage he gat that eſtate. Theſe and ſuch like accidents and alterations which I finde in the *Hiſtories of Germany*, written by the Germanes themſelues, make me to doubt of theſe genealogies, and antiquities of families, which they ſo much celebrate, to be of a thouſand, and of two thouſand yeeres continuance; deſcended in line maſculine from the father to the ſon without baſtardie; and other matters whereof the Germanes vaunt; which are, in a manner impoſſible, or at the leaſt improbable: for we know that all thoſe great houſes and eſtates began ſince the time of CHARLES the Great; and I ſee that in thoſe principall houſes there haue bin notable alterations, and chaunges, from one howſe to another; as heretofore hath bin ſeene in ſome of them; and now in this Count Palatine, which in this place cleerely paſſeth from the auntient linage, to the houſe of *Sueuia*, and to this Emperors brother which happened in the ſecond yeere of his raigne.

This being paſt, the Emperor maried the daughter of DIOPOLD Marqueſſe of *Boſpergh*, called *Alda*: but forasmuch as it was found that they were within prohibited degrees of conſanguinitie, a Synod was aſſembled in the citie of *Conſtance*, in which he was diuorced and ſeparated from her; and then he married with the onely daughter of RAINOLD Earle of *Burgundie*, by

by whom he afterwards had fiue ſonnes; HENRY, FREDERICK, CONRADE, PHILIP, and OTHO.

Pope Adrian the third an Engliſhman.

Theſe matters being ended, the Emperour reſolued to goe to *Rome*, to be crowned by Pope ADRIAN the Third, who was an Engliſh-man; leuying a great Armie; and ſetting order for the affaires of *Germany*, he departed towards *Italy*: it behoued him to do ſo, for the cities of *Lombardy* and others ſubiect to the Empire, through the long abſcence of the Emperour (for CONRADE had neuer viſited them) were accuſtomed to ſuch libertie, that any kind of ſubiection ſeemed to them intolerable, eſpecially *Milan*, which of them all was the richeſt, and moſt potent. And ſo FREDERICK being arriued in *Italy*, Ambaſſadours came to him from *Milan*; which after their due reuerence, entreated him to be pleaſed, to make *Como* and *Lodi* ſubiect to their citie, promiſing to giue him a great ſumme of mony: which requeſt he held vniuſt, and therefore would not graunt it: which was the originall occaſion of the rebellion of *Milan*, and of the euils which afterwards enſued: and the Milanois preſently began to ſhew their diſcontent; for the Emperors Campe being lodged within a mile of the citie, they not onely refuſed to lodge or to entertaine him therein, but denied to giue him victuals for his people for mony: whereupon, taking this their contempt in very ill part (as he afterwards manifeſted) he preſently battered certaine Caſtles within their iuriſdiction: but holding it no fit time preſently to beſiege the citie, his ſouldiers ouerranne their fields, euen to their citie gates; and he paſſing forwards, went to *Bercelli*, and to *Turin*, and paſſed ouer the riuer *Po*; and by the way burned *Aſte*, for that it ſtood at defence; and afterwards beſieged the citie of *Tortona*, for as much as it refuſed to receiue him, which was a very ſtrong hold. The ſiege continuing certaine daies with great loſſe of both parts; in the end he tooke it, and made ſo great a ſpoile in it, that he left it (in a manner) deſolate and wholly ruined: whereupon thoſe of *Pauia* (for feare) receiued him, making ſhew of great ioy; and there he receiued the ſecond Crown, and thence marched towards *Rome*, whither he went to be crowned.

The Emperor Frederick in Italy.

Pope ADRIAN at that time was not well pleaſed with the Romane people, about certaine Conſuls which they had choſen, a kind of gouernment (which for a long time they had ſought to introduce) greatly abbridging the Popes power and authoritie: about which, great matters had paſſed between the citizens and ſome of his predeceſſors, as before hath been mentioned. Wherefore to auoide this trouble, and to preuent certaine practices, which WILLIAM the new king of *Sicilia* attempted againſt the patrimonie of the Church of *Rome*, the Pope abſented himſelfe, and with his Cardinals attended the Emperours comming in *Sutrio*; from whence, with a ſhew of great loue, they came together to *Rome*: and the Emperour lodging his Army in the fields neere vnto it, he, together with the Pope (hauing a competent guard) entred the Vaticane, and the next day was crowned in S. PETER'S Church with great ſolemnitie. But the coronation was ſcarcely ended, when vpon the ſame day all the Romane people riſing in an vproare, without knowing any occaſion thereof, together with their Conſuls, put themſelues in Armes, as men diſcontented with the friendſhip between the Emperour and the Pope; and comming into the Vaticane, they ſet vpon the Germanes which came with the Emperour: who hearing what paſſed, hee cauſed certaine companies of ſouldiers, of thoſe which were encamped neere to the citie, ſpedily to enter, which fought with the Romaniſts, and many were ſlaine of either ſide: but in the end the Romanes were conſtrained to retire by their bridges into the citie (ſeuen hundred of them being firſt ſlaine and taken priſoners).

The people of Rome roſe against the Pope.

The Emperour remaining commaunder of the Vaticane, was ſo incenſed, that but for the Popes entreatie, he would haue cauſed the citie to haue been aſſaulted, and would haue giuen the inhabitants a terrible remembrance for their mutinying: but the Pope mitigated his diſpleaſure, and the Romanes ſtood all that night and the next day in Armes; wherewith the Pope being grieued, was little obeyed. The Emperor departed thence, and within few daies after his abode in that quarter, went into *Germany* (whereof the Pope complained, for that he left him at variance with the citizens) and by the way took ſome townes by aſſault; amongſt which, *Spoleto* was ſacked and burnt for reſiſting him: and ſo he afterwards paſſed through *Lombardy*, without any ſtay, with a determination to returne with greater power; where befell him ſome notable aduentures, which (the better to expreſſe ſuch as are of greater importance) I omit. Being now returned into *Germany*, with great power and greater authoritie, for that he was crowned by the Pope; the Duke of *Bohemia* whoſe name was VLADISLAVS, or LAVESLAVS, who came with him all this iourney, was (by reaſon of his great eſtate and the

worthines of his person) made King: yet I finde it written, that the Emperour HENRY the Fourth, in the yeere of our Lord, one thousand, eighty and six, gaue the title of King to BRATISLAVS Duke of *Bohemia*: but that title was then giuen to his person, and not to the countrie; and so his successors enjoyed not the same, vntill the time of this VLADISLAVS, which continueth vntill this day. And the Emperor passing forwards, without discharging his Army, marched against the Duke of *Poland*; who for certain yeers space had refused to pay the tribute, which he ought to the Empire: but he compelled him to pay the same.

Vadislaus Duke of Bohemia made king.

The Emperor being gone out of *Italy*, great controuersie arose between the Pope and WILLIAM king of *Sicilia*; wherein the Pope recouered certaine places which WILLIAM had taken from him; EMANVEL Emperor of *Constantinople* (and WILLIAM's enemy) furthering those discords, who sent to the Pope, and made great offers and promises to aide and succour him: whereupon, after some conflicts which past betweene them, WILLIAM by all meanes possible sought the Popes grace and fauor, submitting himselfe to his obedience; and the Pope confirmed to him the title of King of both the *Sicilies*: wherwith the Emperor FREDERICK was much displeased, and greatly complained, for he hated WILLIAM; and at his comming into *Italie*, went of purpose to warre against him, although afterwards he could not effect the same as he thought to haue done.

William confirmed by the Pope king of both Sicil.es.

For this cause and other which are not mentioned, in those daies great strife and contentions grew between the Emperor and the Pope; which neither PLATINA nor BLONDVS specifie, nor any other Italian Authors: but RVDBERICVS FRISINGENSIS, who prosecuted the Historie which OTHO FRISINGENSIS left a little before, and other Historiographers, describe the same at large: the summe whereof is, that the Emperor began to doas some of his predecessors had done, in giuing Ecclesiasticall dignities, and inuesting Prelates without the Popes authority, or confirmation; and would not endure the Popes Legates in his countries, but when, how, and in what manner it pleased him; taking occasion hereof, that the Pope without his consent had made peace with his enemy WILLIAM: whereto the Pope answered, that he could doe no otherwise, for that the Emperour abandoned him in his distresse, when *Rome* rebelled against him. And the matter came to this issue, that the Emperor would not permit any appeales to be made to the Court of *Rome*; and about that matter he apprehended certain Bishops, which NAVCLERVS, and HENRICVS MVCIVS, proue by certain Letters passing between the Emperor and the Pope: which Letters they affirme to haue seene in a Monastery of *Germany*. They also speake of certaine very sharpe Ambassages from the one to the other; and that in the end the Pope standing in feare of the Emperors power (being aduised by certaine Prelates) and also for that there was great discord between the Cities of *Lombardy*, whither the Emperor meant shortly to come; they came to an agreement of peace, which was concluded by Ambassadors in a Parliament, which the Emperor caused to be held in *Ausburgh*: where after this was ended, he made relation to all the Princes, of the injurie which the Milanois, and certain other Cities in *Lombardy* had done him: And there it was concluded, that he should the second time come into *Italie*, with farre greater power then at the first.

And whilest he was busied about these matters, the Milanois (who at that time were of great power and very rich) being offended with what he had done in their fields and territorie, thought not only to free themselues from subjection, and to haue denied him their obedience, but also resolu'd to attend his coming in the open field with an Army, and to make themselues Lords of all that countrie with the marches thereof, and to shake off the Imperiall yoke, presuming vpon their great power, and the aide of their friends and confederats: and so they began to leuie men, and to make leagues and confederacies with other Cities, as with *Crema*, *Brescia* *Placencia*, and other Townes: and they repaired and fortified *Tortona*, which the Emperor had ruinated. Presently after this, they made cruell warre against *Pauia*, *Cremona*, and other places which held for the Emperor; and ruined the Cities of *Lodi* and *Como*, which of long time they had hated, and were vnder the Emperors protection. The chiefe Author hereof, was a man of great authority in *Milan*, whose name was GVALPHAGO, who (as a Lord or tyrant) was of such power in the citie, that all was done at his pleasure and by his direction; which made the Emperor the more to hasten his comming into *Italie*; two yeeres being not fully expired since his first comming thither: and with him came the king of *Bohemia*, LEOPOLD Marquesse of *Austria*, his Nephew FREDERICK Duke of *Sueuia*, and other princes, besides some which were sent before to guard the Cittie of *Cremona*: The Emperour being in *Italy*, there came to doe him seruice, HENRY the Duke of *Saxony* with a thousand

thousand and three hundred men at Armes, and GVELPHO with three hundred. The Emperours comming into *Italy* did put the countrie in such feare, that *Brescia* (whither he sent the King of *Bohemia*, and his nephew the Duke of *Sueuia*) yeelded without assault, promising to be at his deuotion. From thence he marched with his Army towards *Milan*, and by the way had some skirmishes, which I passe ouer: being come into the marches thereof, he staied and took certaine Castles, which he did of set purpose, supposing that the Milanois would haue sued for peace, or haue vsed some submission: but they were now growne so proud, that they applied themselues to nothing else, but to fortifie their citie: whereof when the Emperour was aduertised, he commanded the cities which were vnder his obedience, to send him souldiers; and so from *Cremona* (as saith the Abbat WESPERGENSIS) came to him thirtie thousand fighting men; so great was the enuie they bare against *Milan*: and from *Pauia* and *Noüarra*, there came also great numbers; with which, and with his own Army he went to *Milan*: whither when he came, they salied out of the citie into the field, in a very great number both of foote and horse; and a battaile began betweene them, one wounding and killing another in most cruell manner: but the Milanois being vnable to endure the furie of the Imperialists, they retired, flying to the walles of the citie; and those of *Cremona* were so greedy in pursuing them, that they farre ouerwent the battallions of the Germanes: which when the Milanois perceiued, turning head, they charged them in such manner that they made them retire, and in their retreit slew many of their men: And FREDERICK who saw all this, charged with his squadron with so great force and furie, that he made them of *Milan* to turne their backes; and wounding and killing many of them, compelled the rest to fly to the gates of their citie, and he firing the Suburbes, presently besieged the same; and so he held it besieged for certaine daies, in which were many great and notable skirmishes. But the Milanois seeing the Emperours resolution, and great power, and the engines which he raised to batter their walles, were in so great feare, that they resolued to yeeld, vpon the best conditions they could get, and to send their Ambassadours to the Campe; which confessing their offences, and craving pardon, with a long set speech entreated the Emperour to admit them into his seruice; and afterwards in particular they treated thereof with the Princes in the Army, and (as some authors say) gaue great gifts and presents: finally, they obtained mercy, yeelded the citie, and were pardoned. *Milan* being now brought to subiection (as it was the head of all the rebels) the rest of the townes in *Lombardy* presently yeelded obedience, and gaue securitie, promising to serue the Emperour, and to doe what they should be commanded; and the Emperour in person visited many of them, and appointed *Roncalia* to bee the place whither they should send their Procters or Agents with their authority; where hee determined to hold a Parliament, to treate of the common estate of these prouinces. Hauing in so short space had this good successe in *Lombardy* hee disannulled some of their lawes and customes, and prescribed other new, with greater rigour then (in truth) he ought to haue done: whereof many inconueniences ensued.

The Milanois tooke the field and fought with the Emperour.

Milan yeelded to the Emperor.

The time appointed for their meeting being come, and they making their appearance accordingly; after many matters which there were debated, by the aduice of some of his Councell, he caused an Instrument to be made, concerning an vniuersall peace; which he enioyned all the cities, and principall men, Marquesses and Earles in all *Lombardy*, to obserue. This was done after the Germane manner, with penalties therein accustomed; which being published and made knowne vnto them, they all murmured, and held themselues wronged, principally the Milanois; and this discontentment encreased in such manner, that it was the cause of greater miseries then the former, by reason of the tolls and taxes which the Emperour imposed vpon all the countrie; reseruing to himselfe the election and prouision of all officers: and although he did it by the aduice and counsell of learned men and Princes, which maintained that the Emperour might doe it in all those countries; yet the people being vnaccustomed thereto, took it very grieuously: which was the occasion of the euils which ensued; although in the beginning they durst not rebell.

After this, the Emperor (for a trophey of his victories) made the citie of *Lodi* to be new builded, and with all speede and diligence to be walled and fortified; and the Castles, which had bin aduersaries to *Milan*, to be repaired and victualled; wherein he placed gouernours and garrisons, and did other things which my breuitie permitteth me not to recite. And setting all things in the best order hee could, notwithstanding that hee knew that *Milan* had not obeyed his lawes and ordinances, concerning the impositions which hee had set (as saith the

Abbat WESPERGENSIS, and IOHN CVSPINIAN and others) he tooke his way towards the countrie of *Burgundy*; which was an eſtate he held by his wife: other authors ſpeake not of this departure, but recite what enſued, as though he had not gone out of *Italy*: but in my iudgement, *Milan*, *Crema*, and *Breſcia*, and the other cities, would not haue dared ſo peremptorily to haue rebelled, if the Emperour with his Army had continued in *Lombardy*: wherefore (holding with WESPERGENSIS, and ſuch others as are of his opinion) I ſay that as ſoone as the Emperour was gone out of *Lombardy*, theſe things inſued, which we will preſently relate.

The Milanois (which neuer yeelded to obey the Emperours lawes) ſeeing themſelues of great power, tooke the field with their forces, and went to a caſtle which the Emperour had built neere to *Como*, and aſſaulting it, took it by force; and ſo they began the warre, and did as much harme as at the firſt, but with greater reſolution: preſently the cities of *Crema*, *Breſcia*, and *Placencia* did the like, and all the reſt of their faction. IOHANNES CREMONENSIS in his fourth booke ſaith, that the Pope made a league with WILLIAM King of *Sicilia* againſt the Emperor, which was the cauſe of great hatred betweene them. The Emperour being aduertiſed of the bold attempts of the Milanois, and their adherents; with great celeritie (before that his whole Army was in a readineſs) returnd into *Lombardy*, and went directly to *Milan*; and finding no reſiſtance in the field, harried and ſpoiled the countrie, leauing nothing ſtanding vndeſtroyed; ſo great was the wrath and diſpleaſure which he had conceiued againſt it: and departing from thence he went to repoſe himſelf in *Lodi* (to be cured of a lame legge which hee had) whither came Ambaſſadours from *Cremona*, to complaine of thoſe of *Crema*, for the great wrongs they did them, and to craue ſuccour: the harms don were the greater, by reaſon of the ſtrength of the place, together with the aide and reliefe which they had from *Breſcia*, and from *Milan*. As the Emperour was a man of a very haughtie ſpirit, ſo he ſeeking a redreſſe for all diſorders, ſent his brother CONRADE, Count Palatine of the *Rhine*, and ſome other principall men, with part of his Army, to beſiege *Crema*; and the men of warre which were in *Crema* took the field, and gaue them battaile, which continued long, wherein many of both ſides were ſlaine: but in the end the Imperialiſts had the victorie, and compelled their enemies to returne runnning to their towne; ſo as they durſt ſalie foorth no more: and ſo the ſiege continued.

The Pope made a league with William king of Sicilia againſt the Emperor.

At the ſame time new ſupplies came to the Emperour out of *Germany*; wherewith came his wife the Empreſſe, with many men at Armes out of *Burgundie*, and with her came HENRY Duke of *Saxony* and of *Bauiere*, of whom we haue ſpoken much: with which, and with the reſt which he had before, he laid a plot for thoſe of *Milan*; whereby he took priſoners aboue three hundred of them, and ſlue aboue ſix hundred. But, houlding it his beſt courſe firſt to make an end with *Crema* (which by his commandement was already beſieged) hee remoued his Camp thither: and the better to juſtifie his quarrell, hee ſent to command them to receiue him into their City, as their Emperor and liege Lord; which they not onely refuſed, but gaue him many peremptorie proud ſpeeches: whereupon he cauſed ſundrie great engins & inſtruments to be made, therewith to batter the towne; and the beſieged reſolutely defended themſelues, and all their priſoners daily taken of either ſide, were either hanged or ſlaine: but at length they were conſtrained of neceſſitie to yeeld, and held themſelues for happy, and charitably dele withall, that the Emperour would vouchſafe to giue them their liues; and that leauing the citie, they might depart with their wiues and children, and ſuch luggage as they could carrie on their backes.

Crema beſieged and taken by the Emperour.

Whileſt the Emperour was at the ſiege of *Crema*, Pope ADRIAN, choakt with a Fly, died; after whoſe deceaſe, the Cardinals, being in number fiue and twentie, aſſembling together in *Rome*, choſe ALEXANDER the Third (before called ROVELAND) in a manner by a generall conſent of them all, excepting onely three which gainſaid it, which ſtood for the Cardinall of *S. Clement*, whoſe name was OCTAVIANVS, whom the Emperor much fauoured: and this OCTAVIANVS (notwithſtanding his few voices in the election) was ſo bold, as to proclaime himſelfe Pope, and was called VICTOR; and there wanted not ſome to take his part, and to ſupport him. The other Pope, ALEXANDER, ſeeing himſelf thus oppoſed, ſent his Ambaſſadours to the Emperor, lying then at the Camp before *Crema*, whereby he requeſted him, that (vſing the authority of an Emperor) he would fauour the Church, by taking away the ſchiſme. The Emperor for anſwere willed the Pope to come to the citie of *Pauia*, whither he alſo appointed VICTOR to come, to the end he might there hear both parties, and ſo determine of

A ſchiſme in the papacie.

of their controuerſie: herewith ALEXANDER was much diſcontent, and reſolued to ſeeke other redreſſe. The Emperor hauing raiſed his ſiege from before *Crema*, leauing to make war againſt *Milan* vntill the next Spring (which was after the Abbats computation, in the yeere of our Lord 1161) came to the citie of *Pauia*, from whence he ſent two Biſhops in Ambaſſage to Pope ALEXANDER, adui ſing him to come thither, where he ſaid, many Biſhops would meere in the name of a Councell, to the end that the ſchiſme might bee decided; which Ambaſſadors behaued themſelues towards him, as to a Cardinall, but not as to a Pope: for the Emperor (as he diſliked his election) deſired to ſupport Pope VICTOR. ALEXANDER taking this in ill part, diſpatching the Ambaſſadors, commmaunded them to returne, and they went to VICTOR with the ſame meſſage, to whom they ſpake, and did reuerence as to a Pope; and hee preſently departed, and went to *Pauia*, and was by the Emperour very well entertained, and there was proclaimed for right Pope: and the Emperour kiſſing his foote, vſed other accuſtomed ceremonies, whereof when ALEXANDER was aduertiſed, holding himſelfe intolerable iniuried, hee proceeded againſt the Emperour, and his Pope, whom hee excommunicated, and anathematized: and the Emperour ſending his Pope into *Germany*, returned to the warres of *Milan*, wherein what paſſed, you ſhall vnderſtand.

Pope ALEXANDER after his going to *Rome*, holding himſelfe not in ſaferie; through the aſſiſtance of WILLIAM King of *Sicilia*, went by galleys into *France*, where he was very well entertained by PHILIP the French King (I ſay PHILIP, for that BLONDVS, and al thoſe Italian authors call him ſo; but hereafter you ſhal vnderſtand that it could not be PHILIP, but his father LEVVES, comparing the times) and there he called a Councel in *Cliermont*, where he againe proclaimed the Emperor and his Pope excommunicate; what after enſued you ſhall heare.

The Spring of the yeere being come, the Emperor very reſolutely returned againſt *Milan*, *Breſcia*, *Placencia*, and ſuch other rebellious cities as were in league with them: but firſt he ouerran and deſtroyed all the countrey round about *Milan*: before and after this time were many skirmiſhes and encounters, which for breuitie I ouerpaſſe, wherein for the moſt part the Emperour had the better, vntill that hauing withdrawne his Army to take in a caſtle and fortreſſe at the paſſage ouer a riuer neere to *Placencia*, and the Milanois hauing a good Army, led by the tyrant GVALPHAGO, with the aid of thoſe of *Placencia* and *Breſcia*, went to aſſault a ſtrong caſtle, called *Carcano*, or *Coracio*: whereof the Emperour being aduertiſed, hee ſpeedily ſent for men to *Pauia*, *Noüarra*, and *Lodi*, with which, and with his ordinarie troupes, he put himſelfe betweene *Milan*, and the ſaid caſtle (before which the Milanois then were) in ſuch a place, and in ſuch manner, that of force they muſt fight, or not returne. The Milanois ſeeing themſelues in this extremitie, ſent ſome of the cheefe men amongſt them to the Emperours Camp, to intreate him to ſuffer them to paſſe, for they would not fight with him for the honor and dutie which they bare to his perſon. And the Emperour preſuming that he alreadie held the victory in his hands, or that they durſt not fight, would not graunt their requeſt: by reaſon whereof, his aduerſaries drawing courage out of deſpaire, ſeeing themſelues loſt if their paſſage were ſtopt, and that they were vnable to relieue their houſes and friends, or to be relieued by them, reſolued either to make way, or to dye in the action, and ſo marched in good order againſt the Emperour, who likewiſe in very good order attended their comming, where there began a moſt cruell battaile, as betweene very expert and valiant ſouldiers, and men in deſpaire. In the beginning, the Emperor apparantlie had the better, and many of his enemies were ſlaine, and their ſtandard was taken: but the fight continuing vntill noone, there came certaine companies from the vnited cities to the aid of the Milanois, which charged with ſuch reſolution and fury, that the Imperialiſts retired, and their enemies (as maſters of the field) flew and took priſoners very many of them: and the Emperour ſhewing the greatnes of his mind, drew together great part of his Army in the beſt order he could, and ranging his troupes into a round Battallion, moſt valiantly defended himſelf againſt his enemies; but truly he had bin either ſlaine or taken if the fight had continued any longer: but it pleaſed God that he being in this danger, there fell ſo much raine, and therewith the aire was ſo darke, that they neither ſaw, nor knew the one the other; and ſo the Emperour held it for his beſt courſe to retire towards *Pauia*, and his enemies as conquerors, with ſpoiles and priſoners went ioyfully to their houſes, which afterward coſt them very deare. This notable exploit, PLATINA, BLONDVS, and other Italian authors paſſe ouer in ſilence: but as they do not gainſay it, and the Abbat WESPERGENSIS and other

Abattaile betweene the Emperor and the Milanois.

Germane authors report the same, I haue thought good to make mention thereof.

This aduenture being past and knowne in *Germany*, some Princes and great Prelates, with many very good men of warre, came to the Emperors aid; with which, and with all the rest he left *Pauia*, and with a mightie Army besieged *Milan*, purposing not to rise from before it vntill he had taken it; and the besieged being wel fortified and victualled, were no lesse resolute to dye in their defence: by reason whereof, this was one of the most cruell and terrible sieges that hath bin seene before any citie, aswell for the long continuance thereof, as for the skirmishes, sallyes, assaults, losse of men, and effusion of bloud, with the famine and other calamities which the besieged indured, and for the lamentable and pitifull end which it had. The siege continued two whole yeeres and one day: some authors reckon fiue, and some more, accounting (as I thinke) from the time the Emperour first made warre in the marches thereof. What skirmishes were betwixt the besieged and the besiegers, the Reader may coniecture, considering the power and splene of the Emperor, and the obstinacie and despaire ioyned with the great force and multitude of the Milanois. During the siege, there was so great want of victuals in the citie, that after they had eaten all the beasts, and other food that might be eaten, they dyed of hunger: and being out of hope to haue any succour, or meanes to liue (the Emperor refusing all other compositions) they were constrained to yeeld to his mercie; yet some affirme, that certaine Iewes gaue him enterance; and some there are which say, that he tooke the citieby force: but howsoeuer it was, the city came into the Emperors power; who conceiuing, that enow of them were slaine, he gaue the rest their liues; but in that citie, and in all the rest, he did the greatest spoile he could possibly: for first he commanded all the men & women to depart the citie, & his souldiers to sacke it; and then the buildings and walles thereof to be throwne downe and laid waste; and this to be done by the inhabitants themselues, and by such as were borne therein: and whereas they sufficed not, he caused a great number of people to come thither from *Pauia*, and *Cremona*, which should wholly ruinate it, and leaue it waste and desolate, like to miserable *Ierusalem*: which truly should seeme to be one of the most lamentable spectacles that euer was seene in this world. Some writers affirme, that he made the ground to be ploughed, and sowen with salt. The inhabitants thereof (as GVALPHAGO the tyrant, the Bishop, and many of the most principall) he commanded to be sent prisoners into *Germany*: the rest of the People he permitted to dwell in certaine fields, which he appointed for them, farre from *Milan*, amongst bushes, in cabbins and cotages. The reliques and bodies of Saints which were in the citie, and held in great account, he diuided amongst the Bishops and prelates which were there with him; of which, the three Kings, which came out of the East to adore CHRIST in *Bethlehem*, were giuen to the Archbishop and Cathedrall Church of *Colen*, where (it is said) they are at this day. In this manner was the citie of *Milan* laid waste, and left desolate; which a little before was so mightie, that it was of power able to fight with the Emperour in the plaine field, and to ouerthrow him: it hauing three hundred, threescore and fiue yeeres (as reckoneth RAPHAEL VOLATERRANVS, for so long was it after that the Lombards were expelled that Seigniorie) enioyed libertie, with good successe, vnder the soueraigntie and name of the Empire: which happened in the yeere of our Lord, one thousand, one hundred, sixtie and two. Some say, somewhat more.

Milan besieged and destroyed.

After this victory and terrible reuenge, the Emperor came to *Pauia*, where his wife the Empresse then lay; from whence he sent to demolish and throw downe the walles of *Brescia*, and *Placentia*; which (*Milan* being taken) yeelded themselues. BLONDVS, PLATINA, PHILIP BERGOMAS, and other Italian authors say, that he also destroyed the citie of *Cremona*, which in my opinion seemeth not likely; for *Cremona* had euer serued him, and been obedient. I beleeue it is taken for *Crema*, the error being the writers, or printers; and not theirs. And the Emperor hauing tamed and subdued all the other cities which rebelled against him, and made them to veeld obedience to Pope VICTOR, he resolued to take his way towards *Germany*: for he vnderstood that the same yere many alterations and troubles began, and that there was great want of Iustice; which grew principally through discord and enmitie betweene a certaine Earle called GVIDO, Count Palatine of *Turingin*, and GVELPHO the famous Knight of the Dukes of *Bauiere* before named, by reason of some iniury done by the said Count Palatine, to the said GVELPHO: whereupon young GVELPHO comming out of *Italy* (as a valiant young man, desirous to reuenge the iniurie done to his father) raised a power against him, and the other in his defence, and many great Princes taking part with either side, a cruell battaile was fought betweene them, wherein GVELPHO was ouerthrowne; whereof ensued great hurt, and the slaughter

Factions in Germany.

slaughter of many men, too long to be related: so as if the Emperour had any longer deferred his comming, the matter was come to that issue, that *Germany* was likely to haue beene lost and ruinated: but as soone as he came, he endeauored by all meanes, to set peace betweene them: wherein he found great difficultie, by reason that so many men were slaine and taken prisoners of either partie. And notwithstanding that he had once concluded a peace betweene them, yet within one yeere it was broken, and warres were againe renewed: but the great valour and respect of the Emperor, was a sufficient meane to make an entire and perfect peace, and to pacifie all: wherein he was the more earnest, for that he knew what was daily practised in *Italy* against himselfe, whither he had a great desire to returne. For as soone as he was gone out of *Italy*, leauing *Milan* desolate; the people conceiued a great feare and hatred against him: (as is vsuall against Princes which too seuerely, and with crueltie punish the offences of their subiects) and their feare and hatred increased in such manner, as they made new leagues and confederacies against him; casting out the gouernours which he had placed, and taking his rents and customes into their hands. In which league, besides those which before were friends, which were *Brescia*, *Placencia*, *Crema*, and the Milanois, there now ioyned with them *Verona*, and the Venecians, which greatly strengthened the league, theirs being a mightie common-wealth; together with *Padua* and other cities: all which took part with Pope ALEXANDER, against Pope VICTOR: and all these cities fortified and furnished themselues with men and munition.

Excessiue punishment is often the cause of greater offences.

A league made against the Emperor.

The Emperor seeing how resolutely those cities were bent against him, and knowing the doubtfull issue of the warre, and that the name and authoritie of Pope ALEXANDER was great; he resolued with himself to take another course, and by letters and ambassades dealt with PHILIP King of *France*, who supported ALEXANDER (yet in my opinion it should bee LEVVES, for this was in the yeere of our Lord 1175, at which time, as it appeareth by all the French histories, LEVVES raigned) for a meeting betweene them two, whither he would bring with him VICTOR, whom he held to be Pope: for which purpose, a place was appointed on the frontiers of *France* and *Germany*, and there a Councell to be held, wherein it should be determined whether of these two should be Pope: which (as some say) the Emperor procured, by that meanes thinking to haue depriued Pope ALEXANDER. The King of *France*, at the Emperors request, consented that this Councell should be assembled: but Pope ALEXANDER would not come, alleaging that he held that for no Councell, which was not held by his authoritie. Finally, the French King and the Emperor grew iealous and suspicious the one of the other, which authors report diuersly: but the truth is that the Emperour came, and brought with him his Pope VICTOR; and with him came the Kings of *Scots*, and of *Bohemia*, and many other great Princes and prelates, with a very great Army: and the French King brought no lesse, with whome came HENRY King of *England* with very choise men of war (from whom in my opinion he ought rather to haue feared warre, then expected or hoped peace) and these Princes encamped the one neere to the other, a riuer being betweene them. *1175*

The Emperor vnderstanding that Pope ALEXANDER came not, but had summoned a Councell to be held at *Turreon* in *France*, was greatly displeased therewith, and resolued to depart: and the French King (to hold his word) without aduertising the Emperor thereof, came to the place appointed: and some say that he washed his hands in the riuer, and so returnd to his Campe. To be short, howsoeuer it was, they both returned into their countries, without treating of any thing; and not well pleased the one with the other.

The Emperor, with the greatest preparation he could make, resolued to returne into *Italy*, whither he sent Pope VICTOR before him; who being come to the citie of *Luca* (which held for the Emperor and him) there died. And by letters and commandement from the Emperour (persisting in his determination) the prelates which accompanied VICTOR (he being dead) chose him a successor, whose name was GVIDO, borne in *Crema*, and was called PASCAL. Pope ALEXANDER in *France* assembled the Councel which he had summoned; whither came many prelates and Bishops, out of *England*, *Spaine*, *France*, *Sicilia*, *Gracia*, and many other parts: where they ordained what they thought good. The Emperors preparation for his comming into *Italy* being published, the aforenamed cities, which were in a league and confederacie against him, sought new succours, and prouided an Army to make head against him.

It happened at this time, that in *Rome* died a Bishop called IVLIVS, who was Vicar or gouernour thereof in the Popes absence; who being dead, the Pope sent a Cardinall called

IOHN: Who (notwithstanding a kinde of gouernement by Consuls, whereby the Popes power and authoritie was much diminished) vsed such meanes, that *Rome* and many Cities of *Italie* sent to entreate the Pope to returne; and he knowing with what affection he was called, resolued to depart thitherwards: and for that he would not goe through *Lombardy* (which held for the Emperour) he tooke his passage by Sea into *Sicilia*, and from thence went to *Rome*; with great companie and prouision, which WILLIAM King of *Sicilie* gaue him. Some write that hee himselfe accompanied him, and that he was receiued into *Rome* with marueilous great joy of all the people. With his comming, the Cities which in *Italy* held for him, tooke such heart and were so much encouraged, that they (not contented to haue rebelled against the Emperor) beganne to make warre against the Imperialists, and tooke some townes; wherein none were so forward as the City of *Verona*: which gaue the Emperor occasion to hasten his coming; which he had prolonged, to come with the greater power, seeing that his enemies forces daily encreased: and so he came into *Italy* with a greater Army then at any time before spoken of. What he did, and the effects which thereof ensued, I will recount as briefly as I may: for a raigne so long, and wherein happened so many and so great accidents, cannot be expressed in fewe words; neither reduced to a more breuitie. *All this while* raigned EMANVEL in *Constantinople*.

The Emperour FREDERICK's comming into *Italy* with so great power, did greatly terrify all the Countrey, considering what harme he had done there in former times: but the hatred of those which were his aduersaries was so great, as they would rather hazard any danger, then yeeld to his obedience. And he knowing by experience, that his rigour and seuerity had little auailed him, but had done him more harme then good, resolued now to make warre after another manner; at the least in *Lombardy*, wherein he pardoned those which submitted themselues vnto him, and would not permit the Country to be spoiled or wasted; vsing all men honourably; dissembling and making shew, that he vnderstood nothing of any conspiracy, or league made against him; and so drew neere to *Brescia* with his forces, where he gaue good entertainement to all such as from *Crema*, *Verona*, and *Brescia*, came to visite him (notwithstanding that those Cities were his greatest enemies, and had most practised against him) and so passed on, without comming into any of them, or doing them any violence; and went to *Ferrara*, where he was receiued; and from thence passed peaceably through the territory of *Bologna*: so as (at this time) he passed through *Lombardy* without doing any harme; and there he diuided his Army; part whereof he sent to make warres in *Tuscane*, and the marches thereof, for that it fauoured Pope ALEXANDER, and rejected Pope PASCAL, which lay in *Luca*: and with the rest of his Army he marched towards the City of *Ancona*; for that it held for his enemy EMANVEL Emperour of *Constantinople*: Which he besieged and beganne to batter with great furie: But it was so well defended, that the siege continued longer then hee expected.

Ancona besieged by the Emperor.

The Captaines and men of war, which he sent into the marches of *Florence*, *Luca*, and *Pisa*, after they had taken certaine Townes, marched through the territory of *Rome*, and made terrible war against all such places as held for Pope ALEXANDER; and in *Rome* wanted not some which fauoured the Emperors proceedings: yet the Pope left no meanes vnsought, as well by gifts, as promises, to assure himselfe, and to haue all at his deuotion: wherein (it is written) he issued much treasure.

Whilest the warre was prosecuted in this manner, the Emperor lying before *Ancona*; the Milanois, which after the destruction of *Milan*, had for the space of fiue or six yeeres liued as banished men, in cottages, cabbins, and villages; gathering themselues together, being wonderfully ayded and relieued with all manner of materials, instruments, workemen, and labourers, from the Cities of *Verona*, *Placencia*, *Crema*, and other their neighbours and friends, began to reedifie their old ruined Citie; repairing what might be repaired, and the rest they new builded, and wrought with so good a will, that within two or three yeeres the Emperour could not hinder them: and they reedified it in such manner, as there seemed nothing to be wanting. To all which (as writeth HENRICVS MVCIVS) the presence of GVALPHAGO (called Earle of *Angleria*) was a great helpe; who escaping out of prison in *Germany* came thither. Whilest that the Emperor lay before *Ancona*, and cruell warre was made against *Rome*, WILLIAM King of *Sicilia* died; and his sonne of the same name succeeded him, who was an excellent man of warre, and a great friend to the Church of *Rome*. At that time EMANVEL Emperour of *Constantinople* sent a solemne Ambassage to Pope ALEXANDER; whereby hee promised in person

Milan reedified.

person with great power to come to his aide, and to driue FREDERICK BARBAROSSA out of *Italie*, and to conforme the Greeke Church, and to make the same subject to the Latine; conditionally, that he would reduce the whole Empire into one head, by taking it from the Germanes, and depriue FREDERICK, seeing that he had already excommunicated him, and that he was a schismatick and a rebell. But Pope ALEXANDER (notwithstanding that hee was much oppressed by the Emperor, reposing small confidence in the promises or power of EMANVEL) gaue a pleasing Equiuocall answere, and sent Ambassadors to temporize with him, but not to conclude any thing at all.

It happened at this time, that the flower of all the men of warre in *Rome*, went to besiege the towne and Castle of *Tusculano*, which is neere to *Rome*, from whence they were much annoyed, that Towne holding for the Emperour, whereof a Germane Prince was gouernour; and the besieged seeing themselues distressed, sent to the Emperour (lying before *Ancona*) for reliefe: to be briefe, from the Emperours Armie came for Generall, CHRISTERNE Archbishop of *Mentz*; who with such troupes as he brought from the Campe, and such others as hee could get by the way, came to fight with the Romanists which besieged that towne, being in number aboue thirtie thousand men; who fought with the Germanes (but not with order and valour like Romanes) and as as they were fighting, the besieged gouernour with his Garrison salied out of the Towne, and assailed his enemies at their backs, in such manner as the Romans were broken and ouerthrowne; and so many of them were slaine in the battaile and in the pursuite, as some Historiographers haue compared this ouerthrow to the battaile of *Cannas*, where they were ouerthrowne by HANNIBAL. Although the comparison be great, yet it is certaine that in a long time after *Rome* could hardly recouer it selfe: and Pope ALEXANDER tooke it very grieuously, and fought by all meanes possible to encourage and animate the remainder of the Citizens.

The Imperialists, as Masters of the field, daily tooke townes belonging to the Church of *Rome*; and the Emperour (who still lay before *Ancona*) when as he vnderstood of this victory, knowing the time to be fit for his purpose, departed presently thence towards *Rome*, and made no stay vntill he came before the same; where the Pope and his friends had already set all things in the best order they could for their defence. The Emperour presently caused the Vaticane to be assaulted; and notwithstanding that the assault was terrible, yet the place was so well defended, as it sufficed to keepe him from entring: wherewith he was so much enraged, that the next day he commanded a more terrible assault to be giuen, causing fireworkes to be throwne vpon Saint PETER's Church; in such manner, that the Pope being out of hope to defend the place, abandoned the Vaticane, and fled into the Citie, to lodge himselfe amongst the Frangipanes, who were his trusty friends, and set great guards to defend the Citie, and made many bridges ouer the riuer of *Tiber*: the which the Emperor (being master of the field, and hauing the Vaticane) greatly annoied and oppressed; with a resolution not to haue risen from before it, vntill it had yeelded, or that he had entred the same by force: and during the siege, he spoiled all the Countrie round about *Rome*.

Rome assailed by the Emperor.

WILLIAM King of *Sicilie* vnderstanding how greatly Pope ALEXANDER was distressed, and being willing to imitate his father WILLIAM, he sent to the Pope vp the Riuer of *Tiber* to *Rome* two Gallies with a great summe of money, men, and such other necessaries as they could beare, to the end that the Pope might flie away, if he pleased. The Pope made great account of this reliefe, and presently diuided this money amongst his friends and seruants, wherewith they were greatly encouraged to defend the Citie: and he sent back the Gallies to the King of *Sicilia*, and in them two Cardinals, to conferre with him, and to aske his counsell what was best to be done concerning his person.

William King of Sicilia releeued Pope Alexander against the Emperor.

In the meane time the Emperour seeing that the Citie defended it selfe, and could not suddenly be taken by force, he laboured to perswade the Romans both by secret and publike messages, to giue vp the Citie, and then he would restore whatsoeuer he held belonging to the Romanes; and that by them it should be determined, whether of the two ought to be held for Pope; to the end that he, generally by himselfe and by all others, might be respected and obeyed. With these practices which bare so great an apparance of a certaine peace, a great part of the Romane people were much moued, and were of opinion that these conditions ought to be accepted, whether the Pope would or not. The Pope vnderstanding hereof, held it for a great disgrace to his Holinesse, that he being Christs Vicar, should be judged by his enemies: and holding himselfe to be in no safety in *Rome*, he left the City by night and went downe the

Riuer

Riuer of *Tiber* to the Citie of *Gaieta*, and from thence to *Beneuent*: from whence he wrote his Letters to the Emperour of *Constantinople*, and to the Kings of *France* and *Spaine*, and to the Cities of *Lombardy*, which held for him, imploring their aide and succour. Some write that Pope ALEXANDER, flying from *Rome*, OTHO the Emperours sonne pursued him with seuenty fiue long ships or fregats; who comming to the coast of *Histria*, he was encountred by the Venetian fleete commanded by CIANVS, who fought with him, defeated his Army, tooke OTHO prisoner, and carried him to *Venice*: at which time the Pope entring there in triumph, he cast a Ring into the Sea, and wedded it vnto him, ordaining that euery yeere on the Ascension day they should obserue the like Ceremony.

A great pestilence in Rome, and in the Emperors Campe.

Hauing in this manner abandoned *Rome*, within few daies after the Emperor was forced to doe the like; for it pleased God to send so great a plague, both in his Campe and in the City, as there died daily thousands of the one and the other party: principally there died many Germane prelates, and some Princes, which came with the Emperour: Wherefore he hastily departed, leauing Pope PASCAL with a good guard of Souldiers in Saint PETER's in *Rome*: which was in the yeere of our Lord 1168, and he with his Army came into *Tuscane*, and the marches of *Florence*, where he tooke some strong holds which held for the Pope; in which, and in many other he placed Garrisons of his owne souldiers: and in the marches of *Ancona* and in *Tuscane*, he gaue some places to certaine principall men of *Germany*, with titles of Dukes and Earles, to annoy and oppresse *Rome*.

Whilest the Emperour was busied about these matters, Pope ALEXANDER procured aide and succour from all parts, and sought to support such as were his friends: And EMANVEL Emperour of *Constantinople* sent him an Ambassage, offering him a very great summe of money, desiring the same which we haue before specified, which was, that transporting the title of the Empire from *Germany*, by depriuing FREDERICK, hee should giue the same to him, and to his house: But the Pope for many considerations would not yeelde thereto, notwithstanding that he very pleasingly answered him. Within few daies after, Pope PASCAL died in *Rome*, where the Emperour left him: and the Emperour (persisting in his resolution) chose one IOHN borne in *Hungary*, who was called CALIXTVS, whom Pope ALEXANDER presently excommunicated.

The Emperour hauing remained some space in *Italy*, desiring to returne into *Germany* (for there was need of his presence) he sent a Bishop to Pope ALEXANDER with certain Articles of peace; what they were, Authors write not: but they all say that the Pope would not accept of them; and so they tooke no effect. The Pope labour'd with the Romanists for his returne to *Rome*; but as then the Citie being gouerned by Consuls, which were odious vnto him, hee could not effect the same according to his desire: And so went to other places in *Romagna*, and in the marches of *Pulia*, where he was fauoured and supported by WILLIAM King of *Sicilia*. The Emperor came to *Pauia* which held for him, where he fortified som Towns: and forasmuch as a great part of his Army was sick and many dead, he could not make war to any purpose against *Milan* and the other rebellious Cities: but, after, he took his way towards *Germany*, hauing done in *Italy* such harm as is expressed; without effecting what he principally desired.

Being returned into *Germany*, his greatest care was to make peace betweene all men, and to purchase the good will of the people, and to make himselfe rich; to returne into *Italy*, which he resolued wholly to subdue. At this time he inherited all the Castles, lands and goods, which belonged to his Cosin-german FREDERICK, son to the Emperour CONRADE, who died of the plague at the siege of *Rome*: and he inherited also the lands and goods of som other Princes, which died without Heires, and he also rewarded some, giuing them Titles, and Castles, and to some others he gaue new Arms and dignities. To the King of *Bohemia* he gaue for his deuice, a red Lion, in a siluer shield; and to others he gaue many such like honors. But in the meane time, GVALPHAGO tyrant of *Milan*, and the Milanois, were not careless, but continually fortified the City which they had new built: besides which with the other Cities in *Lombardy* of their confederacy, in honour of Pope ALEXANDER (vnder whose title and name they opposed themselues against the Emperour) by a common consent and contribution they began to build another Citie, calling it *Alexandria*, after the Popes name, vpon the side of the Riuer of *Tanaro*, in a place which should serue for a frontier Garrison against *Pauia*, *Tortona*, and the Marquisate of *Monferrato*, which were loyall to the Emperor. And in this his absence they made such haste (but chiefly those of *Milan*, *Placencia* and *Cremona*) as they walled and peopled the same, in such manner as it became a very strong fortresse; and many of those which liued

Alexandria in Lombardy built in honour of Pope Alexander the Third, and so called after his name.

liued in the borders thereof in villages, and vnfortified places, came thither to dwell, in such numbers, that the very first yeere it beganne to be inhabited, there were fifteene thousand men fit to beare Armes; so as at this day it is a good and a famous Citie, and is called *Alexandria* of Straw, which name the enemies thereof gaue it in the beginning in contempt. This alteration (added vnto the rest) made the Emperor to hasten his comming into *Italie*, when as he now had remained some time in *Germany*: And hauing disposed all things in good order, he set forwards and came with a mightie Army by sundrie waies, addressing his journey directly towards the estate of *Monferrato*, and those places which held for him: but he first took a Town at the foote of the Alpes, called *Secusa*, which he made to be throwne downe and ruined, for that it rebelled: and from thence he marched (not without trouble) towards *Asse*, which yeelded vnto him, more for feare of the like fortune as happened to *Secusa*, then for ought it wanted wherewith it might haue defended it selfe. And hauing such successe in the beginning, he went to besiege the new Citie of *Alexandria*, against which he came greatly incensed, purposing to haue vtterly destroyed and rased the same.

Alexandria besieged by the Emperor.

In *Lombardy* and in *Piemont*, the Marquesse of *Monferrato* held for the Emperour, together with the cities of *Pauia*, *Noüarra*, *Turin* and their territories, subjects and friends, and some other Townes. He besieged *Alexandria*, and lay before it foure moneths, in which time were done many notable feates of Armes; at the end whereof, the Emperour was constrained to rise from before it, for that it was relieued by the Riuer with great store of prouision; and all the Cities which were friends to it, sent thither souldiers to defend it. But the principall cause was, that the great Duke of *Saxony*, of *Bauiere*, and of many other estates, called (as was his father) HENRY the Proud, being at this siege before *Alexandria*, went from the Emperor with all his forces; alleaging that he would not be excommunicate, and a rebell to the Pope. It was suspected that he was corrupted and did this for money: or (which I rather beleeue) that he had some practice or conceite to haue made himselfe Emperour, vnder pretext that FREDERICK was disobedient to the Church of *Rome*: for which cause the Emperour raised his siege, and went to ouertake him, and sought by all meanes to haue stayed him; in so much that (as some write he would haue cast himselfe at his feet, if the other had not hindred him; and a priuate seruant of the Dukes called IORDAN standing by, said to the Duke, My Lord, suffer the Imperiall crowne to come to your feete, seeing that shortly you shall weare it vpon your head: Finally, Duke HENRY would not stay; and the Emperour had so fewe souldiers left, and was so voide of all reliefe, that within few daies he was constrained to leaue the warres, for that time; and so left *Italie*, without effecting ought more then I haue said. And although that BLONDVS and PLATINA conceale this his departure, let the Reader neuertheless vnderstand that I draw the webbe of my History from all the best Authors; and therefore I say, that he departed in great danger of his person.

WESPERGENSIS, NAVCLERVS, and HENRICVS MVCIVS write, that he was aided and succoured by those of *Noüarra*, and of *Turin*, in the passages ouer the Mountains, through which he took his way towards *Burgundy*, which was his wiues patrimony; and that vpon the way he was in some places in such danger, that he was driuen to goe disguised as another mans seruant.

After all these extremities, arriuing in *Burgundy*, he gathered together his souldiers, and raised some new companies, and so went into *Germany*; where the said HENRY had already practiced some Innouations against him, some Earles conspiring with him; for he was the greatest Prince in all *Germany*: But the Emperour brought him to be one of the least; for as he was much feared and very valiant, the Duke could do little against him. But the Emperour as soon as he came into *Germany*, assembled a Diet or Councell of all the Princes, whither he summoned HENRY to come: but he not daring to make his appearance, the Emperor proceeded against him (although not without contradiction and many difficulties) and in the end confisked his estate, and all his lands: which he might easily doe, by bestowing the same vpon men of great power, all which making warre against him at once, took the same from him: Yet some write, that this Sentence and confiscation was afterwards, in the yeer of our Lord 1180, when the peace was made between the Emperor and the Pope: It may peraduenture be, that at this time the proces began, and judgement was then giuen, but afterwards put in execution; which was in this manner.

The Emperour deprined Duke Henry of Saxony of his estate.

The Dukedome of *Saxony* he bestowed vpon a valiant Knight, called BERNARD, Earle of *Anhald*, whom the Arch-bishops of *Mentz* and *Colen*, and the Lantzgraue of *Turingia* holpe to

to take the same. The best and greatest part of the Duchie of *Bauiere* he gaue to one OTHO Count Palatine, not of the Counties Palatines of *Rhine*, but of *Wittilspach*; which he took by the helpe of two of his brothers, who were men of great power: another part of this State, which lay on the other side of *Danubius*, he added to the house of *Austria*: other his lands and Earledomes he diuided betweene HENRY Lantzgraue of *Alsacia*, LEVVES Marques of *Thuringia*, BERTOLD of *Carinthia*, and some others; all which together made warres against him; so as to him, his of-spring and descendents, remained only the Countie of *Bruinswick*, which afterwards in the time of FREDERICK *the Second* was erected to a Duchie; and that estate encreasing, great enmity continued between the Dukes thereof, and the successors of BERNARD, to whom was giuen the Duchie of *Saxony*.

Count Palatine of Wittilspach

The Emperor did not only apply himselfe to suppresse this HENRY in *Germany*, but from the very first day of his comming thither, was carefull for the getting of money, and the raising of forces for his returne into *Italy*: and so, being assisted by all those Princes, to which he had giuen and promised to giue those estates, and by his owne house and kindred of *Suenia*, and his seruants and subiects; he in short space raised so good an Army, that he went very mighty into *Italy*, and carried his wife the Empresse with him. Being comm to the Citie of *Como*, in the moneth of Iune, notwithstanding that he wanted neither courage, discretion, power, or forces; yet matters prospered not with him as he expected, but rather cleane contrary: for the Milanois and their confederats had now taken such heart, and were in such readinesse, that they resolued to giue him battaile, after they had spoiled the fields about *Pauia*, and such other Towns as held for him: and so they took the plaine field iust in the way which leadeth from *Como* to *Milan*, by which the Emperor was to passe; who had no lesse desire to fight: and was very glad, when he vnderstood their resolution.

The two Armies being vpon a cleare day come within sight the one of the other, and the squadrons and battalions of either side marshalled in very good order; the Emperor drew neer to the place which his enemies held; and (in a manner) with equall spleene, hatred and power both parties began to fight: first the horsemen brake; and then all the rest; and so there was fought a very fierce and bloody battaile; the one wounding and killing the other most cruelly. It hapned, that in this so great fury, he which bare the standard and Imperiall Eagle (through his rash hardinesse, and desire of victorie) aduanced himselfe so farre forwards amongst his enemies, that he was slaine, and the Standard taken: which when the Emperor saw, who (as it seemeth) was not farre from thence, he was therewith so much enraged, that encouraging his soldiers, with a new fury and resolution, he so oppressed his enemies, that he slew and wounded many of them with his own hands: but as this could not be done without great danger to his person; so in the thickest of the preasse, and greatest throng, his horse fell with him; being as is thought, first wounded: and the charge on euery side was so hot, that the Emperor was held for dead; which gaue the Italians cause to gather courage, and the Germanes to faint; for both parties certified the death of the Emperor, which so much discouraged the Imperialists, that victory apparantly shewed it selfe for their enemies: and the Imperialists fled and abandoned the field, where a very great and cruell slaughter was made of them, besides those which thinking to escape by swimming, were drowned in the riuer *Tesino*, neere to the place where this battell was fought.

A battaile betweene the Emperor and the Milanois wherein he was thought to haue beene slain.

This battaile being lost, and all the Imperiall Army broken and put to rout; all men holding the Emperour for dead; and his wife the Empresse, remaining in the Citie of *Como*, clad in mourning attire, suing to haue her husbands body, to burie the same, which she requested the Milanois to graunt by her Ambassadors: the fift day after the battaile, the Emperour appeared aliue, and in health, in his Imperiall robes, in the Citie of *Pauia*: whither vpon the bruit of his being there, came all those which were dispersed and escaped from the battaile; and those which most desired to aide him, and to doe him seruice. In what manner the Emperour escaped aliue, *it is* not written; but it may be conjectured, that being salne, he remained in the field, although without hurt, and the night being come, escaped by secret and vnknowne waies. His enemies by reason of this victory gotte such credit and reputation, that many Townes and great men in *Italy* forsooke the Emperour, and went vnto Pope ALEXANDER.

The Empresse with some Princes and prelates of the Empire, being come to *Pauia*, boldly and plainly told the Emperor to his face, that for the schisme which he had made, and maintained in the Church of *Rome*, this calamitie was befaln him; for God would neuer giue him

him any entire victory, and except he would submit himselfe to the obedience of the Church, they could not well doe him seruice: whereupon being moued with these admonitions, and knowing the time; (notwithstanding that his seruants and subiects daily repaired vnto him with many warlike troups) yet he sent his Ambassadors to the Pope; vnfainedly suing to him for peace: and so they began to treat thereof by Ambassadors. In this negotiation, and by what meanes this peace was made, there is great difference among Authors; some relating it after one manner, and some after another, which I recite not, auoiding the losse of time and labour: but they all agree, that after many daies spent in this treatie, the Pope went to *Venice*, whither the Emperour came, and that there with great solemnity the peace was concluded, and that the Emperour kist the Popes foot, and yeelded him obedience. Some Authors write, that (among many Dukes and others which were present, when as the Emperor did in all humility prostrate himselfe at the Popes feet) THEODORE, Marquesse of *Misnia*, seeing the tyrannous insolency of the Pope, setting his foot vpon the Emperors necke, moued with a generous disdaine, with a threatning countenance, and eyes inflamed with furie, ranne to take him vp: whereat the Pope was so terrified, as he fled into the Emperors armes and kist him; neither could hee bee drawne away, before he was secured.

Note the pride of Pope Alexander the third.

A peace concluded betweene the Emperor and the Pope in the citi. of Venice, where the Emperor prostrated himselfe at the Popes feete and the pope in in turning manner setting his foote on the Emperor: necke; vsed these words:

Super aspidem & Basiliscum ambulabo, & conculcabo leonem & draconem.

Then a truce was granted by the Emperour to the King of *Sicily*, for fifteene yeeres; and to the Cities of the league, for sixe: which (according to most writers) passed in the yeere of our Lord, one thousand, one hundred seuentie and seuen; and afterwards in the yeere, one thousand, one hundred eightie and three, the peace with *Lombardy* was concluded in the citie of *Constance*; but all in such manner as it pleased the Pope; and such townes as were withheld from him, were commanded to be rendred: and so the Emperour continuing there some few daies, returned into *Germany*, and the Pope to *Rome*, but he first graunted to the citie of *Venice*, and the Dukes thereof, great priuileges, immunities, and exemptions. The Pope being come neere to *Rome*, before he entred the citie, some speeches were vsed concerning the deposing of the Consuls, and that no more should be chosen: but as it was a custome of fiftie yeeres continuance, so it could not then be abolished; but order was taken, that none should be chosen, but such as pleased the Pope, and that before they executed their offices, they should sweare to be in all things seruiceable, and obedient to his Holines.

This being concluded, the Pope came to *Rome*, where he was receiued with great solemnitie: and the other Pope CALIXTVS, acknowledging himselfe to haue erred, cast himselfe at the Popes feete, craning mercy (hauing first laid aside his pontificall habit) and renounced all the right and interest that he had to the papacy: and so ALEXANDER remained sole pope in peace all the rest of his life; and so this schisme (which had continued twentie yeeres) ceased.

The Emperour FREDERICK being come into *Germany* (now old and tired with fiue and twentie yeeres warres, and combustions) spent his time in preserning the peace which he had graunted, and in establishing his fiue sonnes in estates: which he did in such manner as you shall heare.

This peace being concluded in such manner as I haue told you, Pope ALEXANDER died, after that he had been Pope the space of one and twentie yeeres, the most of them, in troubles and contention, and LVCIVS the Third succeeded him: the yere before his death, in the yeere of our Lord, one thousand, one hundred and eighty, died EMANVEL Emperor of *Constantinople*, who raigned seuen and thirtie yeeres, and left a son who was a child called ALEXIVS for his successor, appointing a kinsman of his, whose name was ANDRONICVS (a man of great parentage) to bee his Gouernour and Protector; who was so very a Villaine and so arrant a Traytor, that after that hee had gouerned certaine yeeres, and committed many insolencies; hee killed the young Emperour, and made himselfe tyrant of the Empire, putting many great men (such as he feared) to death: against whom for his detestable treason, WILLIAM King of *Sicily* made sharpe warre, and tooke many Townes from him; which brought him to such an end as hee deserued: for the Constantinopolitanes seeing themselues thus oppressed, rose against ANDRONICVS, and made one ISACVS or ISACIVS, descended of Imperial bloud, Emperor: and ISACIVS preuailing, ANDRONICVS was apprehended, and hauing one of his hands cut off & one of his eyes put out, was carried through the streetes vpon a Camel; and by the general consent of all men had such a death as he deserued, and as such deserue, as through ambition and desire to rule, are traytors and disloyall to their Lords. And so ISACIVS remained Emperor, and was an excellent prince: his end you shal know hereafter.

1180

The young Emperor of constantinople murthered by his protector.

The Emperour FREDERICK enioying peacefull times in his Empire, summoned a

Councell to be held in the citie of *Mentz*, where he settled his sonnes in such estates, as you shall heare. His eldest sonne he caused to be chosen King of the Romanes, and his successor: his second sonne FREDERICK he made Duke of *Sueuia*, which was his owne inheritance: to OTHO his third sonne, he gaue the title of Duke of *Burgundie*, appointing him to succeede his wife, the Empresse, to whom that estate appertained: to his fourth sonne CONRADE, and to his fift sonne PHELIP, he gaue other rents, and some townes wherein they might liue: but it afterwards ensued otherwise: for CONRADE succeeded FREDERICK in the Duchie of *Sueuia*, for that he died without issue; and PHILIP after the death of his elder brother HENRY, came to be Emperor.

Pope LVCIVS knowing there was great contention and discord betweene the Princes of the Holy land, and the states of *Soria*, and fearing the daunger that might ensue, endeuored by his Letters and Ambassadours to reconcile them, and to make them friends: and procured WILLIAM King of *Sicilia*, which then warred vpon ANDRONICVS, Emperour of *Constantinople* (who as I said made away the young Emperor ALEXIVS) to giue ouer his warres, and to relieue that countrie, which was oppressed by the Infidels; and so the King of *Sicilia* sent thither fortie armed gallies; wherein went some principall men and souldiers vnto that seruice.

The Emperor FREDERICK before that the time of the truce by him graunted in *Venice* to the cities which had rebelled in *Lombardy*, was expired; (desiring by faire and gentle meanes without rigour or Armes, to reduce them to his seruice) summoned a Councell, or Parliament, to be held in the citie of *Constance*; whither he willed them to send their Ambassadours, with sufficient power and authoritie to conclude a peace, shewing them signes of great loue and good will. The cities being wearie of the warres, imagining that there would be farre better conditions propounded, held it for their good: so as besides *Pauia*, *Cremona*, *Aste*, *Alua*, *Tortona*, and some others which had still perserued loyall and in the Emperors seruice; the cities of *Milan*, *Bercelli*, *Lodi*, *Bergamo*, *Brescia*, *Mantoa*, *Verona*, *Noüarra*, *Vicencia*, *Padoa*, *Treuiso*, *Bolonia*, *Fauentia*, *Modeno*, *Rezzo*, *Parma*, *Placencia*, and others sent their Ambassadours: with which the Emperor came to an agreement; graunting them perpetuall peace and pardon for all offences past; leauing to them, their lawes, customes, iurisdictions, ciuill and criminall, with authoritie to chuse Consuls and Gouernors, and commanded to be restored al whatsoeuer had been taken from them in time of war; and they acknowledging him and his successors for their soueraigne Lords, sware to him fealtie, and homage: and it was set downe, how, and in what manner they were to doe him seruice; greatly to their aduantage. And besides this, that whereas certaine appeales for certaine summes should come to the Emperor; he ordained therefore to haue his Agents in *Lombardy*, to the end that the people should not be constrained to come to him into *Germany*: and that the Consuls and Officers to be chosen, before they did execute their offices, should do their homage and be sworne to the Emperor: setting downe likewise what seruices they should doe, at such time as the Emperor in person should be in *Lombardy*. Finally, there were new couenants and agreements made, which were sworn, and confirmed by the Emperor, and the Ambassadors. The Instrument of all which, as it passed, appeareth at large, and in particular, in the Ciuill Law, in the end of the Volume intituled (*De pace Constancia.*)

Exemptions graunted by the Emperor to sundrie cities in Lombardy.

This peace being concluded in this manner, the Ambassadors with great ioy returned; and all the Townes approued and sware to obserue and keepe the same. Within few yeeres after this, in *Verona* dyed Pope LVCIVS the Third, whither he came to haue assembled a generall Councell, for the relieuing of the King of *Ierusalem*, and the Christian Princes of those Prouinces in the East, betweene whom was great combustion. And the potent King SALADINE did much oppresse them, who by stratagems, and great battailes, had made himself Soldan, and Calipha of *Egypt*, King of *Damasco* and *Aleppo*, and held great part of *Armenia*, *Licia*, and the most part of *Mesopotamia*; so as on euery side he had meanes to make warre vpon BALDVVIN the Fourth, then King of *Ierusalem*, who carried himselfe valiantly; and against the Princes of *Antioch*, *Tripoly*, and others which held, and defended those parts. And he so much oppressed BALDVVIN (who in former time had been of such power, that *Egypt* was tributarie vnto him, and he held certaine cities therein, which his father and predecessor ALMERICVS had gotten, and had in person conquered *Palestina*, and other lands) that he now employed all his forces in no other thing, but to defend himself: and in the end what befell him, we will declare; for that it appertaineth to our historie, to shew the reason, moving the Emperor FREDERICK to goe to the warres of the East, wherein he died.

Saladine Soldan of Egypt.

Pope

Pope LVCIVS (as I said) dying in *Verona*, was buried there; and in his place was chosen VRBANVS the Third, borne in *Milan*. At this time, which was in the beginning of the yeere, one thousand, one hundred, fourescore and six, the Emperour FREDERICK came peaceably into *Italy*, and with the good will of the Milanois, and of all *Lombardy*, and at their especiall request and entreatie went to *Milan*, and was there receiued, with the greatest ioy and solemnitie, that could be deuised; and there a marriage was solemnized, betweene his sonne HENRY, King of the Romanes, and the sister of WILLIAM King of *Sicilia* (yet some say that she was his Aunt, sister to his father King WILLIAM of *Sicilia*, and daughter of his grandfather ROGER) she was a woman of the age of thirtie yeeres, but very faire, and he of one and twentie, as GODFREY VITERBINGENSIS; and OTHO in the addition to OTHO FRISINGENSIS his Chronicle, and the Abbat WESPERGENSIS also write; which in my opinion is true; notwithstanding that PLATINA and BLONDVS say, that this marriage was made after that the Emperor FREDERICK was dead, by the procurement of Pope CELESTINE the Third, and that she was threescore yeeres old; and that WILLIAM King of *Sicily* dying without heyres, the Pope by this marriage made him King of *Sicily*. But in my opinion, the first Authors are to be beleiued, for that they might be eye witnesses, and the others deceiued; for as he was afterwards (through this marriage) king of both the *Sicilies*, they imagined it to haue been done then.

This wedding feast being ended, the Emperor, leauing his sonne HENRY for his Lieutenant and Gouernor of *Lombardy*, returned into *Germany*. Pope VRBANE knowing what passed in the East with the King of *Ierusalem*, and the other Princes; when as hee was confirmed Pope, endeuoured to perswade and encourage Christian kings and princes, to succour and relieue those places: but they making long delayes (notwithstanding that they sent some supplies) it came to passe, that *Ierusalem*, and many other Cities held by the Christians were lost: the cause whereof (as well for that it was so great a matter, as also for that it appertaineth to our History) I will set downe, although it will be somwhat long; for I presume that the Reader will not be discontented therewith, which as briefly as I can expresse the same, passed in this manner.

BALDVVIN the Fourth (as I said) raigning King in *Ierusalem*; and BOHEMVND who was a mighty Prince being Duke of *Antioch*: and RAYMOND, or REMON, Earle of *Tripoly*, who was also Lord of other Cities, and of the prouinces of *Galilea*, and *Tiberiades*, which hee had by the marriage of his wife, who was a great princes daughter, and Lord thereof; and so other Princes and Captains: which although they banded, and had quarrels with the Knights Templars, and of Saint IOHN, yet they joyntly together defended what the Christians held in the East (which was no small matter) against the forenamed SALADINE.

Matters standing in this estate, BALDVVIN who was a man of great spirit and valour, being in the citie of *Nazareth* (wherein he then lay) was taken with such a leprosie, that he was not able to goe, nor to stand on his legges; whereupon he was carried to *Ierusalem*, and his disease held him in such manner, that he daily expected his end. Which being published, so much encouraged the Infidels, that they made continuall rodes and incursions into the countries of the Christians. Hee seeing himselfe in this estate (hauing no sonne to succeede him, or to gouerne the countrie for him) made a man of great fort, called GVIDO of LVSIGNAN, gouernour thereof; who was the second husband of his sister SIBILLA, who by her first husband, called WILLIAM LONGSVVORD, Marquesse of *Monferrato*, had a son called BALDVVIN; and a daughter called SIBILLA. With this gouernment some of the Princes were much discontented, and SALADINE with a mighty Army inuading their countries, the Christians disagreeing amongst themselues, GVIDO the kings brother in law, and Captain generall of all his forces, dering not to fight with him, the Christians daily lost Towns and Castles: whereupon the sick King BALDVVIN resolued to take another course; which was before his death, to make his Nephew BALDVVIN, who was his sisters sonne, King, notwithstanding that he was but a childe, and RAYMGND of *Tripoly*, his gouernour and protector; and to put his brother in law GVIDO from the gouernment: by reason whereof, ensued new factions, after which followed the losse of those countries, through conflicts, besiegings, assaults, and taking of towns, by SALADINE in fiue or six yeers, that this war lasted, vntill the greatest losse of all; which was the death of King BALDVVIN; which hapned in the yeer of our Lord, one thousand, one hundred, eighty fiue.

RAYMOND Earle of *Tripoly*, comming to gouern the kingdom, in the behalfe of the

The death of Baldwin King of Ierusalem.

young King, GVIDO of LVSIGNAN and SIBILLA mother to the said King, were so inuested therein, that he could not execute his office: whereof ensued new troubles, the one for priuate and particular passions and quarrels (forgetting the publike good) seeking the ruine of the other. In this confusion died the young King BALDVVIN, eight moneths after the death of his Vncle; His father in law GVIDO, and his mother SIBIL, concealing his death for feare that RAYMOND Earle of *Tripoly*, by meanes of his great power, would by the generall consent of the people, haue made himself King: the matter was caried so cunningly, that by meanes of gifts and faire words, the Patriarch, and other chiefe men of *Ierusalem*, chose him for their King; which was the occasion of the euils which afterwards ensued: for RAYMOND Earle of *Tripoly*, was so highly offended herewith, that (to the ruine of himselfe, and of all the rest) he made a league with SALADINE; promising and assuring him, that he would neither aide, nor relieue the King of *Ierusalem*.

Guido Lusignan brother in law to King Baldwin deceased, was chosen King of Ierusalem.

This friendship being made, such courses were held, that after certaine truces and treaties of peace and breaches of the same, SALADINE began to make war against the King and kingdome of *Ierusalem* with greater furie then at any time before: and as GVIDO wanted the aide of the Earle of *Tripoly*, and BOHEMVND Duke of *Antioch* could hardly help him, by reason of the farre distance; and for that he also had enough to doe, to defend himself against the Captaines of the said SALADINE, he was much distressed, and daily lost townes & Castles; neuer ceasing by Ambassadours & Letters, to solicite the Emperor, the Pope, and other Westerne Princes for aide; and they resoluing to yeeld the same, and making preparation for the voyage, it happened, that RAYMOND Earle of *Tripoly* (either made a double league, as some write, or knowing that if the kingdome of *Ierusalem* were lost, he should be assured to haue an euill neighbour of SALADINE) agreed, and made a peace with the King of *Ierusalem*, and came with his power to aide him; whereupon SALADINE raised his siege from before *Ptolomaide*, and encamped himself before *Tiberiades*, which belonged to the Earle of *Tripoly*, strictly besieging the same.

The King of *Ierusalem* hauing drawne together all the power he was able to make, came with a great Army, the Duke of *Antioch* being with him; whither came with all their power, the said Earle of *Tripoly*, the masters of the orders of the Knights Templars, and of Saint IOHN, with other great men, Knights and Captaines, the Patriarches of *Ierusalem*, and of *Alexandria*, and certaine Bishops; so that (as it is affirmed) there were 30000. horsemen, and 40000. footes; which was the vttermost of the Christians power in the East.

After many Councels and opinions, the King at the instance of the Earle of *Tripoly* resoluing to free *Tiberiades*, and to fight with SALADINE, which lay before it, presently began to march, and the troupes and men of warre which he had with him, which were such, as no man seeing them doubted of victory; but it pleased God to giue it an other successe: for SALADINE, who knew their resolution (as a man which wanted not courage, and had an Armie containing double the number of the Christians, of very well trained souldiers) resolued to fight with them; (but not neere to the besieged City) and to that purpose went to meet them vpon the way: and it happened that the two Armies drawing neere together, and the King of *Ierusalem* one day purposing to march with his people with great speede, and to lodge them in a place wherein was very great plenty of water (whereof in those countries is great scarcity) SALADINE by espiall or some other misfortune being aduertised thereof, marched thither with so great celerity, that before the comming of the Christians, his men had taken the same place; and the Christians comming extreamly wearie, and thirstie, by reason of their long march, and the heat of the Sunne, found enemies in the place where they thought to haue found water and ease; wherewith they were much troubled: Neuertheless, the King seeing there was no other remedie, commanded the place forthwith to bee assaulted, presuming thereby to haue repelled the enemy: but missing of his purpose, hee with his Armie was driuen to lodge all that night in the drie fieldes; where they endured intolerable thirst; and by the breake of day, SALADINE (who the most part of the night had been busie in ordering his troupes) tooke the field with his squadrons, where the Christians (with tired and weake bodies through extreame thirst, and their horses being in the same extremitie) staied for them: and notwithstanding that they began the fight with great courage and resolution, yet their strength failing they were ouerthrowne by the Infidels; and there was the greatest and most cruell slaughter made of them, that in those daies had been seene, either in *Asia* or in *Europe*.

A battaile fought betweene Saladine the Soldane of Egypt, and the Christians.

The King was taken prisoner fighting; and the Earle of *Tripoly* escaped by flight, and

and some say that he made all the rest to flee, and that he afterwards died miserably. The Duke of *Antioch* was slain after that he was taken, with all the Knights Templars, and of Saint IOHN, that could be found. SALADINE hauing obtained so notable a victory, following his course, went to *Ptolomaida*, which he easily took; and did the like by *Berito*, and other Cities too long to relate. Finally, in his owne person (after the taking of many Towns, which, out of hope of any succours, or to be relieued, rendred; and the sooner, for that hee was a very just Prince in performing his promise, and curteous, intreating those very friendly which yeelded) he marched forwards, and sate him down with his Army before *Ierusalem*: and hauing fiercely besieged and assaulted the same for the space of thirty daies continually, they yeelded, vpon the second day of the moneth of October, in the yeer of our Lord, 1187. And so was this City lost; and at this day is in the hands of the Infidels, almost eighty nine yeers after that it was taken by GODFREY of *Buillon*, and the other Princes before mentioned: in which time had raigned nine Kings with him who then was, to weet, GODFREY of *Buillon* the first and only King of that name; and then after him, the two BALDVVINS, and FVLCO, and BALDVVIN the Third, then ALMERICVS, and BALDVVIN the Fourth, and BALDVVIN the childe, and GVIDO which then raigned: and notwithstanding that the name and title of King of *Ierusalem* continued a long time, and that the Christians held many Towns and Cities in *Soria* for the space of one hundred and odde yeers afterwards, and many Princes went thither to haue made a conquest thereof: yet in the City of *Ierusalem* they raigned no more, neither possessed the same, but a small time that the Emperor FREDERICK the Second was there. The East parts being brought to this estate, and *Ierusalem* lost; *Antioch*, and the Prouinces thereto belonging, together with *Tyre*, *Sidon*, and *Tripoli*, were in the like danger.

Ierusalem yeelded to Saladine

The Emperor FREDERICK vnderstanding these vnhappy newes (although now old and tired) resolued to aduenture his whole power with his person, for the recouery of what was lost, and to defend the remainder: and God did put the like resolution into the hearts of the Kings of *England* and of *France*, and of many other Princes. The fame of SALADINES acts daily increasing; it is written, that besides the estate of *Antioch*, he took one hundred and fiue and twenty walled Cities, and that he made cruell warre ouer all the Country. Through sorrow and grief for so great losse, the greatest prouision and preparation was made to goe to the relief thereof, that hath been seen in Christendome at any time before or since. For, first the Emperor (leauing his sonne HENRY, who already was King of the Romans, for his Lieutenant, and with him his two brothers, CONRADE and PHILIP) prepared a great and excellent army both of foot and horse, and began to march through *Hungary*, *Bulgaria*, and *Thracia*, towards *Constantinople*, thence to passe ouer into *Asia*: and with him went his son FREDERICK Duke of *Sueuia*, and BERTOLD Duke of *Morauia*, and his brother the Marquesse of *Bandaor Baden*, and many other Dukes, Earls, Archbishops and Bishops.

A little before this, died HENRY King of *England*, who purposed to haue gone the same journey: for it was enioyned him for his penance concerning THOMAS BECKET, called S. THOMAS of *Canterbury*, which I had no time vntill now to speake of. But his sonne RICHARD King of *England*, and PHILIP King of *France*, concluding a peace (for they were at warres about the Duchie of *Normandy*) cyther of them with the best Army that hee could make, went to this warre in the East. The like did OTHO Duke of *Burgundy* the Emperour's son, and the Venecians sent thither a great fleete, and so did the Pisans, who then were mighty at Sea. To this seruice also went CONRADE Marquesse of *Monferrato*, and HENRY Earle of *Champania*, and many other great Lords and Captains of *Italy*, *France* and *England*, whose names for breuity I leaue. That which now most maketh me wonder in this zealous voyage of the Christians, is, that from *Denmarke* and *Frisland* came fifty Galleys, it being so long a voyage from thence into *Soria*: and the Earle of *Flanders* sent twelue: and WILLIAM King of *Sicilia* did very well set-to his helping hand: for (besides the fortie Galleys which he sent before) hee furnished and relieued all such as went, and came by him, and wanted, with shipping, victuals, armes, and other necessaries, and maintained (for a long time) a great Nauy, to assure all passengers that would go this voyage, from rouers and pyrats by Sea.

The successe which all these men had, and what befell them, aswell by the way, as in that war, is too long to be written (for they did great matters) and I should too much digresse from the history of the Emperors (which is my taske) wherefore it shall suffice that the Reader vnderstand by me the issue of these proceedings; the rest let him reade in the Authors which wrot therof, which I will name: I will conclude in the history of the Emperour, who comming

A voyage to Ierusalem.

with his forces to *Constantinople*, made a league with the Emperor ISACIVS; and being there, was giuen to vnderstand, that GVIDO of LVSIGNAN, King of *Ierusalem*, was gotten out of prison, together with the Master of Saint IOHN; and that with such men of warre as repaired vnto him, he had renewed the warre, and determined to take the Field, in hope to haue recouered certain places: whereupon the Emperor in great haste passed his Army ouer the Streight at *Constantinople*, in the yeer of our Lord, one thousand, one hundred, eightie nine, and began to march through *Asia* the Lesse; where passing in peace through the Countries of the Christians, he entred the Country of the Soldan of *Iconium*, who was a mighty Prince in those parts, with whom he made peace; vpon condition, that hee should giue him victuals and free passage: which if he performed, then he would not warre vpon his Country. But, the heathen King not onely brake his promise, but gathering together a great number of Turks, stopt his passage, and did him the greatest hurt he was able: wherewith the Emperor being very much incensed, made cruell warre in his Countries; and coming to the mountains at the entry into *Cilicia*, he made his passage with great difficulty and danger: for, the Soldan had drawn a head of a great multitude of Turks and other heathen Nations, thinking to haue ouerthrowne the Emperour in those Streights. But it pleased God that hee passed, although with great danger and some losse: and, coming down into the Plains, he fought with the Infidels, and ouerthrew them, and slue a very great number of them. And so, taking and sacking Cities and Towns, hee marched forwards, and entred *Armenia* the Lesse, and by force took the greatest part of all that Prouince.

The Emperor Frederick his victory against the Soldane of Iconium.

The newes of his coming and victories strake so great fear into his enemies, and so much encouraged the Christians, that GVIDO King of *Ierusalem*, and his brother EMERICVS, and other great men before named, which were there assembled, leauing the Cities of *Tyre* and *Tripoli*, whither they had retired themselues; with a well ordred Army took the Field, and assailed *Ptolomaida* or *Acon*, purposing to haue the same, for that it was a Hauen of the sea, and of great importance; whither came the fleets from *Denmark* and *Flanders*, and from other parts. The siege was reinforced, and the Christians Army daily increased; and all men knowing the Emperor to be neer at hand, SALADINE thought himself vnable to defend what he had gotten: and King GVIDO, and those which were with him, recouered force and courage. But it pleased God in his secret iudgement, that in the time of this hope and of good successe, there hapned so great a disaster, that all was changed and turned vpside down; which was, the death of the Emperor, which hapned by great misfortune in this manner:

The Emperor being very neer to *Soria*, vpon a very hot day in the summer time, desiring to wash and refresh himself in a riuer (as they write that at other times hee had done) the swiftnes and depth thereof was greater than hee thought or mistrusted: and so in the presence of his people going into the water, without that any of them was any way able to saue or help him, he was carried down the stream, and therein drowned. And so in a little water died he, for fear of whom all *Asia* trembled; which hapned vpon the tenth day of Iune, in the yeer of our Lord, 1190, and in the eight and thirtith yeer of his Raign: through whose death the enterprise was extremely hindred.

The Emperour Frederick drowned.

At the same time befell another misfortune, which was a controuersie and discord between the Princes of those parts; which hapned by reason of the death of SIBILLA, wife of GVIDO King of *Ierusalem*, and sister to King BALDVVIN deceased. Whereupon, HERFRAND, who was married to ISABEL, sister to this Ladie, with the aid of some of his friends, would haue been King, by the right of his wife; which the widower GVIDO withstood, alleaging that he was the sworn and obeyed King, and therefore ought not to be deposed. And it followed, that CONRADE, Marquesse of *Monferrato*, took his Lady from him perforce, alleaging that she was not lawfully married to HERFRAND: and so he married her, and in like maner challenged to be King of *Ierusalem*; which (besides that it was a vile deed) caused great trouble: for, this Prince held the City of *Tyre*. By which means, the widower King GVIDO lost much of his authority, for that he would not fall at variance with them: yet he still held the name and title of King.

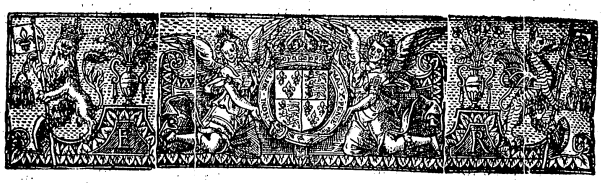
The matter remaining in this great confusion, after the sudden and infortunate death of the Emperor, a man may easily conceiue the great grief and sorrow of the whole Army: neuertheless, his sonne FREDERICK, Duke of *Sueuia*, as a valiant and courageous Knight (beeing presently vpon the death of his father, as reason was, made Generall and their Head) incouraged his people, and taking the dead body of his father, marcht directly towards *Soria*; and sent certain

certain messengers to GVIDO King of *Ierusalem*, who lay before *Ptolomaida*, to aduertise him of the death of his father; and desiring him to send him such men as might guide and direct him what was to be done. Which although it was not to be effected without great danger (for, the most part of their way lay through their enemies Countries) yet King GVIDO sent him two Knights well experienced in the warres, which guided him and his people to the City of *Antioch*, which lay neerest to his way: where, after that hee had (for some daies space) refreshed his Army, he thought to haue made great warres, and to haue recouered the Cities lost in that estate; and so to haue proceeded forwards. But his Armie of Germanes, which came wearied and tired of their long iourney, finding there great abundance of victuals; by means of their forepassed hunger, so disordered themselues by surfetting (or, it was Gods will that it should be so) as there fell so great a plague among them, that within fewe daies most of them died; in such sort, that FREDERICK (with such as escaped the plague) departed from *Antioch*; and drawing neer to the sea, imbarked himself, and sailed to the City of *Tyre*, which (as I said before) was held by the Christians: and leauing there the dead body of his father, he went from thence with his people (but not without great danger of the enemy) to ioyn with GVIDO of LVSIGNAN, King of *Ierusalem*, who lay before *Ptolomaida*; which, SALADINE had so fortified and garrisoned, that the Christians were much troubled in the siege thereof; and preuailed little, vntill the coming of the Kings of *England* and of *France*, after many accidents befallen them in the way, which was in the same yeer: but they continued the siege, accompanied with other Princes, notwithstanding that there was euer little conformity among them; where wee will now leaue them, to make relation of the succession in the Empire, for this their history appertaineth not to my charge: and how HENRY the Sixt, the Emperour FREDERICKS eldest sonne was chosen Emperor, who held his fathers place in *Germany*, being alreadie made king of the Romanes, and what he did in *Germany* and in *Italy*. Yet forasmuch as this enterprise of *Ierusalem* was so notable a matter, and so great Kings came to the seruice, we will briefly tell you what end it had, though not the successe.

The siege of Acco or Ptolemaida.

In *Constantinople* all this while raigned ISACIVS: in *Italy* a little before this, died without issue, WILLIAM King of both the *Sicilies*: wherefore Pope CLEMENT the Third challenged those kingdomes for the Church of *Rome*; and HENRY King of the Romans, and future Emperor, pretended to be his, by reason of his mariage with *Constance* sister to King WILLIAM. But the Sicilians and Neapolitans, against the Popes wil, chose one TANCREDE, who was Vncle to King WILLIAM, a base son to ROGER King of *Sicilie*: who seised on the kingdome. In writing this Emperours life, I haue spent longer time then I ordinarily doe, for that many great accidents hapned in his time, and for that so much is written of him, I haue bin in a manner constrained thereto; and also as at other times I haue said, in matters which draw neere to our times, it shall not be amisse to make longer and more ample relation.

My authors in whose books the same may be seen more at large, are these which follow: OTHO FRISINGENSIS in the historie which he particularly wrote in two books, of the beginning of the Emperor FREDERICK's raigne, and RAVDAVICVS in what he added therto, and GODFREY VITERBIENSIS, all eye witnesses, and the Abbat WESPERG in his Chronicle, an author of the same time, wherin he writes his life; Abbat ROBERT in the addition which hee made to SIGIBERT's Chronicle, OTHO of *S. Blase*, BLONDVS of the declining of the Roman Empire, PLATINA in the liues of the Popes, IOHN COLVMNA in his Sea of historles, IOHN BAPTISTA IGNACIVS, IOHN EVTICHIVS, BENEVENT *de Rombaldis*, IOH. CARION, IOH. CVSPI, RAPHAEL VOLATERANVS, in their writings of the Emperors, HEN. MVCIVS, GASPAR CHVRREVS in his Affaires of *Germany*, in that part wherin he treateth of FREDERICK the first, FRANCISC. IRENICVS, PAVLVS CONSTANTINVS PHRIGIO, CHRISTIANVS MASEVS, MATHEW PALMERIVS, and the other generall Historiographers, treating of these times, as S. ANTH. ANTHONIVS SABELLICVS, IOH. NAVCLERVS, which best of all handleth the matters of *Germany*, PHILIP BERGOMAS; and besides these, PAVLVS EMILIVS, ROB. GAGVIN, and other French writers, POLIDORE VIRGIL in his English History, Pope PIVS in his history of *Bohemia*, IACOB MEIER in his abbridgement of the history of *Flanders*, ANTONIVS SABELLICVS in the history which he particularly wrote of the Venecians, ALBERT CRANTZ in his history of *Saxony*, GEORGE MERVLA in the history of the Dukes of *Milan*, AVGSTIN IVSTINIAN in his Annales of *Genoa*, MICHAEL RICIVS in his booke of the Kings, and some others which I now remember not.



THE LIFE OF HENRY, THE SIXTH OF THAT NAME, AND FOVRESCORE AND EIGHTEENTH ROMANE EMPEROR.

(***)

THE ARGVMENT.

AFter Frederick succeeded his eldest sonne Henry: who as soone as he had the gouernment of the Empire, went into Italy to be crowned, and to get the kingdome of Sicilia, which came vnto him, by the right of his wife; and was crowned by Pope Celestine. He would haue made a conquest of the kingdome of Naples, but the plague made him returne into Germany. He againe came into Italy, vpon the same occasion of Sicilia: wherein finding Tancrede dead, hee easily obtained the kingdome, notwithstanding that hee committed some cruelties therein worthy of blame: Being returned into Germany, he sent many men to the warres of Ierusalem. And liuing in peace, he came in progresse to visit his new kingdome of Sicilia: where, for his pleasure riding on hunting (as his custome was) he fell sicke and died, when he had raigned eight yeeres.



THE accidents which hapned in the time of the Emperor FREDERICK, were so many and so great, that I imagin to haue in som sort satisfied the desire, which men commonly haue to reade of great aduentures: and if they yet remaine with an appetite, from this time forwards they shal haue such and so many, that I presume they shall not want to satisfie them. I say then, that as euill newes are commonly more swift of foot, then the good: so the death of the worthie Emperor FREDERICK was soone knowne in *Italy* and in *Germany*, for which all Christendome generally was sorie; as well for that it was so vnfortunate, as for that it troubled and interrupted the enterprise which he had begun, and followed with such courage and good successe. His eldest sonne HENRY, who (as we said) in his fathers life time had been made King of the Romanes, and future Emperour; when as he vnderstood of the death of his father, wrote to the electors, and to the other Princes of the Empire: and they yeelding him the obedience which they had promised in his fathers time, he took vpon him the state and maiestie of Emperour: which was in the yeere of our Lord, one thousand, one hundred, nintie, and one, and was called HENRY *the Sixt*; yet the Italians call him the Fift, for that they reckon not the first HENRY. This man was a wise Prince, of a sharpe and quicke wit, well spoken, of a pleasing countenance, but somewhat pale faced, of a meane stature, and tender and delicate of body; but of a fierce and cruell minde, and very valiant, wherefore he was greatly feared of his enemies, and was more addicted to hunting, then was fit for the good gouernment of his estate. In the beginning of his raigne, those of *Colen* rebelled,

Henry the eldest sonne of Frederick Barbarossa chosen Emperour.

led, and with them certaine Earls & other great men, but it was a matter of no great importance and so it was soone pacified. Being freed from this care, seeking the aid and fauour of his friends, he made preparation to go into *Italy* (which was the next yeere) with a desire to be crowned in *Rome*, and to get the kingdome of *Sicilia*, which fell to him by the right of his wife the Empresse CONSTANCE, whereto he was inuited and called by Pope CELESTINE the Third, who was newly chosen Pope (yet some authors say, that at this time, this CONSTANCE was giuen to him in marriage by this Pope CELESTINE, who gaue her a dispensation for that she was a professed Nunne, to the end, that they should haue the kingdome) for the bastard TANCREDE King of *Sicilia* and of *Naples*, who possessed the same, was odious and an enemy to the Pope.

The Emperour HENRY being comm into *Italie*, passing peaceably through the States of *Lombardy* (according to the agreement made between his father and them) went towards *Rome* to be crowned; but before the Pope gaue him the Crowne, he went against the City of *Tusculano*, which was situate in the Mountaines neer to *Rome*, which rebelled, and did and had done the Romans much harm; and taking the same (for it yielded without any resistance) he gaue it to the Romans (for so was he enjoyned to do, before the Crown should be giuen him) and they presently rased the City, and vsed the Citizens with great cruelty, for which the Emperor was much taxed, and blamed to haue suffered so cruell a fact. This cruelty being executed, and the Emperour being with great solemnity crowned in *Rome* by Pope CELESTINE; and other couenants and agreements being made between them concerning the kingdoms of *Sicilia*, and of *Naples*, as feodatory kingdoms to the Church of *Rome*, and the fee and tribute set down to be paid for the same: The Emperour marching forwards, found all those Countries in Arms against him, holding for TANCREDE, whom they had chosen, and held for King and their soueraign Lord; yet he took some Towns by force, and went as far as *Naples*, and besieged the same, as the head of that kingdom; and the Neopolitans valiantly defending their Citie, the siege continued the space of three moneths; in which time there fell in the Camp, so great a mortalitie, and so many of the Emperors souldiers died, that without effecting what he had purposed, he raised his siege and returned into *Germany*: And as he arose from before the City, his wife the Empresse (some say going into *Germany*, which seemeth most certain; and others say, that she comming to her husband, to go with him to the wars) was taken by certain Captaines vpon the way; but so great diligence was vsed, and such a course was taken, that within few daies she was set at liberty; and they which tooke her, were seuerely punished: and so at this time, he returned crowned, but not victorious, into his Countrey. Two yeers of his raign were expired, and he frustrate of his purpose and desire to recouer the kingdomes of *Naples* and *Sicilia*, but yet he still had a resolution to return thither again (as he afterwards did) where let vs leaue him; and I will tell you what hapned vnto his brother FREDERICK, and the other Princes which had continued in the East euer sithence the death of his father, the Emperour FREDERICK BARBAROSSA: wherein if all the skirmishes, encounters, battailes, and feates of Armes done by these three kings, of *Ierusalem*, *France* and *England*, in those two yeers warres, should be written, I should haue much to say; but the successe thereof was this, that the siege of *Ptolomaida* continued two yeers, reckoning from the time that GVIDO King of *Ierusalem* first besieged it, vntill it was taken; during which time, many great matters passed between them and the besieged, and SALADINE's other forces.

The Emperour Henry the sixt crowned in Rome by Pope Celestine the third.

The Emperour besieged Naples but could not take it.

At this time died the said FREDERICK Duke of *Sueuia*, sonne to the Emperour FREDERICK BARBAROSSA, and brother to the Emperour HENRY, and other great personages.

At the end of this time, the Citie was yeelded to the Christians, and the Kings were grown so mighty and so much feared, and the potent SALADINE had lost so many men, that thinking himselfe vnable to defend his countries, he caused the walles of *Cesaria* in *Palestina*, with *Ascalon*, *Gaza*, *Porfiria*, and of other Cities vpon the Sea-coast, to be thrown down: and the power of the Christians so much encreased, that SALADINE began to parle of the giuing vp of *Ierusalem*, vpon condition that he might liue in peace. But God otherwise disposed, for the Kings of *France* and *England*, were so ill met, that they could neuer agree vpon any thing: Wherefore the King of *France* resolued to leaue the warres, and to returne into his countrie, and did so, and left the greatest part of his people with the Duke of *Burgundy*; and so the oportunity of the taking of *Ierusalem* was lost; for by reason of his departure, SALADINE's minde altered: Neuertheless, RICHARD King of *England* was a Prince of so great a courage,

Ptolomaida yeelded to the Christians.

The French king left the wars in the Holy-Land.

Richard Cueur de Lion King of England his warres in Palestina.

rage, and carried himselfe so valiantly in those warres, as besides, that he new builded and fortified *Iapha* (whilom called *Ioppa*) and some other Townes, he reduced the warres to as good order and estate, as they were in before the French Kings departure. It followed in this time, that CONRADE Marquesse of *Monferrato*, who was possessed of the great City of *Tyre*, and the marches thereof, and was called King of *Ierusalem*, for that (as I told you) he married with ISABEL sister to SIBIL, which was King GVIDO's wife, was in the same Citie slaine by certain fugitiues, Turkes; and the widow ISABEL hauing one daughter by her husband, was married to HENRY, called Earle of *Champania*, Nephew to the French King; and he marrying her, had with her that Citie, and the title to the Kingdom of *Ierusalem*, against GVIDO, which held that name and title. Whereupon King RICHARD dealt with GVIDO to renounce the right which he pretended to the kingdom of *Ierusalem*, and he would giue him the dominion of the Isle of *Cyprus*, with the name of King thereof; which Iland the King of *England* took in his way as he came to this warre.

GVIDO accepted this bargain; and prouiding men and shipping necessary, sailed into *Cyprus*, as King of that Iland, and raigned therein all his life time; and that kingdom remained in him, and in his heyres and successors, vntill the yeer of our Lord, one thousand, foure hundred and sixty, that the Venecians (*I know not by what title*) made themselues Lords thereof: and the house of *England* hath euer since pretended right to the kingdom of *Ierusalem*, as saith PLATINA, and other Authors.

This being past, and many other matters in this warre, amongst which was a great battaile which continued from noone vntill night; wherein the valiant SALADINE was ouerthrown, and the King of *England*, and the Princes with him, had the victory; they resolued to goe and besiege the City of *Ierusalem*, knowing for certain that SALADINE durst not abide them, for he sued to them for peace, or truce, promising to render *Ierusalem*, and other places in those marches, to the end that he might obtain the same for some long time: but the Christians were of such power, that they were not therewith satisfied. But vpon a sodain the King of *England* (very vnaduisedly) gaue out in speeches, that he would return into his countrey, for that he was certified the French king had entred and taken his Duchy of *Normandy*: which if hee had concealed, he might haue had what composition he would haue required: but SALADINE knowing his determination, and that the fleets of *Pisa* and of *Venice* were already departed, by reason of discord and dissension between them, would not resign *Ierusalem*. In the end the king of *England* concluded a peace with him for fiue yeers; and leauing Garrisons and Gouernours in the Cities which the Christians had recouered (OTHO Duke of *Burgundy*, and HENRY the husband of ISABEL, which chalenged the kingdom of *Ierusalem*, remaining commanders thereof, with the Knights of Saint IOHN and the Templars) he departed homewards, in the yeer one thousand, one hundred ninety three, and by the way was taken prisoner by the Duke of *Austria*, and was ransomed, and other accidents afterwards befell him: and so hee left the affaires of the East, and more Townes, and better fortified then he found there: yet not so many as a man would haue thought that so great Kings, and such mighty Armies, might haue taken: what ensued, you shall vnderstand hereafter.

The cause why Richard was taken by the Christians.

King Richard Cueur de Lion, a man professed returning from the warres in the Holy-land is by the Duke of Austrich.

The Emperor HENRY (as some men write) was well relieued and furnished with the money which the king of *England* paid for his ransome, towards his iourney into *Italie*, for which he then made preparation but he first made his brother CONRADE, Duke of *Sueuia*, for that his other brother FREDERICK died in the East without issue. He then marching towards *Italie*, to conquer the kingdoms of *Sicilia* and *Naples*, which fell to him by his wife, and the Popes grant; and hauing sent certain Captains before with an Army, by which the warres were already begun; King TANCREDE which possessed those kingdoms died; and a little before him, his eldest sonne called ROGER, who was married to YRENE the Emperours daughter of *Constantinople*, and he left another sonne called WILLIAM (whom they presently made their King) and two or three daughters: by reason whereof the Emperor hastened his iourney, leading with him his brother PHILIP, and other great Princes: but for all this, the great men, and Cities of those kingdoms left not to rebell, and to withstand the Emperor HENRY, who with his men of warre entred the Countrie, besieging and battering Cities with such rage and fury, that whatsoeuer City resisted him, hee caused to bee ruined and burnt; vsing greater cruelty then befitted a vertuous or Christian Prince: and so perforce, and for feare, all the cities in the kingdome of *Naples*, and the most of those in *Campania*, and *Pulia*, yeelded; and thence marching into *Calabria* did there the like: and seing himselfe Lord of the estates

estates in the maine land, he passed ouer into *Sicilia*: wherein, as there was not any King, or head, to rule and command (for TANCRED's sonne was a childe, and his father had been wicked, and a Tyrant) in short space he became Lord of a great part of that Iland. Neuertheless, after this the prelates and great Lords of those kingdoms, with the greatest power they possibly could leuie, gathered head neere to the City of *Catanea*, with a full resolution to try their fortune: where they fought with the Emperor (yet some say the Emperor was not in the battaile) and the Sicilians were ouerthrown, the Citie taken, and of them was made great slaughter, in which was executed extreme cruelty, putting to the sword both men and women, not sparing those which had retired themselues to the Churches for sanctuary: and some Noble men and Bishops were taken prisoners.

After this, many of the principall men conspired by any meanes howsoeuer to kil the Emperour; which being reuealed vnto him, he caused death to be inflicted vpon all those he could get, which had been accused to haue been of that conspiracy, with such cruelty and rigour, as *he could not auoide blame for it*: for some he made to be fleyed aliue, others to be burnt, and of some he caused sharpe nayles to be driuen into their heads: finally, he executed such horrible cruelty vpon them, that he made himselfe to be the most redoubted man in the World: *By meanes wherof within short space he became Lord of the whole Iland*; and comming with his forces to the City of *Palermo* (which was the richest and most populous Citie of the Iland) he was receiued without battaile or resistance, and made his entry most solemnly, with all the representations, triumph and shewes of victory that could be deuised: in that Citie (it is reported) he found many precious iewels, and great riches, which had beene the Kings of *Sicilia*, and there were kept.

He got also into his power YRENE the Emperours daughter of *Constantinople*, who was betrothed to the deceased King TANCRED's sonne, ROGER; which YRENE he married to his brother PHILIP, although against her will. And the childe whom the Sicilians had made their King, he made his eyes to be put out, thereby to make him incapable of the kingdom; and caused him to be carried prisoner into *Germany*, where he afterwards died miserably: and his mother the widow with her two daughters, he commanded to be put into a Monastery in *Germany*, so that hee left nothing forgotten that might assure him of those kingdomes.

This being done he went into *Calabria*, carrying with him for hostages, such men as hee held to be of greatest account in both the kingdoms: and for his better assurance, both in the maine land, and in the Iland, he placed Germane gouernors and captains: to some of which he gaue certain estates and titles. Before this, his wife the Empresse, who was there with him, bare him a son called FREDERICK; at whose birth, by reason that some doubted whether that a woman of her yeers might be with childe or no, he permitted all that would to be present at the birth, commanding it first to bee published, at such time as it was thought shee should bee deliuered. In this manner did the Emperour HENRY leaue the two *Sicilies* in peace and subiection: And with the hostages before mentioned, which were great Lords and Prelates, departed towards *Germany* (*Milan* and all *Lombardy* peaceably obeying him, both at his comming and going) which was in the fift yeer of his raign, and in the yeer of our Lord 1195.

It is true, that although the Emperor obtained his desire in the conquest of *Sicilia* and *Naples*, yet all writers affirm that he therewith purchased the name of a very cruel, and vindicatiue Prince, for the great cruelties which he committed. And PHILIP BERGOMAS affirmeth that through these cruelties, he fell at such oddes with Pope CELESTINE, that he excommunicated him, by certain Bishops and other men of orders, which the Emperor apprehended, and put to death: and that he afterwards suing to the Pope for pardon, was absolued. He was also noted and taxed of exceeding couetousnes, for the great loanes and imprests, which hee exacted from the people in those kingdoms: which gaue occasion that it was not long before that in *Pulia*, some towns and great men, began to mutin and to rebell against him: whereupon he put out the eyes of all the hostages, which he had sent into *Germany*; and sent Captains and soldiers to suppresse the Insurrections; and they by his commandement, inflicted cruell punishment vpon the offenders. Being in this prosperity, so as no man rebelled, or held vp his hand against him, his brother CONRADE Duke of *Suenia* died, at such time as he began to warre against BERTOLD Duke of *Zeringe*, which then, and before that time was, and had been, a great house in *Germany*: and his brother CONRADE being dead without issue, the Emperor gaue the Duchy of *Suenia* to his brother PHILIP, who (as I said) marryed the Emperors daughter of *Constan.*

After

Frederick the Emperors son being a child was chosen king of the Romanes.

After all these things, he sought by all meanes possible, that the Princes Electors should chuse his sonne FREDERICK (a child of little more then two yeers old) for King of the Romanes: and forasmuch as he was of great power, and much feared, they did so; notwithstanding that it seemed to them, to be a matter very vniust and vnreasonable.

At this time Pope CELESTINE very earnestly solicited the Princes of Christendome, and especially the Emperour (seeing that the time of the truce, made in the East by the King of *England* was expired; and that the great SALADINE was dead, but a little before, on whom depended the chiefest force of the Infidels) that they should not now forget the conquest of *Ierusalem*, seeing they had so fit an oportunitie. The Emperor (with the zeale of a Christian Prince, though a cruell one) seeing that he could not goe himselfe in person, by reason of his small assurance in his Kingdomes of *Sicilia*, and the tranquillitie of *Germany*: many Princes offering themselues to go that iourney voluntarily, and many souldiers and men of war, which he sent in his pay (at his own charges) prouided a very great and good Army: wherewith went the Archbishop of *Mentz*, the Bishop of *Ratisbone*, BERNARD Duke of *Saxony*, CONRADE Chauncellor of the Empire, LEOPOLD Duke of *Austria*, HARMAN Lantzgraue of *Turinge*, the Duke of *Brabant* and some other Marquesses, Earls, and men of estate; all which leauing their houses and countries, of meere deuotion, with valiant mindes, after long trauaile by land and sea (wherein they were much aided and relieued by ISACIVS Emperor of *Constantinople*) came to the coast of *Palestina*, to the citie of *Tyre* and *Ptolomaida*, which they called *Acon*; where they presently applied themselues to the warres; the truce graunted by the King of *England* being expired. In which time, GVIDO King of *Cyprus*, who before had been King of *Ierusalem*, deceased; and forasmuch as he had no sonne, his brother ALMERICVS had that kingdome: and it also happened, that at that same season, HENRY, who was called king of *Ierusalem*, by the marriage (as I said) of ISABEL sister to SIBIL, in his citie of *Ptolomaida* fell out of a very high terrasse or gallerie in his palace; and so died vnfortunately: and ALMERICVS king of *Cyprus*, sought to marrie with his wife, wherewith she was content; and so for a time he was called king of *Cyprus* and *Ierusalem*. But for as much as he was negligent, and of small experience in the warres, and in matters of gouernment, he afterwards lost the title of *Ierusalem*, which was giuen to IOHN DE BREGNA, a Frenchman, being a man of great worth and valour, who married the daughter of this ISABEL, which she had by her second husband CONRADE. The Germanes sent by the Emperor, ioyning with ALMERICVS his forces, became masters of the field; and marching forwards, besieged and assaulted some cities, took *Berito*, and reedified *Ioppa*, now called *Iapha*.

Another voyage to Ierusalem.

While the Armie did these things in the East, the Emperor HENRY setting all things in order in *Germany*, came with his wife and his young sonne into *Italy*, to visite his estate of *Milan*; and from thence went into *Sicilia*, the better to confirme himselfe in his new Dominion; and the better also to prouide for the warres and conquest of the Holy land, which was generally desired. He came into *Sicilia*, to the Citie of *Messina*, with his wife and his son, (who was alreadie called king of the Romanes) and gouerned the Empire and those Kingdomes in peace, enlarging the same more then the Pope would he should haue done, for he held from him the *Marca de Ancona*, and some places in *Tuscane*. But it pleased God to frustrate all his designs by death: for being much delighted in hunting; it hapned, that hunting vpon an extream hot day, in the moneth of August, he layd him downe one night to sleep in a greene field, neere to certain fresh springs of water: and awaking with the cold and the deaw of the night, he felt himselfe very ill, and was carried to *Messina*, where his infirmity increasing, he dyed; when he had reigned eight yeeres, in the yeere of our Lord 1198. hauing first recommended the protection and gouernment of his young sonne FREDERICK, who was called king of the Romanes, and of the two *Sicilies*, to his brother PHILIP Duke of *Sueuia*, vntill that he should come to age fit to rule; and wrot his Letters concerning the same to Pope INNOCENT the third, who succeeded CELESTINE the third, who died a little before him in the same yeer.

The death of the Emperor Henry the sixt.

This Emperour was a wise, a valiant, and a mighty Prince, but his ouer-much fiercenesse and cruelty blemished those vertues. All this while raigned ISACIVS in *Constantinople*, which he gouerned very wel for the space of eleuen or twelue yeeres in peace; after the death of the tyrant ANDRONICVS, as we haue set downe in the life of the Emperor FREDERICK.

THE

THE LIFE OF PHILIP, THE SECOND OF THAT NAME, AND FOVRSCORE AND NINETEENTH ROMANE EMPEROR; AND OF ISACIVS AND ALEXVS Emperors of *Constantinople*.

(***)

THE ARGVMENT.

THE Emperor Henry being dead, the Empire was diuided betwixt two competitors, which were Philip and Otho: and either of them marshalling the forces of his friends and assistants, many sore battailes were fought between them. They both were crowned: but Otho's coronation was ratified by the Pope, and Philip's reproued, and himselfe excommunicate: but he making slight account of the excommunication persisted in his attempt: and hauing in a bickering ouerthrown the Lantzgraue, became very mighty; and Otho's power daily grew weake; and he himselfe, in the end, was driuen to flie, and to goe into England. Philip afterwards sought to pacifie the Pope, and to be at peace with him: and the reconciliation being made, a Peace was procured with Otho, which was concluded by making him his sonne in law, and his successor in the Empire: but this ioy lasted not long. For, Otho being come to the Court, the Count Palatine of Witilispach, whom was Philip's secret enemy, vpon a day (with a resolution to kill him) came to his chamber, desiring to speake with him, and being let in; he took his sword from his Page, and therewith slew the Emperour, when he had raigned ten yeeres.

The death of great Princes cause great alterations.

IT is a common and vsuall thing through all the World, that after the death of great Kings and Princes, ensue great changes and alterations; which is verified by the death of HENRY the sixt, whose History we haue now ended: for by reason thereof, followed great innouations, and vnexpected accidents. First in the Army which he sent into the East, to the conquest of *Ierusalem*, and which had begun the warre with good successe, his death being published, the Princes and Prelates which went thither agreed together in all haste to returne home to their houses, and did so; nothing preuailing with them the counsell and entreaty of SIMON of *Monferrato*, a most excellent souldier, who came thither with certain troups of Frenchmen to their aide: and so they left the countrey abandoned, and in such necessity, as the Infidels taking the City of *Iapha*, destroyed the same, and laid it euen with the ground; and king ALMERICVS and the Christians were brought to such extremity, as they were driuen to sue to the Infidels for peace: so as it appeareth, that it was not Gods will that the warres and conquest of the Holy-land should euer haue any good successe.

In *Germany* followed the greatest tumults, wars and battails, touching the choise of an Emperor, that euer had been seene for the like cause. Pope INNOCENT began to recouer some places which the Emperor HENRY held from the Church. The Empresse presently sued to the Pope, for the confirmation of *Sicilia* to her and her sonne, which she hardly obtained, but with the losse of lands and dignities. So great effect worketh oftentimes the absence, or

presence, of one man only: for PHILIP Duke of *Sueuia*, whose Hiſtory I now beginne to write, was interrupted by his brothers death in *Italy*, he going to viſite him; from whence, as ſoone as he vnderſtood thereof (for as ſome authors ſay he was not preſent when he died) he returned into *Germany*, and by the way paſt many dangers, with an intent (notwithſtanding that he had the rule of his Nephewes Protector) to get (if he might) the Empire for himſelfe: whereto, being comn into *Germany*, as well by meanes of his eſtate and authority, as alſo for that he was the brother and ſonne of an Emperor, he found great fauor, and great contradiction and reſiſtance alſo, by many Princes which were enemies to his houſe and family, and for ſome other reſpects. Principally, the Electors voyces being diuided into two, the one part named the ſame PHILIP for Emperour; for of his nephew, by reaſon of his infancy, and alſo for that he was King of *Sicilia* (notwithſtanding their promiſe made to his father) they made ſmall account: and the other party choſe OTHO, Earle or Duke of *Bruinſwick*, the ſonne of HENRY the Proud, who had been Duke of *Saxony*, and was diſpoſſeſſed (as we ſaid) by the Emperor FREDERICK, wherefore ſome authors call him Duke of *Saxony*: This OTHO's mother was ſiſter to the king of *England*, by whoſe meanes (as ſome ſay) he was called to the Empire.

Philip *choſen Emperor.*

Otho *choſen Emperor.*

Betweene theſe two was cruell and ſharpe warre and competency, hauing recourſe to their Arms: yet the Abbat WESPERG. ſaith, that BERTOLD Duke of *Zeringe*, before, or at the ſame time, was a third competitor, and was called Emperor: but Duke BERTOLD's challenge continued not long, for he ſoone agreed with PHILIP; and for that moſt authors write it not, I will paſſe it ouer, with the only remembrance thereof. PHILIP and OTHO being in Armes, each of them with his partakers and friends, began to warre, killing, robbing and impriſoning one another.

Bertold *called Emperor.*

OTHO was holpen and ſupported by the King of *England* as his Vncle and friend, and by the Lantzgraue of *Turinge*, the Count Palatine of the *Rhine*, the Duke of *Liconia*, the Earle of *Limburgh*, the Archbiſhop of *Colen*, and his Prelates and Suffraganes, the Earle of *Flanders* and his friends, and ſome other princes and prelates: Pope INNOCENT alſo fauoured his cauſe, calling to minde that the anceſtors of this OTHO, Dukes of *Saxony*, had greatly aſſiſted and defended the Church of *Rome*: and to the contrary, PHILIP's predeceſſors Dukes of *Sueuia*, had perſecuted the ſame, cauſing ſchiſmes and diuiſions; as HENRY the fourth, FREDERICK the firſt, and his brother FREDERICK had alſo held many places in *Tuſcane*, and *Ancona*, belonging to the Church of *Rome*.

Thoſe which tooke part with PHILIP, were the King of *France*, the Archbiſhoppe of *Mentz*, the Dukes of *Saxony*, and of *Auſtrich* (who then came from the warres in the Eaſt) the King of *Bohemia*, the Duke of *Bauiere*, the Dukes of *Lorraine*, and of *Brabant*; and all the reſt of the Princes which took not part with OTHO (but yet the ſucceſſe changed theſe fauours) and PHILIP for his perſon was better beloued and more eſteemd then OTHO, for he was *mild*, of a noble diſpoſition, diſcreete, and liberall (wherby good will is principally got) very valiant, though but of a weake body, and of a meane ſtature; of a good countenance, and faire, white and red.

OTHO had not ſo good parts of a man in him; for he was held not very wiſe, raſh, and without meaſure audacious. PHILIP *hauing aſſembled his friends in the City of Mentz*, he was there annoynted and crowned Emperor by the Biſhop of *Tarantaſia*; the Biſhop of *Sutrino*, who was the Popes Ambaſſador and Legate, being there preſent, who came thither for another purpoſe; wherewith the Pope was extremely moued. OTHO and his friends, perceiuing that PHILIP was crowned, went to *Aken*, which PHILIP had already taken; and beſieging and ſcaling it, took the ſame vpon compoſition: and there ADOLPH Archbiſhop of *Colen* prepoſterouſly crowned him, and he therefore was held for right Emperor: which coronation was afterwards confirmed by Pope INNOCENT, who ſent GVIDO Cardinall of *Preneſte*, for his Legate to the Citie of *Colen*, for the ſame purpoſe, and to excommunicate PHILIP, and all his followers and abbetters. PHILIP (as a man of great ſpirit) ſought to fight with OTHO, and to that end entred his enemies countries, deſtroying the ſame with fire and ſword, and took ſome ſtrong Caſtles neer to *Argentine*, where between his and OTHO's troups, were many skirmiſhes and encounters, and many men were ſlaine of either ſide: and the next yeer following he came againſt the ſame Citie of *Argentine*, which held for OTHO; wich yeelded vpon compoſition, and he was therein receiued and obeyed.

Philip *crowned Emperor.*

Otho *crowned Emperor.*

OTHO *in like manner with all his whole power came againſt* PHILIP: *and between the ſouldiers*

ſouldiers of the one and other, were ſome battels and skirmiſhes; wherein PHILIP for the moſt part had the victory, which made ſome to come ouer to his ſide: but yet the coming of the Popes Legate at this time, and the publiſhing of the excommunication, did greatly hinder PHILIP's proceedings, and was a great help to OTHO, with the Prelats and eccleſiaſticall Perſonages. PHILIP hauing the greateſt quarell againſt the Lantzgraue of *Turinge*, for that by his meanes principally OTHO was choſen; he therefore reſolued to enter his Country, and to ſpoil it; and putting the ſame in execution, took one or two very ſtrong Towns of his. The Lantzgraue raiſing his power, and ſending for help to the Count Palatine of *Rhine*, and to OTHO CHARVS, King of *Bohemia* (who now joined with OTHO, by reaſon of the Popes excommunication) and to other his friends and kinſmen; leuied ſo great a number of good men of war, that PHILIP, not daring to fight with him, retired to a ſtrong Town, wherein they beſieged him: but he vſed ſuch means, that in the night he got out of the Town, and put himſelf in ſafety. And within few daies after cam OTHO to the aid of the Lantzgraue with his whole power, in hope to haue taken PHILIP; for, they had written to him, that he could not eſcape from the place wherein they held him beſieged. So as OTHO, being then Maſter of the field, ſummoned a Diet or Councell to be held in the City of *Mersburgh*, in the month of Auguſt, in the yeer of our Lord 1203: where, in the preſence of the before named Princes, and of his friends, he was the ſecond time crowned by the Popes Legat; and his firſt election was approued and confirmed, and many reuolted from PHILIP to him, by reaſon (as they pretended) of the Popes cenſures.

At this time the Empreſſe CONSTANCE, Tutreſſe of the yong FREDERICK King of *Sicilia*, dying, ſhe recommended the protection of the childe to Pope INNOCENT, who ſent certain Legats to gouern thoſe Countries in the behalf of the yong King; who afterwards was Emperor, as you ſhall hear. OTHO his fauourites & partakers being gone from this Diet or Councell with victory, the next yeer following their fortune altred: for, PHILIP with the aid of *France*, *Saxony*, *Auſtria*, *Mentz*, *Wittembergh*, *Sueuia*, *Bauiere*, and the reſt of thoſe which held with him, came vpon the Lantzgraue and his confederates; and entring his Countries (as he had done the yeer before) took certain Caſtles. The King of *Bohemia* & the Count Palatine came to ioin with the Lantzgraue, and ſo to fight with PHILIP: but PHILIP met and fought with them before they could ioin with the Lantzgraue, and obtained the victory, although bloudy; the Bohemians running away, and diſordring themſelues in the beginning, ſo as great ſlaughter was made of them in the chace. PHILIP through this victory won ſo great reputation, that many of thoſe which vntil then had been ſilent and neuters, came to ſerue him; and ſtont his enemy came not a few. And the Lantzgraue, ſeeing his ſuccours ouerthrowne and ſcattered, and his Countrey ſpoiled, ſought means to come to ſome compoſition with PHILIP, and to ſerue him: and PHILIP (as he was a milde and courteous Prince) admitted him into his fauour and friendſhip; and the Lantzgraue with great humility cam and yeelded himſelf into his power.

The Bohemians ouerthrowne.

After him came ADOLPH, Archbiſhop of *Colen*; who nothing fearing the Popes excommunications, againſt ſuch as took part with PHILIP, or defended his quarrell, compounded with him alſo, promiſing to bring the Dukes of *Lorrain* and of *Brabant* to his deuotion; a thing which PHILIP much deſired, and gaue him to effect the ſame a great ſumme of money: which was the cauſe that many others did the like. So as this party growing now to be ſtrongeſt, a meeting was appointed to be had in *Aken*: and for as much as PHILIP had not been crowned there by a generall aſſent, he was again with great ſolemnity crowned Emperor and King of the Romans by the hands of the ſaid Archbiſhop ADOLPH, who deſpiſed and contemned his Popes cenſures: whereupon Pope INNOCENT depriued and depoſed him from his Archbiſhoprick, and ſent commandement to his Legat, who then lay in *Colen*, to cauſe another to be choſen: and the Chanons aſſembling, made choice of one BRVNVS, a man of great account; and OTHO took ſuch order, that he was preſently conſecrated by two Biſhops that came from *England*: wherewith PHILIP was ſo much inraged, that he preſently went and ſet vpon the City of *Colen*; and not being able to take it by force, hee ſpoiled the fields, and put the depoſed Archbiſhoppe in the poſſeſſion of ſome Towns in the Marches and Territories of that City; in ſo much that neither the one nor the other party could rule or gouern that Church.

The like happened afterwards in many other Churches; ſome houlding of the one faction, and others of the other: and miſerable *Germany* at this time endured grieuous calamities;

for, besides the great wars and battails, the Churches and Monasteries were robbed.

After all this, the next yeer following, which was the yeer 1205, PHILIP, with a great power of Princes and marshall men, came to make warre vpon OTHO, who with his friends and allies was in *Colen*; with whom, amongst such orhers as came thither, was GVIDO the Pope's Legate, and BRVNVS the Archbishop thereof. And with PHILIP came the deposed Bishop: but OTHO, hauing no sufficient forces to fight with him in field, held himself within the City, not daring to keep the field against him; which, PHILIP perceiuing, he sent for all the forces he could leuie, and besieged OTHO, and those which were with him in *Colen:* so as OTHO was in greater distresse than hee thought of in the beginning; and the siege was so sharp, that it was impossible for any man to get in or out without the leaue of the besiegers.

OTHO knowing that if he staied any longer there, besides the reputation which he lost, his person and life would be in great danger, resolued to make way through his enemies, or to dy in the action: and making choice of his best men, both of horse and foot, besides men of account, he one day suddenly salied and charged into his enemies Camp, and in the beginning made great slaughter of them; but being oppressed with the multitude, he vsed the means hee had propounded, and so escaped by flight: yet in the chace, many of those which salied with him were taken prisoners and slain. Among which, BRVNVS the new Archbishop was taken prisoner, whom PHILIP held in irons aboue one whole yeer after: and in this flight, OTHO neuer staied till he came into *Saxony*, where hee was harboured and protected by Duke BERNARD. PHILIP, thus preuailing, offered so honourable a composition to those of *Colen*, that they yeelded, and came all to his seruice; and restoring ADOLPH to his seat and Bishoprick, he wholly disannulled and made void the new election of BRVNVS, without any regard of the Pope's commandements.

OTHO perceiuing that PHILIP's power did daily more and more increase, and that hee had not any forces wherewith he might defend himself, took ship and sailed into *England*: and so for that time remained PHILIP peacefull Emperor, finding no man that in field made any resistance, but what the Pope did with his fulminations, whereof (as it seemeth) he made small account. And the better to assure to him self the loue of men (he naturally desiring to end matters by clemency) he gaue his eldest daughter in mariage to the King of *Bohemia*, and another daughter to the Duke of *Brabant's* eldest sonne: and so vpon other Princes he bestowed fauours and benefits; wherein (as saith the Abbat WESPERGENSIS) he spent his whole patrimony, giuing Towns and Castles, yea, Churches and their reuenues: for, so much do men desire to raign, that, to bring the same to effect, there is no law but they will break and violate; yea, and they think they may lawfully do it: which may well and sufficiently be prooued by such matters as passed in these times in the Empire of *Constantinople*; which, for that they make to our purpose and history, I will heer briefly recite, although so great accidents require a long relation: and so for a while we will leaue OTHO fled and banished into *England*, and PHILIP to inioy his victory.

In *Constantinople* then raigned ISAC or ISACIVS (of whom we haue made mention) as a *iust Prince and good Gouernor; who with a great summe of monie redeemed a brother of his,* a valiant and excellent Captain, called ALEXVS, who in the wars was taken prisoner by the Turks: to whom after his coming to his Court (besides the Lands & estate allowed him for his maintenance) he gaue so great authority and command in the gouernment, that all matters of greatest importance were ordered by his direction; and he being in this fauour, the diuell, ambition, and desire to raign, possessed him; so as, to bring his purpose to effect, hee resolued to break all lawes both diuine and humane, together with the bands wherein he stood bound to his soueraign Lord and brother: for, in requitall of the benefits receiued, with the help and assistance of such as himself, he apprehended his brother, and put out his eies, and seised vpon the Empire to his owne behoof: and a son of ISACIVS, called after his treacherous Vncles name, ALEXVS, fled, and came into *Germany* to the Emperor PHILIP, whose wife YRENE was this young mans sister: but as PHILIP was not so firmly seated in his Empire, as to be able to succour and relieue another, by reason of his wars with OTHO, so he could not then doo as he would haue done.

Noble-men in Venice.

At that time by chance (or else it was Gods will it should be so) were in *Venice*, BALDVVIN Earl of *Flanders*, and his brother HENRY; and BONIFACE Marqueese of *Monferrat*; LEVVES Earl of *Sauoy*; and other Noble Personages, with many souldiers and men of war; in-

duced to meet there, by Pope INNOCANT, for the conquest of *Ierusalem* and the holy Land: where they staid for shipping to go on their voyage; whither came, recommended to them by the Emperor PHILIP, this young ALEXVS. Whereupon these Princes (by the consent of the Duke and Senate of *Venice*, and of the Pope) concluded to go against the Tyrant ALEXVS: whereto the Venecians gaue great aid, sending an Admirall with a great fleet. The league and accord being made with the Nephew ALEXVS; hee promised, that being restored, he would reduce the Greek Church to the obedience of the Latin; and many other matters in recompense: and so they departed with a good and prosperous winde. And omitting such accidents as befell them in their voyage (wherein they took the Ile of *Creta*, now called *Candia*, and other places) it was so, that they arriued neer to the City of *Constantinople*, where the Tyrant ALEXVS in a readinesse awaited their coming, with a very great number of souldiers; and they, setting their men on land, had a battell with THEODORE LASCARVS the Tyrant's sonne-in-law, who salied forth with an Armie to fight with them: and hee being ouerthrowne, they pursued him to the gates of the City, which they besieged both by sea and land.

At the end of eight daies which they had been there (wherein were many braue skirmishes and fierce encounters) the Tyrant ALEXVS, seeing that he could not preuail, fled out of the City by night; and after him followed the most part of his complices: and the next day, the Citizens opening the Ports, took the blinde Emperor ISACIVS out of prison, and with him went forth to the Camp; where very willingly they took the sonne to bee Emperor, together with the father: and hee was with great solemnity receiued into the City, and crowned in the Church of Saint SOPHIA, in the presence of all the Latine Captains; wherewith the blinde father was greatly recomforted; and it seemed that all went well, and to the contentment of all men: and the Knights and Commanders of the Latines, to auoid the scandals which might arise between their people and the citizens, went to their Tents in the Camp.

In the mean while that the new Emperor and his father made payment to the Venecians of what they had promised, and had accomplished the same, the Greeks greatly murmuring for the naturall hatred which they bare against the Latines, the blinde Emperor ISACIVS died; and then presently began new scandals and tumults in the City, they all exclaiming against the promises made by the young ALEXVS to the Latines; and alleaging that they ought not to be performed, put themselues in Arms against them: but yet the new Emperor desired to haue throughly accomplished the same. Yet some Authors lay this breach to his charge; saying, that he would not hould his word. Finally, the matter fell so out, that the tumult infinitely increasing, one MIRTILLVS, who had been a Fauourite of the Emperor ISACIVS (beeing the chief occasion of this mutiny, and whom the Greeks chose for their Generall, calling him Emperor) went to the Palace where the new Emperor ALEXVS was, and *with his owne hand* slue him, within one month after his coronation: and the new vpstart Traitor MIRTILLVS was set in his place, who presently studied how he might set the fleet of the Venecians, and of the Princes of the Latines, on fire, and to cut off all victuals from them, and by assaulting them in their lodgings, to haue ouerthrowne and defeated them; but the effect ensued after another manner: for, after many skirmishes, slaughters, and effusion of much bloud (which for breuity I omit) the Latines had the victory, the Tyrant fled, and they were Lords of the City, together with all the countrey round about it. And for asmuch as the Empire was without any lawfull successor, and that they had made a conquest thereof, by a generall consent they resolued to chuse an Emperor; and, making among themselues fifteen Electors, BALDVVIN Earle of *Flanders* was chosen and created Emperor; and for such was sworn, receiued and obeyed: and the Patriarch, THOMAS MOROSINI, a Venecian Gentleman, presently went vnto *Rome*, where his Prelacy, and the Emperor's election, and all the rest, was approued and confirmed by the Pope; and he with his owne hands inuested him, and gaue to him for the Emperor the Imperiall Ensignes.

This great attempt being atchieued by these Captains, according to their first agreement they diuided what they had gotten; and the Ilands of *Creta*, now *Candia*, and *Eubœa* now *Negrepont*, were giuen to the Venecians, which they haue held vnto this day: and for as much as the Ile of *Candia* was first giuen to BONIFACE, Marqueese of *Monferrato*; the Countrey of *Thessalia*, which is a Prouince of *Macedonia*, was giuen him, with the title of King; with other rewards and shares giuen to other Princes, aswell in the Ilands, as in the Maine; of which remained estates, and houses, which I omit: and so the Empire continued BALDVVIN's and his

successors, for the space of more then 60. years; with such aduentures, as you shall heare hereafter: but *Adrianople* rebelling, defending it self all this while; THEODORE LASCARVS the Emperor ALEXVS son in law, who (as we said) salied out to fight with the Latins, being gotten into the same, The new Emperor, BALDVVIN, besieged that Citie, and died before it, and his brother HENRY succeeded him in the Empire: the rest you shall vnderstand when the turne commeth.

Now let vs returne to our storie of PHILIP Emperor of *Germany*, whom we left victorious; and to OTHO fled into *England*: yet let the Reader remember and abhorre the treasons of ALEXVS and MIRTILVS; whereof the one put out the eyes of his owne brother; and the other murthered his soueraigne Lord: and let him consider what ends they had, and therewith, how little stabilitie and assurance there is in the Empires and principalities of this world; and with how vniust titles they are oftentimes gotten and possessed; of all which, there hath been a sufficient and apparant example, in that which hath now been spoken of the Grecke Empire. The Emperor PHILIP hauing expelled OTHO out of *Germany*, he and his followers imagined that their aduersaries should not be able any more to molest him: neuertheless in regard of peace, he beeing in disgrace with the Church of *Rome*, by the aduice of the Princes which were assembled for that purpose, sent his Ambassadors to the Pope, excusing his doings, alleaging the equity of his cause, entreating him to establish som peace in the Empire, to absolue him, and to confirm his election, and therewith yeelded himselfe to his obedience. The Pope hearing the Ambassage, gaue also eare to the treaties, and sent, for his Ambassadors, Cardinals, Legates of great account, to the Emperour, to treate of a peace: which being come, and with much honour receiued; among other motions, one was, that the Emperour should marry a daughter which he had, to RICHARD the Popes Nephew; and should giue him therewith the estates of *Spoleto* in *Tuscane*, and the *Marca de Ancona*, which belonged to the Church of *Rome*, and were in the Emperors possession.

This motion (as saith ABBAS WESPERGENSIS) was made by the Emperor, by that meane to win the Popes grace and fauour: yet some attribute it to the Pope. These and many other matters were motioned, and there were many meetings of Princes; whither his competitor OTHO also sent his Ambassadors; and afterwards came out of *England* into *Saxony* in person. And of the one side and of the other, many demands and offers were made (the Cardinals Legates being vmpiers and mediators betweeh them) in the end, in a generall meeting which was held in a Towne on the borders of *Saxony*, OTHO being in a Castle neere vnto it, security being giuen by either party, a generall peace was concluded, vpon condition that OTHO should marrie with the daughter of the Emperor PHILIP, and be held for king of the Romans, and future Emperor after the decease of PHILIP: Which agreement was confirmed & sworn, and a general pardon was giuen by one to the other, and the Pope dispensed with their neer eneesse of blood; and all such as were excommunicate, were absolued by the Popes Legates: and so all was in peace and quiet, and OTHO remained the Emperors son in law, and heire apparant, and for such was presently sworne, and the Legates returned to *Rome*: All which passed in the yeere of our Lord 1207, wherewith all men were very glad and well contented, hoping that it would haue long continued; for PHILIP was an exceeding liberall and courteous Prince, and deerely beloued generally of all men. But it otherwise happened: for the yeere following, the Emperor being in the Towne of *Bambergh*, for the recouery of his health; OTHO Count Palatine *Witilspach*, who had been his deadly enemy (and was so still in secret) came to the Emperors court, shewing himselfe publikely to be his loyall seruant. His comming (as it afterwards appeared) was but to practice the Emperors death, and as a traytor to kill him, which PHILIP nothing suspected.

The Emperour being one day after dinner in his chamber reposing himselfe vpon his bed, for that he finding himself somewhat ill, had been let bloud that day; the Count Palatine called at his chamber doore, accompanied with some which were acquainted with his prerence: and the Emperor vnderstanding who he was, made the doore to be opened, notwithstanding that none were with him but his Chancellor the Bishop of *Spire*, and a page which waited on his Cup, called HENRY of *Wilspurch*, without any weapons: the Count Palatine at his entrance, imagining the time now fit for him to execute his diuelish intent and treason, at the dore tooke his sword from a page which carried the same; and suddenly drawing it, before that the Bishop or page could rescue him, wounded the Emperour in the throat: which wound, although it were not great, yet it was mortall, and he presently died thereof, the organe pipes being cut. The

The death of the Emperor Philip.

The Page, making a lowd outcrie, would haue shutte the doore, to the intent that the Count Palatine should not haue gotten forth: but he gaue him a sore wound ouer the face, and opening the door departed: and ioyning with the Bishop of *Bambergh*, and the Marquesse of *Missia*, which were his confederats in this treason, they al togither fled from the Court, vpon poast horses which they had layd for that purpose.

This murther was committed vpon the 22. day of Iune, in the yere of our Lord 1208. in the tenth yeere of this Emperors raigne. Great was the tumult which grew hereof, and the concourse of the people which ranne to the Emperors chamber: who finding him dead, made great moane and lamentation for him (for he was a Prince well beloued, for the noblenesse and liberalitie of his mind) all men abhorring the Count Palatines treason: for which he escaped not vnpunished; for he was slaine by the Emperors steward HENRY, in reuenge of his Lords death. The Emperor PHILIP had neuer any sonne, but foure daughters then married; one with OTHO the King of the Romanes, when the peace was made betweene them, which OTHO succeeded him: and another with the King of *Bohemia*, another with the Duke of *Brabants* eldest sonne, and the fourth with RICHARD Earle of *Tuscane*, nephew to Pope INNOCENT. In *Constantinople* raigned HENRY the brother of BALDVVIN, of whome we of late made mention.

THE LIFE OF OTHO, THE FIFT OF THAT NAME, AND HVNDRETH ROMAN EMPEROR.

(**)

THE ARGVMENT.

AFter the death of the Emperor Philip, Otho *without any contradiction was taken for Emperor; and, notwithstanding that he was chosen for his successor in* Philips *time, it pleased the Electors to chuse him anew: and he being confirmed, was crowned by the Bishop of Colen. After the ceremonies were ended, he applied himself to persecute the murderers of* Philip; *and notwithstanding that hee was well pleased with his death, neuertheless he made this shew of reuenge. Hecame afterwards to be crowned in Rome: but a great tumult arising between his people and the citizens, he departed in choler with the Pope, and made warre vpon him; so as the Pope excommunicated him, and deprined him of the Empire. Whereupon, many Princes of Germany, denying him their obedience, chose another Emperor, which was* Frederick, *King of Sicilia: and although that* Otho *fought by many meanes to recouer the Empire; yet he could neuer attain thereto; and so died a priuate Lord in Saxony, when he had raigned fiue yeers.*

BY how much PHILIP was a better Emperor then his competitor OTHO, it was not long before the same OTHO made it apparant; notwithstanding that in the beginning he gaue some signes to the contrarie: so as we may hold the old prouerbe to be true, which saith, that Authoritie will manifest a man. As soone as the violent death of PHILIP was published, the agreement being yet fresh in memorie, that OTHO should succeede him; by common consent he was held for Emperor: yet he held not the dignitie long, being cast downe by the Popes sentence which had raysed him: and notwithstanding that in the life time of PHILIP he had been twice crowned, neuertheless the princes, electors (according to the antient custome) met at *Franckford*; and he being there chosen

According to the Germane Emperours this Otho *should be the fourth: but holding the ordinary course he was the Fift of that name.*

sen againe went to *Aken*, and there was crowned by the Archbishop of *Colen*, although with some delay; for the Archbishop of *Spire*, who was Chauncellor to the late Emperor PHILIP, and was present (as we said) when he was slaine, had lodged himselfe in a very strong Castle, and would not deliuer the Sceptre, the Crosse, the Crowne, and the Imperiall ensignes, which remained in his custodie; except he were first confirmed in his office of Chauncellor: whereupon the new Emperor confirmed him; and so was crowned peaceably with great solemnitie: which being ended, Pope INNOCENT's Legates came to him (who had euer been his friend) to congratulate his election, and to approoue and confirme the same: the comming of which Legates, the Emperor attended in the citie of *Hiperboli*; and they deliuered their ambassade, and treated of other matters concerning the generall peace and publike good: and offered the Emperor in the behalfe of the Pope, that if he would come to *Rome*, the Pope would crowne him with his own hands, as his predecessors had done.

OTHO hauing dispatched these Legates, he took his way towards *Suevia*, to take possession thereof, in the right of his wife the Emperor PHILIP's daughter; with whom, at the conclusion of the peace he was maried; and to whom (he said) that state did appertain: yet FREDERICK King of *Sicilia*, PHILIP's nephew, who afterwards was Emperour, was called Duke of *Suevia*; and was so afterwards. OTHO comming into *Suevia* (protesting his comming thither to be, to quiet the troubles, by suppressing robberies and violences committed in that countrie; much whereof he redressed) gaue so ill entertainment and countenance to the Earles, Barons, and Gentlemen of that great Duchie, that many of them abandoned the countrey; and he made himselfe to be generally ill beloued: yet there wanted not some, which to flatter him, commended his doings (a thing which maketh Kings and Princes most to erre, and to continue in their errors). And within few daies after he went to *Augsburgh*, which is in the same prouince; whither he summoned the Princes to come; and with their consent he proceeded against OTHO, Count Palatine of *Wittilspach*, (who murthered the Emperour PHILIP) and against such as were his complices in the murther: all which were condemned, being absent, as guiltie of high treason, and were depriued of all the dignities, goods and lands which they possessed; of which, some he bestowed vpon others, and part hee confisked to the chamber of the Empire. And notwithstanding that all men presumed that he was well pleased with the death of PHILIP, yet he inflicted this punishment; and outwardly made shew of much sorrow for the same: and some were of opinion that the Count Palatine murthered the Emperour PHILIP, in hope that his successor OTHO would haue rewarded him for the fact. But whatsoeuer any man thought, he did as I say, and well might he be pleased with his death; and displeased with the treason. By meanes of this punishment, and for righting some other wrongs, he began in many mens opinion to be reputed a good Emperour, and a great Iusticer: yet amongst men of the better sort he was blamed, for the oppression which he vsed, both in *Suevia* and in other places: but in the beginning hee was without contradiction obeyed of all men.

Few daies after this, in the moneth of March, in the yeere 1209, hee summoned a generall Parliament or Diet, to be held in the citie of *Haguena*; where the principall point that was handled, was but how to get aide and reliefe from the Princes and estates of the Empire, towards his iourney into *Italy*, to be crowned in *Rome*: and it was concluded, that he should doe so; and many offered him their seruice, and to accompanie him in that iourney: and so he, and they which were to go with him, leuied their forces, and put themselues in a readinesse, with such expedition that in the beginning of Iuly following, they all met in the citie of *Augsburgh*; from whence he took his way towards *Italy*: first leauing his wife the Empresse in *Saxony*, in the citie of *Branschaiel*, which was his inheritance; which, with other townes, he held and defended, being part of the estate of HENRY the proud, when he was deposed; and descending downe through the valleys of *Trent*, he went directly to *Verona*; where he was receiued and obeyed as their Lord: and from thence went to *Milan*, and by other cities of *Lombardy*, to *Bologna*; whither he summoned the cities of *Lombardy*, and all the townes and cities subiect to the Empire in *Italy*, to come to a Councel: wherein he was so fortunate, that all obeyed, and came at his summons peaceably, and furnished him with men and mony for his iourney: and many Earles and Barons accompanied him in person, in such sort, that he departed thence very strong towards *Rome*; where Pope INNOCENT attended his comming, and he and all his Nobles which came with him, were there receiued with great ioy, and he himselfe was crowned in S. PETER's Church by the Pope; who had much desired to see that day, perswading himself that he should haue

A Councell held by the Emperor in Bologna.

haue had a great friend of him, seeing that he had euer procured his greatnes against the Emperor PHILIP: and the Emperor, after the accustomed manner, sware obedience to the Church of *Rome*, and to enlarge, and not to vsurpe the patrimonie thereof: which he afterwards hardly performed.

The same day, betweene his souldiers, which remained in his Camp neere to the walles of *Rome* (part whereof were come to see the citie) and the citizens, arose so great a tumult and bickering, that about a thousand of the Emperours men were slaine; wherewith hee was very much incensed; and so was the Pope, who indeede was his friend: And seeing that greater inconueniences were likely to haue ensued, he departed, and came directly to *Milan* with his Army, accusing and blaming the Pope for what had passed; and in *Milan* hee was receiued and obeyed, and lay there all the winter, which was very tempestuous. Leauing there his Imperiall ensignes (wherewith the Milanois held themselues greatly honoured) reinforcing his Army (for that he had discharged a great part thereof) he departed in the Spring, to make a conquest of the Church lands; first in the prouince of *Tuscane*, where he took many places: and thence he went into the *Marca de Ancona*, where he did the like, and could not be resisted: and from thence it was thought that he would haue made warre in the territorie of *Rome*, and haue besieged the citie. The Pope sent his Legates vnto him, putting him in mind of the fauours and good offices which he had done him; and to require and admonish him to desist from his enterprise: but the Emperour making no account thereof, leauing garrisons in those townes, marched towards the kingdome of *Naples*, and began to make warre against FREDERICK king of *Sicilia*: and took (the young King mistrusting no such matter) the citie of *Capua*, and many others in those quarters: wherewith the Pope was no lesse displeased then with the former, but rather more, for that he held those kingdomes as feodatorie to the Church of *Rome*; and also for that the Pope had the protection and gouernment of the young King: so that the Pope, seeing that all his Ambassages and admonitions preuailed not, resolued to vse a more violent course, proceeding against him by censures and excommunications, and by his Letters and messengers excommunicated him through all *Italy* and *Germany*: and he also excommunicated all such as followed him, or did him seruice: which excommunications some prelates obeyed, whereupon new troubles began. But the Emperour regarded it not, but was rather therewith the more incensed, and prospered well in the warre, taking all *Pulia*, and *Calabria*; and placing garrisons in the Castles and fortresses, made account to haue bin King thereof. Whereupon the Pope leuied souldiers, and fortified the citie of *Rome*, fearing to haue been besieged; and againe sent into *Germany*, to proclaime and publish the Emperour for deprined; and to release his subiects from the homage and faith which they ought him. CARION writes, that Pope INNOCENT the Third seeing that all *Italy* in a manner had yeelded voluntarily vnto OTHO, and fearing that the Popes power & command would be therby much shortned and restrained, for that he could not so sodenly repulse the victor by Armes, hee flew to the weapon of excommunication, in which alone (whileft that superstition swayed and ouerruled mens consciences) they reposed all their safetie. This, being fearefull to men grownded in superstition, not onely expelled, OTHO out of all *Italy*, but vtterly ouerthrew him and ruined him; the Princes of *Germany* being perswaded by the Archbishop of *Mentz* (who was the chief Instrument of the Popes tyrannie in *Germany*, and the executioner of his vniust decrees) to reiect OTHO, and to send for FREDERICK the sonne of HENRY, to whome they had promised the Empire being a child before PHILIP and OTHO. OTHO being aduertised hereof, and that the Archbishop of *Mentz*, the Lantzgraue of *Turinge*, and some others, claue to the Pope; and that there were both priuate and publike treaties and practices against him, with the King of *Bohemia*, the Duke of *Austria*, and other Princes, he was much afraid: and leauing garrisons in such places as he had taken, in great haste he left the kingdome of *Naples*, and marching by long iourneys, came into *Germany*, in the yeere of our Lord 1212, and called a Councell in the citie of *Norimbergh*; in which Councell it was decreed, that he should make warre against the Archbishop of *Mentz*, and the Lantzgraue of *Turinge*: and so the war began, and was very cruel.

The Emperor made warre against the Pope.

At this time died his wife the Empresse, daughter to the Emperor PHILIP. Notwithstanding all this, HARMAN Lantzgraue of *Turinge*, SIFRIDE Archbishop of *Mentz*, the King of *Bohemia*, the Duke of *Austria*, the Archbishop of *Trenier*, and others which resolued to take Armes with them, and to obey the Popes censures, and to denie their obedience to the Emperor; taking the Popes aduice in the matter, who in all interposed his authoritie, chose FREDERICK King of *Sicilia* for Emperor; who was but a youth, little more then eighteene yeeres old:

old: and sent their Ambassadours vnto him, with their authoritie, soliciting him to come into the Empire; alleaging that in right he was and ought to be Emperour, for that he was chosen and sworne King of the Romanes, in the time of his father HENRY the Sixt: the like reason they gaue to the other Princes in *Germany*: whereat Pope INNOCENT greatly reioyced, and in word and deed approued the same. OTHO herewith was very much troubled, and seeking meanes to defend his estate, made terrible warres against his aduersaries. The Germane Ambassadours were well receiued by the King of *Sicilia*, who was in great doubt to vndertake so great an enterprise; but being perswaded by them, and by the French Kings Letters (who was OTHO's enemy, for his strict allyance to the house of *England*) he consented thereto, and was called Emperor.

Frederick king of Sicilia chosen Emperor.

FREDERICK hauing in this manner accepted the Empire; he first applyed himself to recouer such townes as OTHO had taken from him in the Kingdom of *Naples*; which being done, with the greatest power he could raise, he tooke his way towards *Germany*; and in his iourney went to kisse the Popes foote, and to intreate him that he might be crowned Emperour of the Romanes, seeing that he was called and chosen: but the Pope resolued him that his request could not be graunted, for that thereby the auntient custome in the election and coronation of Emperours should be peruerted: and so incouraging him to proceede in his enterprise, he sent his Legat with him, to be present at his Coronation in *Germany*; and therein to vse his authority, and to proceede against such as were disobedient, or rebelled against him. Herewith the Emperor elect continued his iourney; wherein, the cities of *Pauia* and *Cremona*, and some other, ayded and assisted him; *Milan* and the rest being against him.

Finally, with much trouble and danger he arriued at the citie of *Constance* in *Germany*, whither many men of warre repaired to him, together with some Princes which were of his faction: which, OTHO vnderstanding, as he was very valiant, so with the greatest power he could leuie he went to that citie, thinking to haue been able to haue either slaine or ouerthrowne this new Emperor FREDERICK: but the men of warre which he brought with him, daily forsooke him and went ouer to FREDERICK; in such sort, that seeing himselfe abandoned, he retired into his countrie: and FREDERICK, very mightie, and accompanied with a great Army, marched along the riuer of *Rhine*, to the citie of *Mentz*; where many prelates and Princes were assembled; all forsaking OTHO, holding him for depriued, in performance of the Pope and his Legates commandement: amongst which, thither came the Archbishops and Bishops of *Mentz*, *Treuier*, *Colen*, *Constance*, *Basil*, *Spire*, *Hiperbole*, the King of *Bohemia*, the Lantzgraue of *Turinge*, the Count Palatine of *Rhine*, besides those which were already come with him; from whence, after the handling and concluding of many matters, FREDERICK departed towards *Aken*, where he was crowned with the first crowne, in the presence of the Popes Legate, who approoued and confirmed his election; and so he attained to the Empire: and for his better assurance in that estate, hee procured peace and a league with PHILIP, then King of *France*.

Frederick crowned with the first crowne in Aken.

The Emperour OTHO seeing himself in *Saxony* thus forsaken, got from *England*, and other parts, such forces as he could, and came into the countrie of *Guelders*, where hee made cruell warre, for that it held with FREDERICK; and from thence, together with the Earle of *Flanders*, who was of that faction (for that he married with IOANE daughter to BALDVVIN Earle of *Flanders*, which held the Empire of *Constantinople*, and at that time ioyned with *England* against *France*, and with the Earle of *Bologna* in *France* who had rebelled) they went to ioyne with the King of *Englands* forces, to fight with the French King (which OTHO did for the alliance betweene him and the house of *England*) thinking, by ouerthrowing the King of *France*, who was enemie to them both, he should be restored to his Empire. But his conceits deceiued him: for the King of *France* came and fought a battaile with them, neere to the citie of *Tournay*; which is recorded to haue been very bloudie and cruell, wherein the French king was in great daunger to haue been slaine by the Emperor OTHO, who dismounted him: but he being rescued, encouraging his people, obtained the victory; and OTHO escaped by flight, but the Earle of *Flanders* was taken prisoner, and some other principall men: and OTHO in the best manner that he could got into *Saxony*; voide of all hope to recouer the Empire, when he had bin Emperor the space of fiue yeeres, and they not fully expired; and there with sorow and anguish hee ended his daies. How long he liued after that he was deposed, authors write not: but true it is, that his raigne as Emperour, ended in the yeere of our Lord 1213.

In *Constantinople* (as writeth BLONDVS) the same day that OTHO was ouerthrown, HENRY (brother to the Greeke Emperor BALDVVIN) died; who being Earle of *Flanders* obtained that Empire; and hauing made warre with the Duke of *Walachia* (which is part of the antient *Dacia*) he made a peace with him, marrying himselfe with his daughter, and he gaue his owne daughter to PETER, Earle ALTISIODORENSIS: and he (as I said) dying at this time without any heire, the said Earle PETER had the Empire, and came afterwards to *Rome*, and was crowned by the Pope.

In the time of the Emperor OTHO (by whose aide, and the assistance of HENRY Emperour of *Constantinople*, an excellent French captain, called IOHN *de Bregna*, had the kingdome of the East, with the title of King of *Ierusalem*; being called thereto, onely for the valour of his person; marrying him with the daughter of ISABEL, to whom that kingdome appertained, as is aforesaid) the Captaines and masters of those parts denyed their obedience to ALMERGVS King of *Cyprus*, of whom particularmention hath bin made. And so IOHN *de Bregna* had that kingdom, of whom we must of necessitie speake hereafter: for which cause we remember him in this place.



THE LIFE OF FREDERICK THE SECOND OF THAT NAME, AND THE HVNDRETH AND FIRST ROMANE EMPEROVR.

(***)

THE ARGVMENT.

FRederick *hauing obtained the Empire, made a solemne vow to goe to the warres of the Holy Land; and comming to be crowned in Italy, was earnestly perswaded thereto by the Pope; whereupon he entred into the Croisade; and deferring his going, many Lords went into the East without him. In the meane time there grew discord between him and the Pope, for that he withheld certaine lands belonging to the Church, and for deposing certaine Bishops from their Bishopricks in Sicilia, and placing others at his pleasure; vpon which occasions the Pope proceeded against him with his pontificall Armes, and excommunicated him: But the King of Ierusalem comming afterwards into Italy, and giuing the Emperor his daughter to wife, he was absolued, and he againe promised to goe to the warres in the East: but delaying the time, and finding daily new occasions to deferre his going, he was in the end againe excommunicate; by reason whereof he resolued to goe: but being arriued in the East, he procured an agreement with the Soldan, and obtained the citie of Ierusalem, and therein was crowned: but this satisfied not the Pope, neither the Christian Princes; and then he returned into Europe with small reputation, and went into Germany, where his soune (through his Fathers absence) had taken vpon him very great authoritie, whereof grew some suspicions between them, which were soone ended; neuertheless, the Emperor comming into Italy (by reason of Lombardy) and finding that his sonne was his enemy, he causing him to be apprehended, made him to die in prison: and bending his forces against Lombardy, principally against Milan, he vsed such rigour, that the Pope became his open enemy; and calling a Councell to be held in Lions in France, he excommunicated him, and induced the electors to chuse a new Emperour: which was the Lantzgraue* Henry, *who liued but a while after; and then the Earle of Holland was chosen, against whom his sonne* Conrade *continually warred, although with no great successe. But*

Frederick

Frederick *being in Italie, seeking to be reuenged of certaine Cities which rebelled; and seeing that his enemies became daily more mighty, by reason of an Ouerthrow giuen him, he with drew himselfe with dishonour into Pulia, where falling sicke hee dyed (as it was thought) through the practice of his base sonne* Manfrede, *when hee had held the Empire, about fiue and thirty yeeres.*



IN such manner as I haue declared, had this second FREDERICK the Empire, and therwith the Duchie of *Suevia*; hauing first been King of *Naples*, *Sicilia* and *Sardinia*, and held the same the space of thirty and odde yeers, with great reuolutions, warres, battails and troubles, as you shall hear: wherefore I must spend more time in writing the history of his life, than of some others. He was at no lesse variance with the Church of *Rome*, than the other FREDERICK his Grandfather was before him; and it now seemed to be an hereditary malady, through which the Emperours and the Popes neuer failed to bee at contention and discord; for the Popes would vphold their Supreme Authoritie, their Lands also and Patrimonie: whose only study and care was to make all old *Italy* which is diuided from *Lombardy* by the riuer of *Rubicon*, subject to the Citie of *Rome*, from whence they had excluded the Emperors; The Popes knowing that what they attempted, they should neuer attaine vnto, nor long maintaine the authority which they had gotten, vnlesse they should suppresse the Emperors growing power in *Italy*, neither could the warres be euer pacified, vntill they had gotten all they desired, or wrested away part: Neither did they as Popes doe in these daies, inrich their kinsfolks with the goods of the Church, but to settle and inlarge their dominion. This CARION writes, and this experience hath seen verified.

The Emperors after they had obtained the Empire, and were established in their thrones, pretending that all the jurisdiction and supreme power in temporall causes, both in *Germany* and in *Italy* appertained to them, could therefore endure no superiority; and there wanted not men of either side to perswade them that they had reason: and sometimes ambition and couetousnesse of eyther side were the occasions of the miseries before mentioned, and of such as we will relate.

Discord betwixt the Pope and the Emperor.

FREDERICK seeing himselfe freed from his aduersary OTHO; the better to justifie his title and raigne, caused a new assembly and meeting to be held of the Princes of the Empire, and of the deputies of the Imperiall Cities, and went to *Aken*, where he caused himselfe to be the second time crowned with great solemnitie; and then he made a publike solemne vowe, within a certaine time to goe in person to the warres and conquest of the Citie of *Ierusalem*, for the victory which God had giuen him: and in requitall of the ayde and fauour receiued from Pope INNOCENT, he gaue for euer to the Church of *Rome* the Citie and Countie of *Fundi*; with all which the Pope was very glad.

Frederick the second time crowned.

After this coronation, FREDERICK went through sundry prouinces, and making himselfe absolute Lord thereof, brought them to his obedience as to their Emperour. And for as much as HENRY Duke of *Brabant* had not yet done him homage, he with all the speede possible, with a great Army, marched into that prouince: and the Duke seeing himself in danger, sought his fauour, offering to obey, and to doe him seruice, and was admitted, he giuing his son and other Noble men of his house, for hostages and assurance thereof. Few daies after this (by the Emperors consent) Pope INNOCENT called a generall Councell in the Citie of *Rome*, whither came from all parts of Christendome, Greeke and Latine, the Patriarchs of *Ierusalem* and *Constantinople*, threescore and ten Archbishops Metropolitanes, foure hundred and twelue Bishops, eight hundred and odde Priors and Abbats couentuall; and Ambassadours from the Emperour FREDERICK and King of *Sicilia*, from the Emperour of *Constantinople*, from the Kings of *France*, *England*, *Spaine*, *Arragon*, *Hungary*, *Cyprus* and *Ierusalem*; and from other Kings and Princes: in which Councell were condemned certaine sects newly risen in *France*; but the chiefest matter that therein was handled, was for the warres and conquest of the Citie of *Ierusalem*, whereto they all gaue their consent, promising ayde and assistance. The Pope sent his Leters into all parts of Christendome, inciting all men to this holy war: graunting large Indulgences and Pardons to such as dyed in that action: and all such as gaue their names to goe to that warre,

A Councell held by the Pope in the city of Rome

war, took for their deuice the signe of the Crosse of *Ierusalem*, which they ware vpon their garments, and were called Croisats. And so an infinite number of men, and many Princes tooke the same: amongst which in *Germany* the Emperor FREDERICK took it, and HENRY Duke of *Brabant*, the Duke of *Morauia*, the Duke of *Iuliers*, the Count Palatine of *Tubingen*, the Marquess of *Baden*, the Earl of *Nassao*, the Duke of *Limburgh* and other Princes; with the Archbishop of *Mentz*, and many other Bishops: and in *France*, were many which prepared and armed themselues for this expedition, which afterwards took no such effect as the preparation seemed to prognosticate. Amongst other matters, the great warres betweene the Pisans and the Genoayes (then two mighty common wealths by sea) was a great let and hinderance; wherefore the Councell being ended (which was one of the most famous that euer had been) the Pope went from *Rome* to *Perugia*, that by his authority he might settle some peace or truce between these two Common-wealths; where, within few daies, without concluding ought, he died, hauing gouerned the Church of *Rome* eighteen yeers and a half. He being dead, HONORIVS the Third was chosen, who in the beginning of his Papacy crowned PETER and his wife, Emperor of *Constantinople*; who (as I haue heertofore tould you) succeeded his father-in-law HENRY.

The death of Pope Innocent and the election of Honorius.

While these matters passed, the Emperour FREDERICK applyed himselfe to settle and confirme his estate in the Empire; and to prouide for his comming into *Italy* to be crowned in *Rome*, defering his iourney to *Ierusalem* vntill this were done. But Pope HONORIVS (hauing a prophecie reuealed vnto him, importing that in his time the Citie of *Ierusalem*, should be recouered) vsed all means possible to cause those which had vndertaken the same to depart into the East, and neuer ceased to vrge the Emperor FREDERICK to accomplish the vow which he had made; threatning him with censures if he performed not the same: but the Emperor delaying his going; by the Popes perswasion there went into the East, ANDREVV King of *Hungary*, the Dukes of *Bauiere* and *Austria*; and out of *France*, the Earl of *Niuers*, WALTER the Kings chamberlain, and other great men; and with them went IOHN *de Columna* the Popes Legate, with so many good men of warre, that it was hoped they would haue effected some great matter: who being arriued in *Palestina* in *Asia*, in the harbour of *Ptolomaida*, otherwise called *Acon*, after certain consultations, ioyning themselues with IOHN *de Bregna*, King of *Ierusalem*, and with the Masters of the Knights Templars, of S. IOHN, and the Dutch Orders, and all their forces, whose number was great; they departed thence with a prosperous winde to the City of *Damietta*, called in antient time *Pelusium*, on the coast of *Egypt*, in one of the mouthes of the riuer of *Nilus* where it falleth into the sea; which they besieged the space of eighteen months: in which time many accidents befell, which the Authors write, and I ouerpasse as nothing to my purpose. The Soldan of *Egypt* was heerwith so much put to his shifts, that he offred to giue vp the City of *Ierusalem* and the Territories thereof, vpon condition that they would raise their siege from before *Damietta*: and notwithstanding that there were sundry opinions between the Kings and Princes concerning the same, yet in the end it was concluded not to accept thereof; wherein they greatly erred, as by the sequell it appeared. In the mean time, the Soldans sonne CORDIRIVS, who was in *Ierusalem*, seeing what distresse *Damietta* was in, and that both he and his father were out of hope to defend *Ierusalem*, threw down and minated all the wals thereof. In the end, the Christians took the City of *Damietta*, and certain other Towns in that Quarter, and in all things had then good successe, although afterwards the contrary ensued.

A voyage into the holy land.

Ierusalem dismantled by the soldans son of Egypt.

The city of Damietta in Egypt taken from the Soldan by the Christians.

At this time, which was in the yeere of our Lord 1220, the Emperor FREDERICK came into *Italy*; and by Letters and Ambassages vnderstanding the Popes mind, came to *Rome*, and was therein receiued and crowned, with the ceremonies accustomed, and there he againe vowed and bound himselfe, to make his voyage into the East, promising also great matters to the Pope: but being out of *Rome*, their friendship continued not long, for he presently seised certaine townes into his hands, pretending that they appertained vnto him. CARION writes, that FREDERICK coming into *Italy* certain Noble men of *Tuscanie* and *Apulia* with some Bishops falling from their alleagеance to the Emperor, by the Popes instigation inuaded both what belonged to the Empire and to FREDERICK by inheritance, whereof some places they took and held, others they spoiled and burnt: the Emperour being incensed with their perfidious trecherie, came to Arms; and hauing happily subdued his enemies he displaced the Bishops and subrogated others in their places. The rest which had fled vnto the Pope (the Author of the sedition) depriued both of dignity and estate he condemned to

perpetuall banisſment. The Pope requiring to haue theſe reſtored, the Emperor in a graue Oration refuſed him, inueighing bitterly againſt the ambition, pride, fraude, and practices of Popes, whoſe ſpeech is yet extant. This bred a bitter hatred between them, which burſt forth into cruell wars.

Then the Emperor came into *Lombardy*, to ſettle that eſtate; and paſſing through *Tuſcane*, there aroſe ſome controuerſie between his ſouldiers and the inhabitants of that countrie: the like hapned afterwards in *Lombardy*, ſo as he began to grow odious, and ill beloued: and from thence he gaue a turne to viſite his kingdoms of *Sicilia* and *Naples*; where, beſides the taking of ſome towns and places from the Pope, he placed certain Biſhops, in ſome Churches diſplacing ſuch as the Pope had enſtalled therein; alleaging that the Kings of *Sicilia* had a priuilege to do ſo. Whereupon the Pope and he fell at open variance, and the Pope proceeded againſt him by his fulminations, commanding him particularly to accompliſh his vow, for the conqueſt of the Holy-land, and pronounced him for excommunicate, if within a preſixed time he reſtored not what he had taken; and performed not his vow: and ſo this contention continuing, he ſeiſing many townes into his hands (which he left garriſoned and fortified) returned into *Germany*.

Whileſt theſe matters paſſed in *Italy*, great diſcord and diſſenſion aroſe in the Army in the Eaſt, between the kings and princes, and the Popes Legate about the ſuperiority, and at what time, and in what manner the warre was to be made: but finally, the Chriſtians agreed to take the field, and to beſiege the great city of *Babylon* in *Egypt*, called *Cair*, and other Townes thereabouts, in the moneth of Iuly, in the yeer 1221, with an Army of threeſcore and ten thouſand excellent men of warre, foote and horſe, beſides groomes and horſe-boyes. And notwithſtanding that the Soldan had an exceeding huge Army, yet he durſt not, or would not fight with them, of purpoſe prolonging the warre, vntill that about two moneths after (the Chriſtians hauing not encamped themſelues in ſuch place and order, as was conuenient, and as they ought to haue done) the riuer *Nilus* ſwelled and ouerflowed, as it vſually doth in that countrey yeerly in Auguſt: Beſides which, the Soldan cauſed the dikes and bankes thereof to be broken and cut, which in antient time were made for a defence, and to keepe in the waters of that riuer: ſo as the Chriſtians Campe was enuironed with water, in ſuch ſort that they could not forrage or get any victuals: finally, they were ſo diſtreſſed, that they ſent to the Soldan (who lay not farre from them) offering to come to a compoſition with him: In concluſion (to be briefe, and to return to my Hiſtory) after many treaties between the Kings, the Legate, and the Soldan; a peace or truce was concluded for eight yeers, and that hee ſhould ſuffer them freely to depart; and that therewith they ſhould preſently render the City of *Damietta*, and ſuch other townes of leſſe importance, which they held in *Egypt*; and that all Captiues of either ſide ſhould haue liberty; and that the Chriſtians ſhould depart with their troups, to the Cities of *Ptolomaida*, *Tyre*, and ſuch other places as they held in *Soria*.

Babylon beſieged by the Chriſtians

A peace between the chriſtians and the Soldan.

Theſe conditions being agreed vpon, the Soldan made prouiſion for them, and holp them vpon their way, vntill they came to *Damietta*; where the Chriſtans againe fell at variance amongſt themſelues, about giuing vp of the City: but in the end it was yeelded, and the Chriſtian army returned into *Paleſtina*, part by land and part by ſea. And from the port of *Ptolomaida* the king of *Ieruſalem* returned to his countrey; and the king of *Hungary*, and the other Dukes, into *Europe*, vnto theirs, with little contentment and leſſe ioy; extreme ſad and ſorrowfull for their ill ſucceſſe; hauing done little or nothing to any purpoſe: by reaſon whereof, there was great ſorrow and heauineſs through all Chriſtendome, and all men murmured againſt the Emperor FREDERICK, for that he went not that iourney. In the next yeere, which was in the yeer of our Lord 1222, the Emperor ſtiimoned a Councell to be held in the City of *Hiperbull*, where he procured the electors to make his yong ſon HENRY, of the age of fiue yeeres, king of the Romans; and ſo he cauſed him to be crowned in the City of *Aken*.

Preſently after this, Iohn *de Bregna* king of *Ieruſalem*, ſeeing the ſmall power of the Chriſtians in the Eaſt, reſolued to come in perſon to ſeek reliefe, leauing the beſt garriſons in the countrey that he could (notwithſtanding the truce) and came from *Soria* into *Italie* and went to *Rome*, where the Pope gaue him honorable entertainment, and he preſently vndertook to be a mediator between the Pope and the Emperor, who then was a widower; whereby a peace was made in this manner: The King of *Ieruſalem* gaue his onely daughter in mariage to the Emperour, with the right of inheritance to the kingdome of *Ieruſalem*: And the Pope abſolued him of his excommunication: Whereupon he promiſed preſently after the mariage to go

goe with his whole power to the warres in the Eaſt, and to reforme all matters whereof the Pope accuſed him; and to reſtore ſuch lands as he held from his Church. Vpon this agreement he came from *Germany* to *Rome*, whither the kings daughter of *Ieruſalem* was brought; and the marriage was ſolemnized with great ioy and feaſting. By this title, and by the marriage of this Lady with the Emperour FREDERICK; CONRADE their ſonne, and thoſe which vntill this day haue ſucceeded in the kingdomes of *Sicillia* and *Naples*, haue been, and ſtill are, called Kings of *Ieruſalem*. This being ended, the king of *Ieruſalem* went into *France*, where he receiued a great ſumme of mony, which King PHILIP left him by his laſt will and teſtament, towards the warres: there he ſtaied certaine daies for the Emperor, whom all men beleeued (for that the inheritance of that country belonged to him, and for the great power and fit oportunity which he had, being King of *Naples* and *Sicilia*) would now haue performed his vow and promiſe. But departing from *Rome*, he went with his ſpouſe into the prouinces of *Pulia* and *Calabria*, viſiting his kingdomes, not caring to proceed on his iourney, in more then two yeeres ſpace: for which cauſe, and for that he had not fully performed the agreement with the Pope, they againe fell at variance.

After this, his eldeſt ſonne HENRY (who was in *Germany*) held a Councell in *Franckford*; vnder pretext to procure certaine Princes to goe with their power to the conqueſt of *Ieruſalem*; to which the Emperour ſent his Letters, certifying his ſpeedie comming into *Germany*, to the end to goe that iourney: wherefore many Princes gaue in their names, promiſing to goe with him. At this aſſemblie was HENRY King of the Romanes, the Emperours ſonne, married to MARGARET, daughter to the Duke of *Auſtria*. The yeere following, moſt of the cities in *Lombardy* made a league, and rebelling againſt the Emperor, denied him their obedience, alleaging the principall reaſon thereof to be, for that he was diſobedient to the Church: wherewith he was very much diſpleaſed; and many ambaſſages were ſent from the one to the other; and there were many tumults, and much leuying of men, which continued many daies; the Emperor pretending it to be the cauſe why he deferred his iourney.

At this time died Pope HONORIVS the Third, hauing bin Pope tenne yeeres and halfe; in the end of the yeere 1226. This Pope is held for a very good Pope. The greateſt reaſon why he is ſo eſteemed, is, for that he ſolemnely confirmed the orders of the Franciſcane and Dominicane Friers. After HONORIVS ſucceeded GREGORY the Ninth, an Italian borne, nephew to INNOCENT the Third. The firſt matter he took in hand, was to require the Emperor to reſtore what he detained from the Church of *Rome*, and to goe the iourney which hee had vowed to *Ieruſalem*; publiſhing him for excõmunicate, if within a certain time limited he did not put the ſame in execution; which he afterwards incurr'd: yet he preſently anſwered, he was content to go from *Sicilia*, where he then was, and ſent to his ſon to call a Councel in the Citie of *Aken* in *Germany*; where (through his perſwaſion and the Emperours letters) many Princes offered to go that iourney: and the Emperor ſent to them, that (with the greateſt expedition that might be) they ſhould repaire into *Italie*, to the Port of *Brunduſium*, which is in the remoteſt part thereof, whither he promiſed preſently to come: whither repaired many men of war, Princes and Prelates, attending the Emperors comming all the ſummer: but he came not, pretending that he was ſicke. Which (as moſt Authors affirme) was but fained: and as BLONDVS and others affirme, he treated vnder hand with the Soldan of *Egypt*, hoping to haue concluded ſome peace with him before his going out of *Sicilia* into *Italie*: ſo as by reaſon of the great heat of the ſummer, the moſt of the men of war at *Brunduſium*, and the Countrie thereabouts, attending his comming, dyed, together with many great Perſonages, amongſt which was the Lantzgraue of *Turinge*, a rich and mighty Prince: which when the Emperour vnderſtood, he came to *Brunduſium*, where he ſeiſed into his hands all the gold, ſiluer, Armes and other things which the Lantzgraue brought with him; and it was ſayd that the Emperour came thither for no other purpoſe. But the ſickneſs increaſing in the Army & Letters comming daily from the Pope; the Emperor, to performe his promiſe, departed with all his Army towards the Eaſt: but within few daies ſailing he returned, and arriued in *Italie*, alleaging that contrary winds had conſtrained him ſo to doe. But this was held but for fained, and he was therefore ill ſpoken of by all men: and Pope GREGORY holding himſelf to be abuſed by the Emperours promiſe (other diſcord and diſagreement remaining betwixt them) ſent to declare him excommunicate, and for ſuch proclaimed him throughout all *Germanie* and *Italy*. At this time dyed the Empreſſe, wife to the Emperor FREDERICK, and daughter to the King of *Ieruſalem*, who left behind her one ſonne, whoſe name was CONRADE.

The death of Pope Honory and Gregory choſen.

The Emperor Frederick the Second excommunicated by the Pope.

CARION writes, that the Emperor lay sick in *Brundusium*, when as the Lantzgraue and diuerse others died; and that contrary winds draue him back, being in the Streights of *Peloponesus* and *Crete*: yet the Pope began to thunder against him, taxing him with the crimes of perjury, adultery, cruelty to his wife, and with the losse of *Damietta*, for the which he did excommunicate him. He sent IOHN *de Bregna*, the Emperors father-in-law, into *Romagnia*, with the title of Exarch, and commanded the Earls of *Tuscanie*, with the Cities of *Lombardy*, to take arms.

These matters which we haue related being past; the Emperor, seeing himself in a streight by reason of the Popes censures on the one side, and the intreaty of many of his friends on the other; with the greatest power that he could make, and with a great number of ships, sette his course towards *Soria*, and landed in the City of *Ptolomaida*, otherwise called *Acon*: yet BLONDVS and some other say, that he first staid in the Ile of *Cyprus*, and from thence sent a Captain with the greatest part of his Army to *Acon*; who by his commandement began a treaty of peace with the Soldan, before that he himself came to the war. FREDERICK coming afterwards thither, the Masters and Knights of the Orders of S. IOHN and the Templars ill agreed with him: for, they surmised he had intelligence and treated of a peace and agreement with the Soldan. And in *Italie* he was in no better tearms with the Pope: for, RAINOLD, the Dukes son of *Spoleto*, whom he had left for Captain and Gouerner in the Kingdome of *Naples*, beganne to make war, and took certain places from the Church of *Rome*, in the *Marca di Ancona* and other parts. Whereupon, the Pope called to his aid IOHN *de Bregna*, King of *Ierusalem*, who then was ready to haue taken shipping, to haue gone to defend his countries in the East, and to haue holpen FREDERICK in the warres; which (it was thought) he would haue done: and so open war began between the Pope and the Emperors Captaines and Countries. I haue not read in any Author, in what manner hee began and continued the warre, during his abode in *Palestina*; onely they say, that prosecuting the treaty of peace begun with the Soldan, it was concluded, and that they came to an agreement; which was, that the Soldan should deliuer vp the Cities of *Ierusalem*, *Nazareth*, *Iapha*, and other places in that Kingdome; and should retain to himself certain fortresses of greatest importance, and that ther should be peace & truce betwixt them for ten yeers.

An agreement between the emperor and the Soldan.

Many daies were spent about this matter; and on Easter day, in the yeer of our Lord 1229, the Emperor entred *Ierusalem*, and made himself to be crowned therein, and was called King of *Ierusalem*. Then he presently sent an ambassage to Pope GREGORY, giuing him to vnderstand of all that had hapned; therewith requesting him, seeing that he had accomplished his vow, to declare him absolued *à pœna et culpa*, for his long delaying the same, and for som other matters. But when his Ambassador came, the Pope houlding the peace and agreement made by the Emperor, dishonourable (sith the Soldan should continue in the possession of the fortresses and strong houlds; presupposing, that as soon as the Emperor should haue left those countries, the Soldan would presently resume them into his hands, as he afterwards did) protested that the Emperor had done this but onely to make a shew to haue performed his vow: wherefore, and by reason of the wars which his Captains then and before that time had made against him; hee affirmd, that the Emperor had made no satisfaction, nor was freed from the excommunication: and so practising with the Emperors subiects in *Pulia* to renounce their obedience to their Soueraign, he recouered some Towns which had been taken from him; which when the Emperor vnderstood, with the greatest speed that he possibly could make, he imbarked himself, leuing part of his Army in *Palestina*, and the Towns fortified and garrisoned in the best manner he could; and with a fair gale of winde landed in *Pulia*, so as this enterprise of the Emperor FREDERICK the Second had no better successe than the rest.

Being arriued in *Italy*, those places which had rebelled and had held for the Pope, reuolted and held for him; and he sent for men into *Germany* and into *Sicilia*; and began to warre vpon the Popes townes, and took many of them: and notwithstanding that he seemed to haue sped well in the warre, yet he sought to be at peace with the Pope, by reason of some tumult and combustion in *Germany*. And by the intercession of the Master of the Order of the Knights and Friars, called *Teutonici* (which like the Knights of S. IOHN and the Templars, lay in the East) and the Archbishop of *Messina*, a peace was concluded betweene the Pope and him: LEOPOLD Duke of *Austria*, with other Princes and Prelates of *Germany*, being there present. CARION writes that those Prelates and Princes of *Germany* were a whole yeere before they could pacifie the Popes displeasure against the Emperour: but in the end his choler was appeased with a hundred and twentie thousand ounces of gold; and so hee was absolued and the townes

A peace concluded between the Emper or and the Pope.

townes were restored, and the Pope absoluing him, proclaymed him King of *Ierusalem*, *Naples*, and *Sicilia*; and they met at a place appointed, and with great shew of loue and good will dined together at one table, and so a peace was concluded betweene them for that time; wherein, and touching that which I haue already written, were sundry opinions, as the custome is in this world, some excusing the Emperor, and others imputing the fault to him, for what had passed: and others attributed the fault to the Pope, for practising against him in his absence. This peace being made, the Emperour returned into his Kingdome of *Naples*; and the Pope to pacifie matters in *Perugia* (where had been great tumults and contentions) went thither; what befel in *Rome* in the time of this his absence, I wil presently tel you; first, bringing in few words to minde, the estate and successe of the Empire of *Constantinople*, whereto I am also bound; for as the Emperour FREDERICK raigned long, it is not conuenient to leaue this, to make mention of another matter, wherein were great changes of Emperours, through the small time of their continuance: and thus it was.

By the death of HENRY Emperor of *Græcia* (as we haue aboue said) PETER had the Empire, for that he married his daughter IOLE; who returning crowned by Pope HONORIVS to his Empire, had warres with THEODORE LASCARVS; who holding the Citie of *Adrianople*, was called Emperour, for that he married the sister of the Emperour ALEXVS, who killed his owne Brother, as is before declared: and a peace was made between them, wherein PETER being circumuented and taken prisoner by LASCARVS, was afterwards put to death in prison, when he had raigned three yeeres onely: which when his wife IOLE vnderstoode, she making her sonne, called ROBERT, to be proclaimed Emperor, vndertooke the gouernment, vntill that he should come to *Constantinople*: (for hee was in *Italy* when his Father dyed) and he being com, was obeyed, and began to gouerne the Empire. Within few daies after this, dyed LASCARVS the Tirant of *Adrianople*, and left the vsurped name of Emperor to his sonne in law, IOHN *de Plobatacio*, who married his onely daughter, called YRENE; by whom he had already one Sonne, called THEODORE LASCARVS, as his Grandfather. ROBERT hauing made shew of a good Prince (by the diuels instigation) fell in loue with a faire young damsell, which was betrothed to a Burgonian Knight (a man of great fort, and which had serued the Emperor) and by the consent of her mother, brought her to his court, and married her, and made her to be honoured and held for Empresse: which did so much grieue the Burgonian that should haue been her husband, that after some dayes dissembling, he took a terrible reuenge, which was, that ioyning himself with his friends and kinsfolkes, together with many Greekes, which hated this ROBERT's gouernment; accompanied with them all, with armed hand he came one night into the Emperors Palace, to the Empresse which should haue been his wife, and cut off her nose: and her Mother which had been the causer of the marriage, he threw out at a window into the sea, wherein she was drowned: and hauing done this, he departed, and put himself and his friends into a place of safetie, so as the Emperor ROBERT could not punish the fact: who shortly after came to *Rome* to be crowned, and returning homewards, fell sicke in *Macedonia*, and dyed, leauing behinde him one Sonne, called BALDVVIN; others say, a Brother, who was presently receiued for Emperour and his successor. And for as much as he was very young, by a generall assent IOHN *de Brégna* King of *Ierusalem* was sent to be his gouernour and assistant in the Empire, who then was in the Popes seruice in *Italy*; and he with the Popes leaue and consent came into *Græcia*, and tooke vpon him the gouernment of the Empire of *Constantinople*; and betrothed a daughter which he had, to the young Emperor BALDVVIN; and gouerning that Empire whilest he liued (which was some six or seuen yeeres) he left it in peace to his sonne in lawe: but in what manner he lost the same, you shall know hereafter.

Peter Emperour of Constantinople put Lascarus the Tirant of Adrianople to death.

This comming of IOHN *de Bregna* to *Constantinople*, was about the same time that the peace was made betweene the Emperor FREDERICK the Second, and Pope GREGORY the Ninth: which being concluded, Pope GREGORY went to *Perugia* to pacifie the Citie and the marches thereof: and the Emperor went to his Kingdome of *Naples*. During the time that the Pope was absent from *Rome*, the gouernment of the Consuls being abolished, (which was so hatefull to the Popes) and now the gouernment of a Senatour being brought in, sometimes one, and sometime fiue, which gouerned the body of the Citie; a man of great power, called HANNIBAL, was aduanced to that dignity; who incensed the people against the Pope, he being absent: and the Pope comming to *Rome* at that time, many combustions ensued; but in the end, this HANNIBAL was depriued of his office, and one IOHN *de Poli*, a seditious

fellow also succeeded him, who put the City in Armes against the Pope, and against such townes as held for him, and open warre began between them, yet the Pope by all meanes that could be imagined sought peace.

The Emperor FREDERICK being in *Pulia*, and aduertised hereof; offered to come to his aide, and came to speake with him (and as saith BLONDVS) gaue him for a pledge of his friendship a base son which he had, whose name was HENRY, whom he had made King of *Sardinia*, the Germans call him ENCIVS, and so do some authors; but the Emperor performed not what he had offered; for within few daies after, he departed for *Germany*; the Pope remaining in the heate of his troubles with the Romanes; wherewith he was much discontent, but yet not so as to breake the peace between them. But before the Emperors departure, the Pope with his money drew the Germane souldiers to his seruice, and with them recouered certain Townes which rebelled; and his Army ouerthrowing the Roman forces, he made quiet; yet for that time he could not safely come into *Rome*. The peace betweene the Pope and the Emperour lasted about eight yeeres, although there were little loue between them.

The Emperor being comn into *Germany*, from whence he had been long absent, where his eldest sonne HENRY King of the Romans commanded for his father, and had taken greater authority vpon him, than his father would he should haue done: there grew some suspicions and jealousies between his father and him, and many Princes held with the Sonne, against the Father: Vpon this occasion many Meetings and Councels were held; but in the end, FREDERICK forced his sonne to leaue the countrey, and to go as his Lieutenant and Viceroy, into *Sicilia* and those Countries.

After this, the Emperour being a widower, he married with the King of *Englands* sister. In this journey, the Emperour gaue to FREDERICK, Sonne to LEOPOLD Duke of *Austria*, the title of King, and that his eldest sonne and his posterity should so be called: but his successors haue not enjoyed this priuiledge, the cause whereof I thinke to be, for that this Duke FREDERICK died without issue that might succeede him; and there was great contention for his estate; but in the end, RODOLPH Earle of *Habspurg* enioyed it, who was afterwards Emperor, and gaue the estate of *Austria* to his eldest sonne ALBERT, as when time commeth shall be declared.

This being past, the Emperour made no long abode in *Germany*, but as soon as he could, leuied an Army and went into *Italy*: for many Cities in *Lombardy* rebelled, and some men waxing mighty, tirannized the same, and many of them maintained the old league and confederacy, which they held in the time of FREDERICK the first; as *Milan*, *Brescia*, *Mantoa*, *Bologna*, *Verona*, *Vicenza*, *Padua*, *Triuigi*, and many others, which being assisted by the Venecians, made head against the Emperour: and for the Emperor, *Cremona*, *Bergamo*, *Parma*, *Modena*, and *Reuna*, continued in their obedience, and bound the one to the other. The Emperour being comn neere to *Verona*, after some skirmishes, the Towne was forced to yeeld, through the policy and power of one ENCELINVS, called by his surname ROMANVS; who was the mightiest man in all those parts, and by descent a Duch-man, Nephew to another of the same name, who came into those parts in the time of OTHO the Third. From *Verona*, the Emperor went into the territory of *Mantoa*, where he took and sacked two strong Townes, the one of which was called *Marcaria*, and the other *Claro*. From thence he went to *Cremona*, where he was joyfully receiued, and made his abode there the space of nine moneths: at the end of which, giuing it out, that he would go to besiege *Mantoa*; he sodainly returned and came before *Vicenza*, which he besieged: the inhabitants being taken vnawares and vnprouided, offered to yeeld vpon composition; and the Emperor gaue eare to this parle, giuing them good words; but vpon a sudden he commanded the City to be assaulted; and entring by force, he set it on fire, and did much harme, passing forwards and spoiling the fields and marches of *Padoa*: thinking to haue taken *Triuigi*, he besieged it, and put it to such distresse, that if from *Padoa* had not come relefe, he had entred, and ruined it.

The emperor Fredericks son, Henry conspireth against his Father.

As he lay before *Triuigi*, he had certain intelligence that his sonne HENRY, King of the Romans, whom (for that in *Germany* he had practised against him) he had made Gouerner of *Sicilia*, was confederate with the City of *Milan*, and the rest of that faction, and that some Princes of *Germany* were of that league, and that they leuied their forces to succour those Cities. The Emperor stood in such fear of this practice, that he resolued for his refuge to flee to Pope GREGORY (notwithstanding that he knew him to be displeased, for abandoning him when he had warre with his Citizens of *Rome*) and by Letters and Ambassadors complained to

to the Pope of the perfidy and disloyalty of his son, humbly intreating him to grant his Letters against him, as against one that was disloyall and disobedient to his father: and the Pope, knowing that it was true, did so, thinking it a just request; or else for fear of the Emperour's power. He wrote his Letters to the Princes of *Germany*, commanding them vpon pain of excommunication not to ioin with HENRY, King of the Romans, against his father the Emperor, neither to obey his commandements. The Popes command was of such authority, that none durst come into *Italy*, as they promised; and the Emperor vsed such means, that hee apprehended his sonne, and sent him prisoner to a Castle in *Pulia*, where he afterwards died; some men were of opinion, that he was poysoned by his fathers commandement: and he injoyned the Dukes of *Bohemia* and of *Bauiere*, to make warre vpon FREDERICK Duke of *Austria* (whom he had made a King) for that he had conspired with his sonne against him.

The Emperor committed his son to prison, where he died.

Within few months after that HENRY King of the Romans was taken, his father the Emperor leauing the affairs of *Lombardy* in the best order that he could (notwithstanding that *Milan* and other Cities still continued disobedient) doubting of the estate of *Germany*, went thither; and making warre in *Austria*, took the City of *Vienna*, and many other Towns: so as, taming and punishing the Duke of *Austria*, he was much feared, and generally obeyed. And knowing that his sonne HENRY was dead (who left a lawfull sonne called CONRADIN, of whom heerafter much mention shall be made) he vsed the means to assemble the Princes Electors, and that they should chuse his sonne CONRADE (whom he had by his second wife IOLE, and whom he had already made Duke of *Suevia*) for King of the Romans; and notwithstanding that the Electors did it in his absence, yet for the better assurance of what was done, he and his sonne called a Councell in the City of *Ratisbone*, where what was already done was approued, and CONRADE was again chosen and crowned King of the Romans: from whence they both sent their Ambassadors to the Pope, for a confirmation of the title to the Kingdome of *Ierusalem*, which his father-in-law IOHN *de Bregna* had resigned vnto him. The Pope granted his request: for, the Emperor was of great power, and it was said that he would return into *Italy*; which put him in fear, notwithstanding that the speech went, that he came but against *Milan*, and the other Cities of that faction, with which he was much displeased, and resolued to bring them to subiection: but the Cities alleaged, that they were content to serue him according to the agreement made with the Emperor FREDERICK the First, called the peace of CONSTANCE, as we haue declared in his history; wherewith he held himself not satisfied: and so raising a very great power, he came again into *Italy*, leauing his son CONRADE, King of the Romans, in his place in *Germany*.

Vienna in Austria taken by the Emperor.

The Emperor, coming into *Italy*, took his way directly towards *Padoa*; and the Padoans, being induced thereto by ENCELINVS (who bare a great sway in *Lombardy*) receiued him into their City, assuring themselues, that the liberty and priuiledge which the Emperor FREDERICK the First had giuen them, should haue been maintained: but this FREDERICK was of another humour; for, when he was within the City, he prescribed them such lawes as pleased him, as to his vassals and subiects.

Pope GREGORY, hauing intelligence of the Emperors coming into *Italie*, sent a messenger to meet him, called GREGORY *de Monte longo*; by whom he both desiring and requiring him (in requitall of the benefits which he had receiued from the Church, as well in the peace and absolution granted him when he came from *Ierusalem*, as in the fauour which he had shewed him against his sonne, and in dispensing with his marriage in *England*) that his now comming might be for the good and peace of the countrey; and that he would maintain that peace and agreement which was granted by his Grandfather to *Milan* and to the other Cities, and which was confirmed by the authority of the Church. And after this hee sent three Cardinals with the same message: but to neither of them he gaue any good answer; so as they conceiued, that he was no good friend to the Pope; and they all feared that he came no lesse against him, than against *Milan*; so as without any conclusion they returned to *Viterbo*, where the Pope then lay. It is written, that FREDERICK and his sonne CONRADE did require the rights belonging to the Kingdoms of *Naples* and *Sicilie*; which, the Pope, contrary to couenants, vniustly detained from them: And the Pope, to arm himself with a faction, commanded the Emperor not to molest the confederate Cities of *Lombardy*, with whom he was in league: but the Emperor giuing him reasons why he could not do it vnlesse they would giue-ouer their conspiracies against the Empire, and return to their obedience; the Pope, fearing the event, bent all his forces to this common warre.

Isabel, daughter of John king of England, married to the emperor Frederick the second, died in childbed.

The Emperor, leauing *Padoa* garrisoned, marching through *Lombardy*, took his way towards the City of *Brescia*, which was of the league, and besieged a Town called *Claramont*; and taking it by assault (the more to terrifie the Brescians, and to make them to yeeld) he destroyed and burnt the same. But, the Brescians for all this were not dismaid, but made shew of greater obstinacy. FREDERICK at that time besieged not their City, but marched towards *Milan*, the Captain and Head of all the Rebels: and the Milanois (with the help of the Venecians, and of other Cities their friends) had an Army in a readinesse; whereof, PETER TEVPOLO, the Duke of *Venice* his sonne, was Generall, together with CHARROCHIO a principall citizen of *Milan*, and other prime men of other Cities: all which with great courage (for that not long before they had ouerthrowne his Grandfather FREDERICE) staied to fight with him in the field, and met with him neer to a place called *Crotona*, and he marched with as great a desire to fight with them; so as they fought a very cruell battell, the Armies being in number and in force (in a manner) equall: but, after they had fought many houres, the Milanois began to shrink, and the victory shewed it self on the Emperors side; and PETER TEVPOLO their Generall and other Captains were taken prisoners: all which, the Emperor commanded to bee put to a shamefull death. After this victory he came to *Cremona*, to refresh and reinforce his Army, hauing had some losse in the battell; where some cities which had rebelled, compounded, and yeelded their obedience.

A battell between the Emperor and the Milanois.

The Pope being aduertised of the calamity of the Milanois & of those of the league (whose cause he seemed to protect and defend) fearing the Emperors greatnes (whom he knew to hate him) made a league with the Venecians (which he knew to bee much grieued for the pitifull death of their Dukes sonne) and resolued to succour *Milan* and their confederates. And the better to bring this to passe, he made a kinde of peace and truce for ten yeers, between the Cities of *Venice* and *Genoa*, which at that time were at warres; and vsed such means, that he himself was receiued into *Rome*; hauing euer since the last troubles liued out of it. Being in *Rome*, hee sent out his Buls against the Emperor, which he published to all Christendome, and excommunicated both him and all such as took his part; who then from *Cremona* (where he had refreshed his Army after the battell) came to *Pauia*, leauing *Milan*, to make warre vpon the Venecians. And there he was aduertised of the Popes fulminations, and of the great preparation made by the Venecians against him, both by sea and land. Vpon this he raised new forces, and so with a great victorious Army (wherein many Moors of *Africa*, which they called Sarazins, serued him on horseback) he took the field, and ouerran the Territories of the Venecians, wasting and spoiling the same; and incamping himself by the waters side in the sight of *Venice*, the Venecians salied forth with a great number of Archers and others, in barks and boats, therwith to annoy his Camp as much as they could from the water.

The Emperor, seeing how little he profited by lying there, returned to *Padoa*, leauing ENCELINVS to warre against *Triuigi* and the country thereabout, carrying with him some principall men of *Verona* and *Padoa*, for hostages; giuing it out, that he went to besiege *Mantoa*: and passing by it, he went to *Parma*, and from thence to *Luca*, and from *Luca* to *Pisa*, with a resolution not to stay till he came to *Rome*.

At this time GREGORY *de Monte longo* (who was the Popes Legate in *Milan*) came to *Bolonia*, and from thence took the field with the troops which came to him from *Milan* and other parts: and ioyning with the Venecians, and others of the league (first taking *Ferrara* by force) euery where began a most cruell warre, which was the greatest that of long time, either before or after, had bin seen in *Italy*; some houlding for the Pope, others for the Emperor. This war was so great, and so many and so great accidents hapned, that if I should relate what I find written, I should spend a great part of this volume in this relation: wherefore I will onely write the summe thereof.

The Emperor being in *Pisa*, with a resolution to besiege *Rome*, then began the great and fatall factions in *Italie*, between the Guelphs and the Gebelins; the Guelphs houlding for the Pope, and the Gebelins for the Emperor: of the originall of which factions authors write so confusedly, that I will not enter into disputation concerning the same. Let their beginning be what it will: I thinke it was the inuention of some diuel, as it should seeme by the sequell: for within short space, these factions extended themselues so farre ouer all *Italy*, as no place was free from this infection (*Venice* except) wherein this pestilence took no hold: all the rest was diuided into these two names and factions, without any other foundation of loue or hatred, but only for the names sake: and there daily ensued scandals and slaughters; and in families and dinages

The originall of the Guelphs and Gibelins in Italy

nages it often happened that the father was against his sonnes, and brothers were against brothers; which fighting slue one another, ransacking townes, burning and ruinating houses; in worse sort then if they had been traytors, or Infidels, with so great rancor and hatred, as the like thereof before that time had neuer been seen nor heard of. And truly it was a strange thing and to be admired: these two factions were so contrary the one to the other, that they could not in any thing endure any conformity or resemblance: for they differed in their ensignes, in their colours, in the fashion of their apparell, in attiring themselues, in their disports, in their feasts, yea, euen vnto their very manner of going, speaking, feeding, riding, and in all things that mans wit could inuent.

The Emperor and his adherents were called Gebelins; and he proclaimed that all such as took part with him should be so called, which was performed throughout all *Italie*: and all the Guelphs held with the Pope. With this name the Emperour departed from *Pisa* towards *Rome*; wherein the fire of these factions was already kindled, and the greatest part of the people were Gebelins, who were ready to haue set vpon the Guelphs; and to haue spoiled and killed them, without any redemption. The Pope seeing himselfe in so great danger, tooke the heads of Saint PETER and Saint PAVL (as they say) and made a solemn procession, and therewith a long oration to the people; shewing them how vaine a thing it was for men to kill one another, for that they had only taken contrary names; and disswading them from their intent he perswaded them to defend his Church and their countrey against his enemy FREDERICK, who was comming thitherwards: and of his bountifull liberality he gaue to all such as in his quarrell would take Armes, and would beare the signe of the Crosse, plenary Indulgence, and absolution.

The factions of the Guelphs and Gebelins between the Emperor Frederick the second and Pope Gregory the ninth.

The people were herewith so much perswaded, that when the Emperor with his Army came before *Rome*, presupposing that the greatest part of the Citizens had been Gebelins, hee to the contrary found them all markt with the signe of the Crosse, in Armes against him: and comming with his people to the gates of the city, some companies salied to skirmish with him: and so some were slain of eyther side, which made him to vse extraordinary cruelty; for all those of the City which were taken with the signe of the Crosse, he caused to be slain: some of them had their heads clouen acrosse; and of some others hee made crosses in their foreheads with hote irons: and priests hee made to bee crossed vpon their crownes: and after three daies (despairing to take *Rome* by force, spoyling the countrie round about it) he went into *Campania*, and gaue a sudden turne and came to *Beneuent*, which he took and sacked, and commanded the same to be dismantelled and razed: and so marched through many parts of *Italy*, warring vpon the Popes Townes, and such as took his part; wherein he took *Rauenna*, and besieged *Fauencia*. And in *Sicilia* he confisked the goods of many Ecclesiasticall persons, and apprehended and put some Bishops to death: others he banished out of that countrie; and he particularly caused all places, which appertained to the order of the Knights Templars, to be sacked and spoyled; vsing herein the seruice of his horsemen, which were Moores of *Affrica*, which serued him in that war, to whom he gaue many preheminences and double paies; and the City of *Nuceria* in *Pulia* to inhabit, which they possessed many yeers after. Pope GREGORY seeing himselfe so distressed, sent his Legates to the kings of *France*, *England* and *Spaine*, bewailing his misery, and complaining of the Emperour, he implored succour, aide, and councell: whereto they gaue him gentle answeres; and by their consent he called a generall Councell, for the reformation and preseruation of the Church, and for a conquest to be made of the Holy land, which was now in greater distresse then euer.

The Emperour hauing intelligence that a generall Councell was summoned, and imagining that the chiefest intent thereof was against himselfe; he resolued by all meanes possible to disturbe it, by stopping the passages, and apprehending such as went to it; and sent his son ENCIVS (king of *Sardinia*) to *Pisa* (which then was of great power by sea) where he armed a great number of ships and gallies, to stay the comming of the Cardinals, the Popes Legates; which with many prelates of *Spaine* and *France* came to the Councel: they being vpon the sea, in a fleet of Genoaes of 40 Gallies, between *Corsica* and *Pisa*, within sight the one of the other, the Legates would haue fled, and so auoided the fight: But the Admirall who was a Genoais, would not alter his course, so as they fought a most cruell battaile, which lasted the greatest part of the day: But in the end, the King of *Sardinia* had the victory, and the Cardinals and Legates being taken prisoners, were carried into *Pulia*, except some which were slain or drowned.

The

The French Bishops and Abbats which were taken, the Emperor set at liberty, at the request of the French King: the rest lay long in prison; so as the Councel could not be held or begun as the Pope would haue had it: wherewith he was so much troubled, that with very rage and anger he fell sick and died; hauing been Pope aboue fourteen yeers, whereof the most part was in trouble and contention. He died in the yeer of our Lord 1241. This Pope in his life time first canonized S. FRANCIS and S. DOMINICK for Saints; and afterwards Saint ANTHONY, called Saint ANTHONY of *Padoa*, although a Portingall, and born in the City of *Lisbon*. He compiled also the Book of the Decretals, and instituted the singing of *Salue Regina* at certain times and houres, with the ringing of the sacring Bell; and that our Lady should bee praied vnto in the night, with *Aue Maria*, which should agree with the ringing of the Bell; and did many other things like a Pope.

Pope Gregory the Ninth died for anger.

Pope GREGORY being dead, by the generall consent of all the Cardinals which were in *Rome*, GAVNFREDE *de Castilion*, a Milanois born, was chosen Pope, and cald CELESTINE the Fourth, a good man and very learned, but old and sickly; who presently sought to bee at peace with the Emperor, and to that effect sent his Legates to his Camp, hee then lying before *Fauencia*: but this Pope could not tarry for an answer; for, he died the eighteenth day after his election.

CELESTINE being dead, the Cardinals could not agree about chusing him a successor: some say, that for fear of the Emperors threatnings, they durst not chuse whom they would haue chosen. PLATINA saith, that the Cardinals of *Rome* determined to chuse no Pope at all, vntill that the Emperor released those which he held prisoners. BLONDVS following his Author (who as he said was an ey-witnes) affirmeth the cause to be, for that the Cardinals who were prisoners, sent to require, and therewith protested, that no Pope should be chosen without their voices. So as vpon some of these occasions, or for all together, for the space of twenty months *Rome* was without a Pope. And in all this time the Emperor would not release those Cardinals which were his prisoners; neither would those of *Rome* chuse a Pope. In which time the Emperor took the City of *Fauencia* (which held out against him about one yeer) and came before *Bolonia*: but seeing that he could not take it, he spoiled the country, and transferred the Vniuersity from thence to *Padoa*; and afterwards went to *Modena*, and to *Rezzo*, which also stood vpon their guard, and took Townes appertaining to the Church of *Rome*; so as there were great wars in all parts of *Italie*, which cost many men their liues.

The original and successe of the Tartarians.

At the same time, when the Emperor thus warred in *Italy* against the faction of the Guelphs, the Tartarians inuaded *Hungary*. These Tartars are a barbarous Nation in the North, which came out of *Scythia Asiatica* (as some say; and VOLATERRANVS saith, out of *Taurica Chersonesus* in *Europe*) about the yeer of our Lord 1202, and made an irruption into *Asia*, and subdued some Prouinces therein, vnder the leading of their King and Captain, called CANGVISTA: and they afterwards so increased in the beginning of the Emperour FREDERICK'S Raign, about the yeer 1222, that they conquered *Georgiana*, *Armenia* the Lesse, and other prouinces in *Asia*, and suppressed the power of the Turks (which I for breuity sake passe ouer). And coming afterwards into *Europe* by the *Caspian* sea, crossing the mountains *Riphei*, became Masters of those countries, and made wars in *Russia* and in *Polonia*, and subdued a great part of *Sarmacia*, which at this day is called after them, *Tartaria*; and their King is called the Great CAN: they receiued the sect of MAHOMET, through their first conuersing with the Turks; and in such manner they made war, that they put the world in fear of them. And the Emperor now making warre in *Italy* against the Guelphs, the Tartars, vnder the leading of their King called BATVS, came into *Hungary*, and warred therein three yeers, and did much harm; VELA the Fourth being then King thereof: at the end of which time they returned to the countries which they before had gotten. And so *Hungary*, a Prouince of the Empire, indured as great misery as *Italy*.

Hungary inuaded by the Tartarians.

And it hapned also, that the Emperor of *Constantinople* liued not in peace in those daies: for, IOHN *de Bregna*, King of *Ierusalem* (who was Gouernour of the Greek Empire, with yoeng BALDVVIN who maried his daughter) being dead, the Empire remained in BALDVVIN: against whom IOHN LASCARVS (nephew to the other of that name, who was called Emperor in *Adrianople*) raised such power, and found so many friends, that he took *Smirnia* and *Satilia*, with other cities, towns and Ilands: so as the Emperor BALDVVIN, accompanied with the Earl of *Tolousa* (who had been with him in all his wars and troubles) came into *Italy* to sue for aid and relief against his enemies: and finding it in such estate as you haue heard (imagining that

that in time of such confusion he should not get any) hee sought means to haue a Pope chosen, and so came directly to the Emperour; who hauing then taken the citie of *Parma*, and driuen the *Guelphes* out of it, went thence to *Placencia*. And BALDVVIN comming thither, and being well receiued and entertained, vsed such means to the Emperour FREDERICK, that at his request all the Cardinals were released and set at liberty, whom he had long detained prisoners in *Melphi*: and the Emperor of *Constantinople* with the good leaue of the Emperor FREDERICK, went to *Bologna*, where the Cardinals were, to treat with them concerning the election of such a new Pope, as might be acceptable to the Emperour FREDERICK, to the end that peace might be maintained between them. Where he was with great ioy honourably receiued; in Iune, in the yeer 1244. and they presently conferred about the election of a Pope, and one SINOBALDVS Cardinall of S. LAVRENCE borne in *Genoa*, was chosen, and called INNOCENT the Fourth; who was the Emperors greatest friend of all the Cardinals: which when the Emperors friends and seruants vnderstood, with all possible speede they gaue him to vnderstand thereof: when the newes was brought vnto him in the citie of *Parma*, it is reported that he presently said, (presaging what would follow) I haue exchaunged my best friend, being a Cardinall, for my greatest enemie, being Pope.

After the election, the new Pope, the Emperor of *Constantinople*, and all the Cardinals came together to *Rome*, where they consulted of a peace to be concluded with the Emperour FREDERICK, and Ambassadours were sent from the one to the other: but the Emperour in the time that the Papacie was void, was growne so great and so mighty a Lord in *Italy*, that he would not accept such conditions as were propounded; and so gaue ambiguous and vncertain answers, such as they knew not how to resolue: foure moneths being spent in this parle, the Pope was certified that the Emperor had secret intelligence with sundrie in *Rome* against him: the effect whereof was, that in a place called *Castello amar*, whither it was agreed that the Pope should come, to yeeld his resolution concerning the peace, and there expecting the Emperours comming, should be seized on.

This being discouered, and the Pope seeing how small power he had in *Italie*, speedily went to *Hastia*, and there embarking himself in certaine galleys of *Genoa*, which he had secretely caused to be brought thither for that purpose, went to *Genoa*, where hee fell sicke, and recouering health he there against shipped himself, and went into *Prance*; and arriuing at *Aigues mortes*, and comming vp the riuer *Rodanus*, the French King receiued and entertained him with great solemnitie: and then he went to the citie of *Lions*, where hee complained of the Emperour, and within some few daies after, proclaimed through all Christendome, a Councell to be held at *Lions* in *Prance*, in the beginning of the yeere 1246. whither he cited the Emperor to come and to make his personal apparance; and in many his sermons and orations which hee made to the people, he with a lowd voyce summoned him to appeare: and so prelates from all parts of Christendome repairing thither, the Councell began; and the Emperor sent his Ambassadors to make his excuse; and otherwise made many large offers. But the Pope would accept neither his offers nor excuses; but published, that if within a certain time limited hee appeared not, he would then pronounce Sentence against him; as is contained in the chapter *Adapostolicam sedem, de re iudicata, libro sexto*: wherein he condemned him in the losse and depriuation of the Empire, and of all the other kingdoms and dominions which hee enioyed, and presently proclaimed the same throughout all Christendom, and commanded the Princes Electors with all speed to chuse a new Emperor, releasing them from all allegeance and othes made to the Emperor FREDERICK whatsoeuer. At this time, BALDVVIN Emperor of *Constantinople*, vnderstanding that his enemy ROBERT LASCARVS was dead, returned, and had such successe as you shall hear.

Pope Innocent went into France, where he excommunicated the Empero, and released his subiects from their allegeance.

So great account was made of the Popes sentence pronounced against the Emperor in *Germany* (it being approued by the Councell) that the Electors began to treate of the chusing of a new Emperour: and notwithstanding that his sonne CONRADE King of the Romanes, was therewith much grieued, and by all meanes sought to haue preuented the same; yet they met at *Hipersbole*, and chose HENRY Lantzgraue of *Turinge*, Emperour: and he according to the accustomed manner went to *Aken*, where he was crowned: whereupon presently betweene him, and CONRADE the Emperors sonne, began a cruell warre; the end and successe whereof we will report hereafter, when we haue related what FREDERICK did when he vnderstood that he was deposed. As soone as he heard thereof, in extream choler he caused the houses of the Popes friends and kinsmen in *Parma* to be thrown downe, and their goods to be spoiled: and

and wrote his Letters into *Germany*, excusing and iustifying his proceedings, and to animate his sonne. But conceiuing his estate to be in great hazard, he resolued to goe in person to the Councell at *Lions* in *France*; and to that effect he first made a league of friendship with the Duke of *Burgondy*; and had a safe conduct and assurance from the French King, for his going, aboad and returne. And leauing his son ENCIVS (King of *Sardinia*) in *Parma*, he commanded him not to salie out of that City, for that he held the same and the situation therof, to be of great importance: and so being accompanied with men both of peace and warre, he took his way towards *France*; and hauing past *Turin*, messengers ouertook him, which gaue him to vnderstand, that *Parma* (whereof he made so great account) was lost, through his sonnes ouersight: for he through a greedy desire to haue taken *Brescia*, which was of the contrary faction, by the aduice and procurement of those of *Cremona*, went from *Parma* with part of the garrison which lay therein; and in the meane time that he was about this exploit, the Popes friends and kindred, which liued in *Placencia*, hauing intelligence with some which were within *Parma*, came thither, & by surprise took it, but not without shedding of much blood. These ill newes touched the Emperor FREDERICK to the quick: and he fearing on the one side, his vnsafe going into *France*, and on the other side, that other Cities in *Italy* following the example of *Parma* (he being absent in a strange countrie) would also rebell, resolued therfore in great fury to return: and raised forces in *Sicilia* and *Naples*: and from *Triuligi* came his great friend ENCELINVS with a great troupe of men of warre; all which he sent against *Parma*, whither he himself marched with a full resolution to haue ruined the same, and to haue laid it waste, and vsed som speeches to the same effect: but he failed of his expectation; for GREGORY, *de Monte longo*, who from the time of GREGORY the ninth had been the Popes Legate in *Milan*, and in the other Cities of that faction in *Lombardy*, getting souldiers from *Milan*, and other Cities of the league, put himselfe with them into *Parma*: and furnished and prouided it with all things requisite to endure a siege.

It was not long before the Emperor came before it with his Army (wherein were threescore thousand men) and besieged it, with a full resolution not to rise from before it, vntill that he had taken the Citie; and so he began to assault it on euery side. But the besieged defended themselues so well, that they daily salied out and skirmished with their enemies, in such manner that it behoued the Emperor to withdraw his Campe a little further from the City; and the war continuing, he compassed the City round about with a wall: and as hee purposed wholly to haue ruinated *Parma*, so he caused a new Citie to be built in the same place where his Army lay; which he presently enuironed with walles, and made market places, Churches, and houses in it; and appointed lands for those of *Parma*, which would come thither to inhabit: so as within short space the city was built, and peopled, and he named it *Victoria*. And as the Emperor had lien about two yeers before *Parma*, and the news of this new City, and the distribution made by him was bruited abroad, many came thither from all parts to dwell; in so much that PLATINA affirmeth, that therein were as many faire gardens and orchards, with birds and beasts in them, and so great concourse of men and women, as in any the most peopled antient cities of *Italy*.

Victoria built by Frederick.

While the Emperor lay before *Parma*, his son CONRADE and the Lantzgraue HENRY, made cruell warres; which Lantzgraue through FREDERICK's depriuing, was chosen and called Emperor: and he raising the greatest power he could (therewith to make himselfe Lord of the Empire) he met with the Emperors sonne CONRADE, neere to *Francksford*, who had as great an Army as his; and there they two fought (as some authors write) one of the most cruell battailes that of long time had been seen, wherein CONRADE being ouerthrown, he fled into *Suenia*; and HENRY remaining master of the field, was held for Emperor. And for as much as he vnderstood, that the Emperors sonne CONRADE leuyed new forces, and gathered head in *Suenia*, he went thither with his Army, and besieged and tooke some cities; and continuing his course of victory, laid siege to the city of *Vlme*; and holding it very hardly besieged, at a time when he thought that nothing could haue offended him, or defended it selfe against him; an arrow shot at randome out of the city (which was thought to be poysoned) wounded the new Emperor HENRY, so as within few daies after he died thereof, within one yeer after his election: and the princes and men of war which were with him dispersed themselues, so as it presently appeared, that the party of the Emperour FREDERICK and his sonne CONRADE would againe preuaile. But yet the electors of the Empire, within few moneths after (by the procurement of the Cardinall of Saint GEORGE called

called PETER Image of gold, whom the Pope (being aduertised of the death of HENRY) sent from *Lions* thither, the Emperors sonne CONRADE not being able to stay or hinder the same) they met at *Waringen*, and chose WILLIAM, Earl of *Holland*, for Emperor: who, accompanied with the Electors, and other Princes and Prelates, went to *Francksford*, and there was crowned. And for as much as he vnderstood that CONRADE leuied a power against him, he called a Councell in the City of *Vtrecht*: whither came the Archbishops of *Mentz*, *Treuier* and *Colen*, and other Prelates; and LEVVES, Count Palatine of *Rhine*, with many other Earls and Deputies from more than twenty seuerall Imperiall Cities in *Germany*, and from some Princes also; where they handled some matters concerning his confirmation in the Empire. But CONRADE, raising a great power in *Suenia* and in other parts, began to war against WILLIAM; and WILLIAM leuied an Army to do the like by him: in which warre we will leaue them for this time, to speak of the Emperor, and of what successe he had in *Italy*; and then afterwards, when time shall serue, we will again return to this subiect.

William, Earle of Holland, chosen Emperor.

Two yeers were now expired since that the Emperor FREDERICK came to lie in his new City *Victoria*, before *Parma*; daily expecting when it would haue yeelded (for, the Besieged endured extreme famine): by reason wherof, there was not so good guard held in the Camp as there was wont to be. And GREGORY *de Monte longo*, the Popes Legate, who had the command of the City, as he had valiantly defended it, so he neuer let slip any oportunity to do any notable seruice; who perceiuing, and being also aduertised, what maner guard was held in the new City (without attending any other forces to ioyn with him) he resolued to salie, and to attempt it; and laid such a plot, that he performed one of the strangest exploits that hath bin seen or heard of; which was in this manner:

Certain companies of Moors and Germanes, coming from the Camp, drew neer to the City, expecting that some would come forth to skirmish with them, as at other times they vsed to do. The Legate, perceiuing this, and thinking it now a fit time to put in execution what he before had proiected, with all possible speed made all his Troops to be armed; and setting them in order, when the skirmish in the field was most hot he commanded the Ports to bee opened, and salying suddenly, charged with such resolution, that without any great adoo or difficulty hee ouerthrew those Troops; that presently retiring they turned their backs and fled: and he pursuing them came to the new City (wherein was the Emperor FREDERICK in his palace disarmed, suspecting no such matter, and so was the greatest part of his Army) and charging with such fury that the Guard could not withstand them, entred the City, putting to the sword as many as they found to bear Arms against them: and so the fight began on euery side. But as the attempt was sudden and vnexpected, so great a fear surprised them, that without making any great resistance they all fled: and the Emperor, knowing no better course to be taken, took horse, and so escaped with such as could keep with him; and all those which remained, were either slain or taken: and the Legate and his people had one of the richest preies and booties that had been seen, as well of such things as were the Emperors and of the Army, as of the Inhabitants of the City; which they presently razed and made leuell with the ground, executing as much therin as the Emperor thought to haue done in *Parma*. And heer was slain IOHN TVRRIO, one of the heads of the faction in *Milan*, who kept with the Emperor: and with the Legate was one MATHEVV VISCOVNT, who was the other: for, these two, namely, Viscounts and Turrions, were the two factions, then in the City of *Milan*. As soon as the fame of the taking of *Victoria* was spred ouer *Italie*, those which held for the Pope were greatly encouraged.

The City of Victoria taken and destroyed by the Parmesans.

The Emperor in his flight staied not in any place vntill he came to *Cremona*; but hee trusted them not so well as to come into their city, notwithstanding that they earnestly intreated him: but raising men from all parts (besides that many of the Gibelins cam voluntarily to serue him) within a small time, as a valiant man, and as if he had had a great Armie, hee came to *Placencia*, but besieged it not, onely spoiling the Countrey. And leauing his sonne ENCIVS, King of *Sardinia*, for his Lieutenant in those Towns which held for him, hee went into *Tuscane*, in hope to haue taken *Florence*, which in that Prouince was against him. But as his faction was now but little regarded or feared; so the Florentines would in no wise receiue him; but agreed with him to put all the Guelphs, which were his enemies, out of the Town, wherewith he was contented: and staying in the Countrey neer *Florence*, in hope to haue leuied some new Troops, and so to haue recouered the honour which he lost, newes came how that his sonne ENCIVS, with the greatest power that hee could leuie, thinking to haue done some notable peece

of seruice, went towards *Bologna*; and the Bolognois, being aduertised thereof, with the aide of their friends, sallied forth to fight with him; and ouerthrowing him, had taken him prisoner. Which when the Emperour vnderstood, he was extreamely grieued and offended; and seeing that in *Lombardy* his enemies were too hard for him, and that out of *Germany* he was out of hope that any succour could come, for that therein his sonne CONRAD made warre against WILLIAM, Earle of *Holland*, who was called Emperour; he therefore resolued to go into his kingdome of *Naples*, in hope there to reinforce his Army, and to take some other counsell. And comming into *Pulia* with greater wrath then honour, by reason of such aduentures as were befallen him; he made a base sonne of his, call MANFRED, Prince of *Tarent*, and gaue him many places in subiection.

The death of the Emperour Frederick the Second.

Within few dayes after, he fell grieuously sicke, and his disease held him long, whereof in the end he dyed: which Historiographers relate after sundrie manners, so as it seemeth that the truth can hardly be known. Some say, that his disease killed him: others say, that beginning to recouer health, he was poisoned: others say, that his sonne MANFRED practised his death, with desire to raigne; as it after appeared. Some write, that when he saw that not only his friends failed him, who commonly change their mindes with fortune, but that also fortune had abandoned him, which hitherto had fauoured him, and vnderstanding that there were practices to poyson him, hee resolued to returne into *Sicilie*: but vpon the way hee fell into a burning feuer through poyson, and ended his dayes in a certaine Castle of *Apulia*. Some affirme that his base son MANFRED (hearing that the Physicians had abated the force of the poyson, and that there was hope of his recouerie) smothered him with a pillow. But howsoeuer, he dyed at this time, which was in the yeere of our Lord one thousand two hundred and fiftie and in the six and thirtith yeere after his election. In the time also there is euer some difference; for there bee some authors which doo reckon, but from the time of his coronation, and not before.

He was when he dyed seuen and fifty yeeres olde, and left behinde him, three sonnes, two bastards, and one legitimate: his eldest sonne CONRAD he had by IOLE, daughter to the King of *Ierusalem*, who in his fathers time was King of the Romanes, and inherited the Kingdomes of *Sicilia* and *Naples*, and the Duchy of *Suevia*. And his bastard sonne ENCIVS, whom he made King of *Sardinia*, liued, and died prisoner in the power of the Bolognois: whom they would neuer set at liberty for any ransome. Some authors write, that he was prisoner there twenty and odde yeeres, very well vsed, and dyed in *Bologna*, and there was buried: and MANFRED, the afornamed Prince of *Tarent*; he also had two daughters, ANNE and CONSTANCE, which married with seueral Princes.

This Prince was adorned with sundry vertues, and excellent graces: and so likewise infected with dangerous vices: but he was very valiant, and of a strong constitution, able to endure trauell, very wise, and expert in the warre, desirous of glory and fame, very liberall, and enclined to learning, and skilfull in the tongues, and could speake Greeke, Latine, Arabick, French, and Dutch very well, and delighted much in the reading of Arts and Histories. But these vertues were greatly obscured, through his vnmeasurable desire of honour, and his ambition to command and to be Lord ouer all men, and through his cruelty vsed in many exploites in the wars; destroying and rasing townes, and in shedding bloud, for he was very vindicatiue and suddain: and, aboue all, was an enemy to the Popes, and scorned their command. Hee was likewise noted of incontinency: for, besides that he had sundry wiues, he kept many concubines, and accompanied other women; all which, in Princes deserue greater reprehension: for *In the higher degree, the lesse liberty.* What things followed after his death you shall knowe *in the next.*

In maxima fortuna minima licentia est.

CARION, writing of this Prince FREDERICK, saith, that he was of a noble and generous spirit, neuer deiected nor daunted in danger, constant and temperate in all fortunes, valiant and warie in battell, actiue both with hand and counsell, bountifull, and most free from cruelty. And when as the Popes by open force, secret fraud and treachery, had sought his death, yet he suppresst his indignation, and desire of reuenge, as much as might be, being Victor; and did moderate the offenders punishments. But his many crosses and homebred conspiracies in the end did much alter him, and made him bitter, when as he was depriued of the Empire, not finding any one among his owne whom he might trust: and being often vexed and vvounded to the very heart vvith the fear of his friends falling from him, and of new conspiracies, euery thing grew suspicious vnto him, and age did make him more apt to iealousie; insomuch that he spa-

spared not those who were neerest and most faithfull vnto him. But as *there is no humane vertue*, how great and glorious soeuer, that is perpetuall and without some blemish, the which is more apparant in great Personages than in priuate men: so I will not deny but FREDERICK was subiect to some vices, whereof I may partly impute the cause to his afflictions; the which errors at his death he did much lament.

In *Constantinople* BALDVVIN was Emperor, who had great warres with MICHAEL PALEOLOGVS, who was called Emperor, and succeeded ROBERT LASCARVS before *mentioned*, who left him Tutor ouer his sonne IOHN: but hee took the Empire to himself, murdering the pupill, and warred to make himself absolute Lord ouer all. In *France* at this time raigned King LEVVIS, called Saint; who, vnderstanding that the City of *Ierusalem*, after that the Emperor FREDERICK had recouered it, was again lost, and that the Christians in the rest of the Cities were greatly distressed; prouiding a great Armie and Nauy, departed therewith in person, and sailed into *Egypt* to warre vpon the Soldan; and, taking land, besieged the City of *Damietta* before named, and after some skirmishes and conflicts took the same, and performed other worthy aduentures, in the yeer of our Lord one thousand, two hundreth, forty and nine. But, prosecuting the warre, it pleased God that in a battell hee was afterwards ouerthrowne, and by the Soldan taken prisoner, with two of his brethren; and, to recouer their liberty, he gaue vp the City of *Damietta*, and the rest of what he had gotten; and so returned to his Countrey, hauing effected as little as those which went before him. The Kings of *Spaine*, with equal courage to any of the other Princes (but with better fortune) reconquerd the countries which the Infidels held in *Spain*. At that time raigned King FERDINAND, who wonne *Seuil* and *Cordoua*, and many other Towns and Cities.

THE LIFE OF CONRADE, THE FOVRTH OF THAT NAME, AND HVNDRETH AND SECOND ROMAN EMPEROR; AND OF THOSE WHICH WERE called Emperors till that RODVLPHVS was chosen Emperor.

(***)

THE ARGVMENT.

FRederick *being dead, the Empire being diuided between two Emperors, was infested many yeers; each of vsing all meanes to suppresse the other. First*, Conrade *determined to go into Italy to take possession of the Kingdomes of Naples and Sicilia: and going with a mighty Army, hee took those Kingdomes by force. After which conquest he died, and* William *remained sole Emperor; who desiring to go into Italy to be crowned by the Pope, was hindred through a tumult raised by the Frisons: and going against them with an Army, he was by them vnfortunately slain. The death of* William *was the occasion that the seat of the Empire was void, and that the Electors were diuided, and could not agree among themselues: for, almost euery one of them would haue such an Emperor as was best to his liking; whereof ensued great trouble and much preiudice to the Country of Germany. In Italy also were great warres between* Manfrede *and the Pope,* King Charles *and* Conradin, *wherof in the end* King Charles *had the victory. And in Germany*

the Electors being a long time at variance, in the end agreed to chuse Rodulph *Earl of Habspurgh, when as for a long time they could neuer agree vpon any other man.*



HE greatest part of the Authors which wrote the liues of the Emperours, account all the time from the death of FREDERICK (whose life we haue now written) vntill that RODVLPH, Earl of *Habspurgh*, was chosen Emperor (which were 23 yeers, beginning in the yeer 1250, in which FREDERICK died; and ending in the yeer 1273, in which RODVLPH was chosen) for an *interregnum* and vacation of the Empire; accounting none of those for Emperors which in that time were chosen and so called, for that they were chosen in competency one against another, and were not crowned by the Popes; which were WILLIAM, who was Emperor in the time of FREDERICK, and FREDERICK'S son, CONRADE, who was King of the Romans; and RICHARD, brother to the King of *England*; and ALONSO, King of *Castile*, whom the Spaniards call the Wise: all which were chosen in contention, and were competitors; wherein (*in my opinion*) *they haue no reason, especially in what concerns* WILLIAM, sith he before FREDERICK'S death was in name and possession Emperor; and albeit he was not crowned by the Pope, yet his election was approued and confirmed by him: wherfore (to yeeld euery man his title and dignity, howsoeuer it were, as also to keep the course of our history) I haue determined to treat briefly of all in such matters as concern the Empire, which is the subject of my trauell. I will likewise in summe relate what past in *Italie*, that so the history following may be the better vnderstood. I say then, that the Emperor FREDERICK'S death was soon published (as that of Emperors and Kings is vsuall) and caused new accidents.

In *Germany* his son CONRAD, who in his fathers life time was Duke of *Suenia*, and King of the Romans, and his heir in the Kingdoms of *Sicilia* and *Naples*, and by his mother pretended title to the Kingdome of *Ierusalem*, took vpon him as Emperor against WILLIAM Earle of *Holland*, who by the Popes commandement was chosen against his father, and possessed the empire. WILLIAM, seeing that his competitor was dead, made account to haue defeated and supplanted CONRAD: whereto he was presently countenanced and encouraged by Letters from Pope INNOCENT, who all this while was in *France*, and was supported by many Princes of *Germany*; which, forasmuch as CONRAD was excommunicate (as well as his father FREDERICK) WILLIAM pretended that CONRAD had lost his right to the Empire, and was depriued thereof by the Pope, as indeed by the Popes Sentence he was. Neuertheless, CONRAD was still called Emperor. And so they were diuided into two factions: yet WILLIAM was the mightier, for he commanded (in a manner) all the cities in *Germany*.

In *Sicilia* and *Naples*, FREDERICK'S base sonne MANFRED, who (some say) smothered his father, had a conceit in time to make himselfe King of *Naples* and *Sicilia*: but being a bastard he knew that the lawfull inheritance appertained to his brother CONRAD, who was in *Germany*, in whose name (as gouernour for him, and to his vse) he possessed himselfe of those kingdomes, excepting *Naples*, *Capua*, and some other townes, which would not receiue him: *whereupon he proclaimed them traytors and rebels, and began to warre against them.* In other parts of *Italy* the warres ceased not, notwithstanding that the Emperor was dead: for malice and hatred had taken so deepe roote betweene the Guelphes and the Gibelins, that they were neuer without warres and troubles, murthering one another: and ENCELINVS (who as I said before was of great power in *Lombardy*, and a faithfull seruant to FREDERICK) took part with CONRAD, as with the Emperour, and so did some others: yet the contrarie part which held for the Pope was more mightie.

CONRAD seeing the affaires of the Empire to stand in this estate, and considering that it was doubtfull holding of *Germany* against WILLIAM; and that *Naples* and *Sicilia* was a good portion, & came to him by inheritance from his father, raising the greatest power that he could in *Suenia*, leauing garrisons therein, and in such other parts as he held of the Empire, with the aid of the Duke of *Bauiere*, with whose sister he was married, came to take possession of those Kingdomes, as most certain and assured; and with a very good Armie came to *Verona*, houlding still the name of Emperour, where he was receiued: and afterwards (beeing assisted and guided by ENCELINVS, Gouerner of *Lombardy*) he came to certain Harbours vpon the coast of the Venecian Sea; where he was shipped by the Venecians, and thence sailed into *Pulia* (for, from thence there was no safe passage for him by land) and taking land with his people, he was obeied by his brother, and receiued into the Towns of *Naples* and *Sicilia*. And notwithstanding that those of the Cities of *Naples* and of *Capua* alleaged, that in that they refused to be commanded by MANFREDE, it was not in respect that they had any meaning to haue rebelled against him, but for that they vnderstood that MANFREDE meant to becom a Tyrant; Yet MANFREDE carried the matter so cunningly, that his brother was perswaded to the contrary, and therefore highly offended: by reason whereof, the Neapolitanes and Capuans durst not put themselues into his hands, but stood vpon their guard; and CONRADE with great fury held *Naples* besieged the space of eight months: in the end whereof he took the same through famine, and executed cruell punishment therein; and thence went to *Capua*, where hee did the like, and in some other places which were of their confederacy: so as from thence forth, where-soeuer he went he found no resistance, neither by Cities, Princes nor Lords.. And those which he any way suspected, he banished, and then began to war against the Lands and friends of the Church of *Rome*.

After this (two yeers after his coming into *Italy*) he fell sick and died, being poysoned in his medicines (as it was then thought) by the practice of his brother MANFREDE, who did it of purpose to haue been King. NAVCLERVS and HENRICVS MVCIVS write, that the Emperor CONRADE before he died went into *Germany*, leauing garrisons in *Sicilie*; for that he vnderstood, the Emperor WILLIAM made himself strong, and was possessed of the whole Empire, by the means of the Legates which the Pope sent thither for that purpose; and that CONRADE, coming into *Germanie*, ioyned with the Duke of *Bauiere*, and with an Army entred the iurisdiction of *Ratisbone*, and afterwards took the city it self, where he committed great spoils; and that WILLIAM, vnderstanding thereof, leuied such forces, that CONRADE durst not giue him battell; and that he then abandoning *Germany*, went to *Naples*, where he died. Heerof other Authors make no mention: wherefore I am of opinion, that it was before CONRADE'S first coming to *Naples*, and that after his coming thither he returned no more into *Germany*. But whether he returned into *Germany* or no (for, it might be) he died in the Kingdome of *Naples*, and left his sonne CONRADINE (who was in *Suenia*, being very young, and whom he had by the Duke of *Bauiers* sister) for heir of his estate and Kingdomes; wherein also is difference between the Authors: for, some say, that he was his sonne (which is the most likely) and others say, that he was his nephew, and the son of his elder brother HENRY, who (as we said) died in prison in the time of his father FREDERICK. But I finde it written, that HENRY maried MARGARET the daughter of LEOPOLD the Glorious, Duke of *Austria*, by whom *he left two sons*, FREDERICK & HENRY, wherof one was poisoned by CONRADE; the other by MANFRED a bastard, as competitos to the kingdoms of *Sicily* & *Naples*.

The death of the Emperor Conrade *the fourth.*

His sonne CONRADINE remaining his heir, and not of age fit to gouern his Kingdomes, he left him vnder the tutele and protection of his mother, and of certain Dutch Princes. And MANFREDE (as some write) for certain daies space concealed his brothers will; and though as yet he durst not take vpon him as King, yet in his nephew CONRADINE'S name he sought by all meanes to possesse himself of the whole Country.

As soon as the death of CONRADE was published in *Germany*, all those which had taken his part, sought to be friends with WILLIAM; who being freed from his competitor, friendly receiued them, and sought (by force or policy) to draw them to him, to the end to haue made a generall peace. At this time Pope INNOCENT (who had made his abode in *France* for the space of nine yeers) vnderstanding that CONRADE was dead, came presently into *Italie*: And MANFREDE (as he knew him to haue bin an enemy to the Emperors, FREDERICK and CONRADE; and that he alleaged, that their wils and testaments were of none effect, seeing they were by him excommunicate and depriued; and that the Kingdomes of *Sicilia* and *Naples* belonged to the Church) fainedly took part with him in *Otranto*; purposing to exclude those which came to gouern for the childe CONRADINE, who remained in *Suenia*, and by fishing in troubled water, to get the Kingdome for himself.

Pope Innocent *returned out of France into Italy*

The Pope *being ioyfully receiued into most of the Cities in Italy, with the greatest power that he could make, took his way towards Naples*, where hee was receiued; and to that place came MANFREDE, and some other Princes and Gouernours of Cities, to yeeld their obedience, as fendatories to the Church of *Rome*: and he, excluding CONRADIN'S tutors, thought

within short time to be Lord of the greatest part of the rest. And as this was his drift, so after that the Pope had confirmed him in his estate, and had bestowed other fauours vpon him; hee began to publish the discord openly, which he before had sowen in secret, and to shew himself enemie to the Pope: but before that it took any effect, the Pope died in *Naples*, hauing bin so eleuen yeeres and halfe, in the yeere of our Lord 1254.

The institution of the Cardinals Hats and robes, by Pope Clement, and riding vpon foote-cloathes.

This Pope gaue order that the Cardinals should ride on their foot-cloathes, and weare red Hats and Robes, which they vse at this day; to the end that as they did excell other men in dignitie and preheminence, so they should goe *different in apparel*, and thereby be knowne from other men. Presently vpon the death of Pope INNOCENT, MANFREDE publishing that his Nephew CONRADINE was dead, cladding himselfe in mourning attire, proclaimed himself King of *Naples* and *Sicilia*; and raising forces, drew the Africane Moores, which dwelt in *Nuceria*, to his seruice; and suddenly set vpon those places which held for the Pope: so as ALEXANDER succeeding INNOCENT the Fourth, sent a Cardinall whose name was OCTAVIVS to *Naples*, against MANFREDE, who proceeded so farre as to excommunicate him: but MANFREDE, who now was called King of both the *Sicilies*, took such order with the Legate that he constrained him to shut vp himselfe in *Naples*; and so was he Master of the field, and not onely in that prouince, but in all *Italy* sought to raise dissension and discord, shewing himselfe to be of the faction of the Gibelins, with whose aide he made himselfe mightie, and was principally assisted by the great tyrant ENCELINVS. In *Florence*, in *Lombardy*, and in other parts, happened many great accidents, which I haue no time to relate, being to returne to my History of the liues of the Emperours: neuertheless it shall be expedient to declare what end MANFREDE and his Nephew CONRADINE made; who was also called King of both the *Sicilies*; and at that time, by reason of his nonage, was in his mothers keeping in her estate of *Sueuia*; which gaue oportunitie to MANFREDE to rise, as he did, with the kingdome.

The Emperour WILLIAM, seing in what estate *Italy* stood, and being now Lord of all *Germany* in peace, desiring to come into *Italy* to visit the lands of the Empire, which had recouered liberty through the long absence of the Emperours; and likewise to be crowned by the hands of Pope ALEXANDER, he summoned a Councel to be held in the citie of *Colen*: and hauing therein determined of his iourney, he was aduertised that the prouince of *Friseland* was vp in Armes, and rebelled against him; and that not content therewith, they had inuaded *Holland*, where they had done great harme, by taking and carrying away whatsoeuer they found. WILLIAM, to suppresse this rebellion, resolued to goe in person to bring the Frisons to obedience, which were such men, and so many, that he otherwise knew not how to bridle them; and it seemed no sound course for him to goe into *Italy*, and to leaue *Germany* in an vprore. And so marching with his Army against the Frisons, which lay encamped not farre from him, as it was in the winter, and in that country are many Lakes and Moorish places, which then were frosen, the Emperour with one or two with him, or else alone on horsebacke, went to view his enemies Campe, or to view some ground where his own Army might lodge: and passing ouer a lake, his horse slipt, and fell with him, and the Ice breaking, his horse and himselfe were so pestred in the water, that they could not get out of it: which a company of Prisons (which lay vndiscouered in an ambush) perceiuing, sallied out, and vnknowne slew the Emperour, thinking that they had slaine but some meane horseman, without being perceiued by any man in his Camp, neither by them which were with him, or else they durst not reueale it: and so hee lay vnseene in the water, vntill that afterwards he was found and knowne by his enemies.

The Emperor William, Earle of Holland slaine and drowned.

This happened in the yeere of our Lord, one thousand, two hundred, fiftie and six: in the eight and twentith yeere of his age, and the seuenth of his raigne. And as he was mist in his Campe, and no man knew what became of him, nor what was befalne him (men being of sundrie opinions) some imagining that he was gone, and had abandoned them, and others were of other opinions; at last they were certified of the trueth by their enemies. Whereupon the Army disbanded, and went euery man whither hee listed: in this manner ended the aspiring thoughts, life, and raigne of the Emperour WILLIAM, whom his sonne FLORIS, which then was a child, succeeded in the estate of *Holland*, and the rest: who afterwards made cruell warre against the Frisons, in reuenge of his fathers death; who vntill then lay in a poore Sepulture. In *Sicilie* and *Naples* MANFREDE grew daily more mightie, and was called King.

The discord and diuision, which (as we sayd) was in the Empire between FREDERICK and

and WILLIAM, and afterwards between WILLIAM and CONRADE, FREDERICK'S sonne, and that which we will declare which hapned after his decease, was the beginning and originall cause why the Empire lost in those times great part of the authority, power and reputation, which it before inioied, and that some Cities in *Italie* recouered liberty, and were exempt from the Empire, and that others fell into the hands of Tyrants, as it afterwards ensued. For notwithstanding that there afterwards were valiant and mighty Emperours, yet all matters were so corrupt and out of order in the Empire, as it could not be reduced to the antient policie; neither did the Electours and Princes of *Germany* (in whom consisteth the chiefest strength of the Empire) yeeld such obedience and fealtie to them, as their ancestors had done, making themselues through these vacancies and dissensions, free, and of greater power, and the Emperours became poore, of lesse account, and were lesse respected by them. I say then, that as the Princes Electors of the Empire were certified of the death of the Emperour WILLIAM (which were as all men knowe) the Duke of *Saxony*, the Count Palatine of *Rhine*, the Marquesse of *Brandenburgh*, the Archbishops of *Mentz*, *Colen* and *Trenier*, and (when they cannot agree) the King of *Bohemia*, they began to consult about chusing of a new Emperour, first writing the one to the other, and afterwards meeting in *Franckford*, where they could not agree, for there were many Competitors, and the matter was carried by bribes, gifts and sinister meanes.

The cause of the declining of the Germane Empire.

Princes Electors.

Comming in the end with great difficulty to make the election, vpon Twelfth day, in the yeere of our Lord, one thousand, two hundred, fifty and seauen: the voices were diuided into two parts; the Duke of *Saxony*, the Archbishop of *Trenier*, and the Marquesse of *Brandenburgh* chose ALONSO King of *Castile*: and EBERARD Archbishop of *Mentz*, CONRADE Archbishop of *Colen*, and LEWES Count Palatine of the *Rhine*, gaue their voices to RICHARD Duke of *Cornewall*, brother to the King of *England*. In this manner they parted diuided, either party holding him for Emperor whom they had chosen: but most men affirmed that it was no election, for it seemeth not that the King of *Bohemia* gaue his voice, or was present at the election, or would ioine with either of the parties, but was singular in his voice, seeking to haue been Emperour himselfe. Those which chose ALONSO and held with him, sent him their Ambassadors (which were the Bishops of *Spire* and *Constance*) to giue him intelligence of his election, desiring him to prepare himselfe to come into the Empire: at their comming into *Castile* they were ioifully receiued by the King, who being very glad of their Ambassage, accepted the election: but he being busied in the warres against the Moores (from whom hee had a little before taken the Towne of *Niebla* and other places) hee could not then come into *Germany*: but writing his letters to the Princes Electors, he dispatched the Ambassadours (giuing them and sending to the rest many iewels and great rewards) and so they returned very well content. But King ALONSO his going into *Germany*, through many occasions which were offered in *Castile*, as well against the Moores (from whom he twice wan the Citie of *Xeres*, the Citie of *Murcia* and other places) as for that his brother PHILIP with-drew himselfe from his seruice, his iourney was a long time deferred. The other part of the Princes Electors, which had chosen the King of *Englands* Brother, sent him also a solemne Ambassage; and he came into *Germany*, and with the ayde of his Brother the King, came to *Aken*, and there was crowned by those which had chosen him, and he afterwards was possessed of some Townes and Cities vpon the *Rhines* side: and so began very great warres and troubles in *Germany*, some holding for RICHARD, and others for ALONSO; others (which were the greatest number) admitted neither the one nor the other, holding the Empire for voyde: and so miserable *Germany* was set on fire with cruell warre, which continued the space of fifteene or sixteene yeeres, in which time, RICHARD dyed out of possession of the Empire, and King ALONSO could neuer come thither, by reason of sundry accidents which happened in *Castile*, as in the Spanish Chronicles doth appeare.

Disagreement in chusing of the Emperor.

Alonso King of Castile chosen Emperour.

Richard Brother to the King of England crowned Emperour in Aken in Germany.

The death of Richard, Brother to the king of England.

At the same time BALDVVIN the Emperour of *Constantinople* being vnable to make his partie good, against MICHAEL PALEOLOGVS, (who by making away the two sonnes of THEODORE LASCARVS, gat the Empire to himself) fledde from *Constantinople*, and MICHAEL PALEOLOGVS had the Empire, and so it returned to the Greeke nation, hauing bin aboue seuenty yeeres gouerned by the Latins: the first that had the same was called BALDVVIN, and so was he which lost it, which was in the yeare of our Lord 1260.

Baldwin deposed from the Greeke Empire, by Michael Palcologus.

At this time also came Ambassadours to Pope ALEXANDER, from CONRADINE Duke of *Sueuia* (who was called, and ought to haue been, King of *Sicilia* and *Naples*) entreating his

his fauour in his behalfe against MANFREDE, who vsurped the said kingdomes; but it could take no effect at that time; for MANFREDE was now growne so mightie, that the Pope was not able to make head against him: and besides the kingdomes of *Naples* and *Sicilia*, he was Lord of *Florence* and other townes in *Italy*. Within few daies after this dyed Pope ALEXANDER, hauing held the chayre about seuen yeeres, with troubles and warres in little prosperitie. This Pope canonized Saint CLARE, of the order of Saint FRANCIS, for a Saint: and he being dead, the Patriarch of *Ierusalem* (a French man borne) was chosen Pope, and called VRBANE the Fourth; who considering what great power the Tirant MANFRED had got in *Italy*, (for what his father held therein, was at his douotion.) And seeing that there came no sufficient ayde from *Germany*, and moreouer hauing no meaning to approoue the succession of CONRADES son CONRADINE, for that his ancestors had bin antient enemies to the Church of *Rome*, but chiefly for that he had small confidence in his power, and for other occasions which I forbeare to write; by the aduice of his Cardinals he sent his Ambassadours to LEVVES the French King, desiring him to send his brother CHARLES Earle of *Prouence* and *Aniow* with an Army in reliefe of the Church, and to expell the Tirant MANFRED out of the Kingdomes of *Naples* and *Sicilia*, and that then he would giue the same to him in fee, as the Churches inheritance. The French King willingly gaue eare to the Popes Ambassage, and yeelding to his demaund, offred aide, and to send him into *Italy*: and so CHARLES began to prouide necessaries for his iourney, which Pope VRBANE could neuer see take effect, for he was intercepted by death in the citie of *Perugia*, in the third yeere of his papacy: in all which time (by reason of factions and partialities) he neuer came to *Rome*.

Pope Alexander canonized Saint Clare for a Saint.

Pope Vrbane the fourth, called the Duke of Aniow into Italie, to make warre in Naples and Sicillia.

This Pope instituted the feast of *Corpus Christi*, which is celebrated by the Church of *Rome* with great solemnity, vnto this day, being first inuented by the famous Doctor THOMAS of AQVINE, a Frier of the order of Saint DOMINICKE, who florished in those times. At that time also florished S. BONAVENTVRE, a Doctor and Frier of the order of Saint FRANCIS. VRBANE being dead, GVIDO Cardinall of *Sulconia* borne in *Narbone* in *France*, was chosen Pope, and called CLEMENT the Fourth; in whose time at his instant entreatie, the French Kings brother, or cosine germane, Earle of *Aniow* came into *Italy* with a great Army, to make a conquest of the Kingdomes of *Naples* and *Sicilia* from MANFRED, who was already called king of *Naples* and *Sicilia*; and there passed betweene them many conflicts and encounters, which I ouerpasse: CHARLES beeing assisted by the faction of the Guelphes, at length neere to the Citie of *Beneuent*, MANFRED and hee, with power against power fought a battaile, wherein MANFRED was ouerthrowne and slaine, after that hee had seene CHARLES cast to the earth, and his Army in a manner wholly ouerthrowne, but yet in the end CHARLES had the victorie; wherein he was much assisted by the counsell and help of *Iohn de Rata*, Earle of *Caserta*, who sought reuenge for that MANFRED had rauished his wife. Thus MANFRED lost his life with his kingdomes, the which he had gotten by fraud, treachery and parricide.

The feast of Corpus Christi instituted by pope Vrbane the fourth.

Manfrede king of both Sicilies, ouerthrown and slain by Charls duke of Aniow.

This ouerthrow and death of MANFRED caused a great alteration in *Italie*, for the faction of the Guelphes euery where preuailed (in a manner) in all the cities of *Italie*, being fauoured by the new king of *Sicilia*, against the Gebilins. And in short space king CHARLES was possessed of the kingdoms of *Naples* and *Sicilia*, being first crowned in *Rome* king of both the kingdoms; and in acknowledgment of the fee, he was bound to pay yeerly to the Church of *Rome*, threescore thousand duckats, or crowns of Gold. In this manner, the state of *Prouence*, whose head is the City of *Marselles*, was vnited to the kingdom *Naples*, which was in the yeere of our Lord 1266.

In the time of these alterations in *Italie*, *Germany* was still troubled about the election of an Emperour: and whereas the king of *Englands* brother RICHARD, who contended with ALONSO for the Empire, at this time died, if ALONSO had then come into *Germany* he might easily haue obtained the Empire, seeing his competitor was deceased: but by reason of ciuill warres against the Moores, he could neuer haue oportunity to come thither: and his brother PHILIP, and other great men of *Castile*, left his seruice, and ouerran his countrey. *Germany* being thus without an head, endured great misery, aswell for this cause, as through the great warres which the king of *Hungary* made against the king of *Bohemia*, and other Princes, vpon sundry occasions. CHARLES the new king of *Sicilia* liuing in this prosperity, all those which in *Italie* were of the faction of the Gibelins, sent to solicite CONRADINE Duke of *Sueuia*, who was also king of *Naples* and *Sicilia*, (as sonne of the Emperour CONRADE, and Nephew to

to the Emperour FREDERICK) to come, and reconquer his kingdomes, and that they all would helpe and serue him in that action: whereto CONRADINE (as a courageous young man) soon agreed, and began to gather forces and to trie his friends, whereto he was also perswaded & encouraged by HENRY the king of *Castiles* brother, who was banished from his brother for some factions and confederacies which he had made against him; And at that time was gouernor, and a Senator of *Rome*, made by Pope CLEMENT; which dignity he obtained (after that he had wandred through *England*, *France* and *Germany*) at the request of king CHARLES of *Naples*, by reason of his affinity, and the Popes fauor, to whose court he came, lying then in *Viterbo*, and the Pope made him a Senator of *Rome*, which then was the highest dignity and command therein.

This HENRY was a man of so great valour, and therewith so politick, that he wholly commanded the City; and being so, he induced CONRADINE to come into *Italy* (for hee was his kinsman, and had found him his friend at his being in *Germany*) promising and putting him in hope, that he should not only haue the kingdomes of *Naples* and *Sicilia* (which were his by inheritance) but should also be Emperour of *Rome*; for he would receiue him into the Citie. Finally, CONRADINE moued by these Letters and messages, but reposing his chiefest confidence in the Gebelins, came into *Italy* with tenne thousand the most expert men of warre that hee could get; to whom many of the Gebelins reserted, and hee was receiued and lodged in *Verona*, whither the Sienois and Pisans sent their Ambassadours (and many other Cities wherein the Gebelins were masters) exhorting him to proceede.

Conradine his comming into Italy against the Duke of Aniow.

When King CHARLES was aduertised hereof, he went from *Tuscane*, where he then remained, into his kingdoms; leauing good garrisons in those townes which held for him; and a gouernour with the title of Marshall. And HENRY the Kings brother of *Castile*, who was then in *Rome*, whither CONRADINE was trauailing, openly shewed himselfe for him, being of power able to doe so, whether the Pope would or not; who fauoured CHARLES his party, as a King whom hee had made. But the factions in *Italy* made all poore, and inconstant. To be short, after other matters which befell CONRADINE by the way, he being come neere to the City of *Arezzo*, fought a battaile with the Marshall whom King CHARLES had left in those parts. And notwithstanding that the Marshall and his people fought valiantly, yet CONRADINE was Victor and the Marshall was slain in the battaile, and his party ouerthrown; whereby CONRADINE wonne so great credit and reputation, that if he would haue stayed in those quarters, many townes would haue yeelded vnto him: but being solicited by Letters, and messages from HENRY in *Rome*, he took his way thitherwards, passing neere by *Viterbo*, where Pope CLEMENT lay, who as an enemy to wars, and bearing of Armes, was very sory for what passed: and comming to *Rome*, he was solemnly receiued with all the ceremonies accustomed, and HENRY calling him Emperor, lodged him as one in the Capitoll.

After some few daies stay in *Rome*, he departed towards *Naples*, accompanied with the said HENRY, to finde out king CHARLES; and HENRY left in his place and office in *Rome*, one GVIDO FERRETANVS, a man whom he much trusted. King CHARLES hauing already intelligence of CONRADINES comming, and seeing that by delaies he daily lost more and more, notwithstanding that he had no equall forces, yet he resolued to end the controuersy by a battaile, which by CONRADINE (who presumed much vpon the multitude and valor of his souldiers) was chiefly desired, so as the one Army drawing neer the other, neer to *Alua*, CHARLES knowing how to take benefit of the ground where he was encampt, marshalled his troups in such manner that he might shadow the greatest part of his Army behinde a Hill, and so the fight beganne and continued aboue three houres: in the end whereof, CHARLES his troups being neer ouerthrown, he brake out of his Ambuscado, and charged with such fury, that he forced his enemies to turne their backs, and obtained the victory: And CONRADINE, HENRY and FREDERICK, who (I know not by what title) was called Duke of *Austria*, escaped by flight. But through sundry casualties they all three within few daies after fell into his hands, and he cruelly executing the law of Armes, made the heads of king CONRADINE, and of FREDERICK Duke of *Austria* to be striken off, contenting himselfe to hold HENRY prisoner for their neerenesse in blood.

A battaile betweene Charles of Aniow king of Sicilia, and Conradine duke of Suevia.

Conradine duke of Suevia and king of both the Sicilies put to death by Charles duke of Aniow.

Some Authors write, that when these Princes were brought before CHARLES; he not content with the glory of the victory (which had been the part of a noble and generous minde) insulted

insulted proudly ouer them. Then by the barbarous and wicked cruelty of Pope CLEMENT the fourth, who being demanded his aduice touching the prisoners answered; The life of CONRADINE is the death of CHARLES, and the death of CONRADINE is the life of CHARLES: whereupon, by a neuer heard-of example of cruelty in the Christian world and vnworthy the name of a King, he put them to death, as hath been said; The Earle of *Flanders* telling him in vaine, that moderation and clemency did become a generous conqueror. So in the end by the execution of CONRADINE, a most generous and innocent yong Prince, the most antient and noble family of the Dukes of *Suevia* hauing managed the affaires of the Empire and their owne at home and abroad, both in peace and warre, wisely and valiantly, was by the practice of Popes extinct, when it had raigned in the Empire, one hundred and fifteen yeers, and held the realmes of *Sicilia* and *Naples*, 76.

By this meanes king CHARLES wonne great reputation, for he had ouerthrown and slain two kings, MANFRED and CONRADINE. And within short space all those townes which held for CONRADINE hearing of his death, reduced themselues to CHARLES his subjection: and so in *Sicilia*, *Pulia*, *Calabria* and in all *Italy*, the faction of the Guelphs recouered the vpper hand. So as poore CONRADINE in hope to haue gotten the kingdome of *Naples*, lost his life, and therewith his estate of *Suevia*, whereof he was assured: and in him ended the line of the house of *Suevia*, for he left no heire; and that state was lost, most of the Cities therein making themselues Imperiall: yet RODVLPH and his sonne IOHN were afterwards called Dukes of *Suevia*.

The victorious triumphant king CHARLES, with Pope CLEMENT's leaue and authority, went to *Rome*, to execute the office of Senator, which HENRY had lost, and to pacifie the factions which were in the City; and the Pope from *Viterbo* where he made his residence, neuer ceased to procure peace and concord between the Cities of *Italy*, and to pacifie king CHARLES: but his desire took no effect, for he was interrupted by death, which ouertook him in the end of the yeer 1278, hauing been Pope little more then 3 yeers, and was reconed amongst the Saints.

Pope CLEMENT the fourth being dead, the Cardinals agreed so ill about chusing him a successor, that for the space of two yeers there was no Pope. What hapned in the meane time, is too long to be written, wherefore I leaue it apart: amongst which Saint LEWES King of *France* went against the kingdom and Citie of *Tunis*, where he died of the Plague. His going thither was with an intent to haue gone from thence to the conquest of *Ierusalem*, whereto hee was induced by Pope CLEMENT before his death. Before the Popes death, EDVVARD King of *England* went to the same seruice with about two hundred thousand men, which from all parts of Christendome vowed to goe that voyage, but all was afterwards. Two yeers being past that the Cardinals could not agree, by their common consent in the yeer 1270, THEOBALD a Cardinall was chosen, and called GREGORY the tenth, who was a Legate with King EDVVARD in that enterprise: which EDVVARD performed as little in that action, as well by reason of King LEWES his long abode before *Tunis*, where he died, for whom King EDVVARD stayed; as also for that the Popes seate was voide the space of two yeeres, which put all out of order, and caused him and such as were with him, to endure great want and penury: and for that at this time also died the Patriarch of *Ierusalem*; by whose counsell he began and continued that warre, and in the end THEOBALD: who was the Apostolick Legate in this journey, came to be Pope, wherfore King EDVVARD also returned to his countrey, without effecting what he desired.

King Edward Longshanks at the wars in the Holy-land.

The death of S. Lewes king of France before Tunis.

King Edward the first of England returned from the war in the Holy-land.

When THEOBALD, or P. GREGORY the tenth, being in *Aken* was aduertised of his election; with the aide of King EDVVARD, who furnished him with men and shipping, hee came into *Italy*, and was joyfully receiued and entertained by King CHARLES of *Naples*, through whose countrey he passed, who accompanied him some daies iourneys; and comming to *Viterbo*, where the Cardinals attended his comming, he was crowned after the accustomed manner: and he then presently summoned a generall Councell, First to procure the reformation and peace of the Church: Secondly, that an Emperour should be chosen; for *Germany* was brought to ruine through ciuill dissension and want of iustice: and Thirdly, to take order for the conquest of the Holy-land, appointing *Lions* in *France* to be the place where this Councel should be held; whither he presently went, first settling the best peace he could in *Italy*, principally between the Genoais and the Venecians, two mighty Common-wealths in those dayes who made most cruell warre. This being done he came to *Lions*, from whence he

he sent to the Princes Electors, commanding them to meete, and to make choise of an Emperor. To this Councel at *Lions*, came PALEOLOGVS the Emperor of *Constantinople*, whom the Pope confirmed in his Empire, notwithstanding that he obtained the same by indirect meanes; and hee and the Prelates which came with him, in the name of the Greeke Church, submitted themselues to the Councell in certaine pointes, wherein the Greeks dissented from the Latines: but they obserued the same as little as at other times they had done.

The Princes Electors met at *Franckford*, to treate of the election of an Emperour; seeing how many yeers the Empire was voide, for now twenty yeers were fully expired since the death of FREDERICK, in all which time, *Germany* was neuer free from factions and partialities about the Empire, and thirteene or fourteene yeeres since the Emperor WILLIAM died, so that *Germany* lay abandoned without an head or soueraign Lord: for RICHARD brother to the King of *England*, and ALONSO King of *Castile*, were chosen in discord and dissent of voyces; and RICHARD within short space died, and King ALONSO could neuer come to enioy the Empire.

All the Princes Electors meeting, spent three yeeres before they could agree about the Election; for either of them would haue him to be Emperour in whom they thought to haue greatest interest: some alleaged that no election could be made, for that King ALONSO of *Castile* was chosen; and the same King sent his Proctors to protest that he prepared himselfe speedily to come vnto the Empire: there were others that hindred the election, for that they had vsurped the lands and possessions belonging to the Empire, and were in feare to lose the same: finally, the matter was very confused and out of order; but in the end they agreed: and notwithstanding that OTHO CARVS King of *Bohemia*, had won the most part of the Electors, and assured himselfe that he should haue been chosen in this great confused Anarchy during the vacancy, *Italy* being on fire with intestine combustions and seditions, and *Germany* tost with old hatreds and new alterations, when as all things threatned a fearefull ruine, then did the Electors chose RODVLPH Earle of *Habspurgh* and *Hessia*, who in line Masculine descended lineally from the father to the sonne, from PHAROMOND King of the Francons: others haue written (amongst which is VOLATERRANVS) that this RODVLPH was descended from the house and family of the PERLEONES, or LEONES in *Rome*, an antient house of Earles, and that one of them vpon certain occasion left his countrey, and went into *Ergonia*, and there built the Castle of *Habspurgh*, from whence descend the Earles of *Habspurgh*: which they say was in the yeer 1150. But it cannot be so, for the Towne and Castle of *Habspurgh*, from whence these Earles are descended, is not in *Ergouia*, but another much more antient, and farre distant from that, whereof long before the time that they speake of, the Earls of *Habspurgh* were Lords: And IOHN STABIVS setteth down a pedegree of nine Kings and fourteen Earles before this RODVLPH, of whom we now treate: who besides that he was chosen and crowned Emperor, and gouerned the Empire the space of eighteen yeeres, came (through want of Heires) to be Duke of *Austria*: and that house hath continued in that linage from that time vntill this day, and hath produced nine Empetors, and a great number of dukes: from which RODVLPH the First, is descended RODVLPH the Second now raigning in the yeere one thousand six hundred and foure. In *Constantinople* still raigned MICHAEL PALEOLOGVS.

The Earle of Habspurgh and Hessia chosen Emperor.



THE LIFE OF RODVLPH, THE FIRST OF THAT NAME, AND THE HVNDRETH AND THIRD

Romane Emperour; And of MICHAEL PALEOLOGVS, Emperor of *Constantinople*.

(✕)

THE ARGVMENT.

WHen Rodulph's *election was published, all Germany reioyced, seeing an end of so many troubles: hee was according to the custome crowned in Aken, but would neuer go to be crowned in Italy, alleaging that all the Emperors which went thither, either died there, or returned with great losse. He had great warres with the King of Bohemia, who by his wifes perswasion, violating his faith, rebelled against the Emperor to whom he had sworn fealty and obedience. After this warre, the Emperor addicted himselfe to maintaine iustice; and taking no care to come into Italy, contenting himselfe with their tribute, he held all Germany in peace, a thing which no Emperor euer had done. Hee subdued all those which rebelled, and being old departed out of this life. Hee made alliance with many great Lords by meanes of his daughters, for in his sonnes hee was not very fortunate.*

AS soon as it was published that RODVLPH was chosen, there was great ioy in all the towns and Cities of *Germany*, and by all men which desired peace and iustice, as well through the desire they had to haue an Emperor, as for that RODVLPH was a man much esteemed, and the hope they conceiued that he would proue a good Prince; for he was held to be a man of great iudgement and very valiant, whereof he had made great proofe both in peace and warre, in the seruice of FREDERICK the Second, who was his God-father, and afterwards in the warre against the King of *Bohemia*, But the Ambassadours of the King of ALONSO, and likewise of the King of *Bohemia*, departed very much discontented from *Franckford*, making first their protestations. Earle RODVLPH had little apprehension thereof when the newes was brought him of his Election, who at that time lay before the City of *Basil*, besieging the same, wherein were two factions of the Psitaci and the Stelleferi, whereof the one had driuen the other out of the City: and he tooke vpon him the charge to restore the banished to their houses; with whose ayde, and the ayde of his friends and subiects, he besieged that City: but being aduertised of his election, he came to the Citie of *Aken*, and there according to the accustomed manner was crowned; whither came Ambassadors from the Princes of *Germany* to congratulate his election: but neither the King

Psitaci and Stelleferi, two factions in Basil.

The Emperour Rodulph crowned in Aken.

King of *Bohemia*, nor the Duke of *Bauiere* would obey, or hold him for Emperour, as What ensued, you shall vnderstand hereafter. After the coronation, he and the Electors sent their Ambassadors to Pope GREGORY the Tenth, who then was at the Councell of *Lions* in *France*, who being very glad of his election, confirmed the same, and promised to giue him the Imperiall Crown, if he would come into *Italie*; but he would neuer go to be crowned in *Rome*, neither come into *Italie*: It is written that being demanded wherfore he would not go thither, for answere he recited one of Esops fables, saying that the Lyon as king of all other beasts being sick, would haue them all come to visite him, and they went & comforted him; but the Fox of purpose staying to be last, and being come to the mouth of the Caue wherein the Lion lay, would not enter; and the cause being demanded, answered, that the most part of the foot-steps which he saw, were of such as went in, but he could hardly perceiue that any of them came forth againe; whereby he knew that the most part of them remained foode for the sick Lion: wherfore he would not put his life in such hazard. After this manner said RODVLPH it befell the Emperors his predecessors, in their iourneys into *Italy*, for they either died there, or returned with great losse: wherefore vpon this consideration, he would neuer come into Italie to be crowned, which was the cause that many Cities exempted themselues, and became free.

A tale of a Lion

The cause why the Emperor Rodulph would not come into Italie.

The new Emperour through a desire to reform the estate of the Empire, summoned a Diet or Parliament to be held in the City of *Norembergh*, whither came all the Princes in person; or else such as could not come, sent their Agents or deputies, excepting the King of *Bohemia*, and the Duke of *Bauiere*, who neither came nor sent, neither would they acknowledge him for their Emperour: Whereupon RODVLPH by the consent of all those which were present, prescribed them a certaine time, within which they should restore and deliuer vp the Lands and possessions which they had vsurped in the time of the Empires vacancie, as well such as appertained to the Empire, as to other particular persons; and charged them to make their appearance within the time limited, in the Citie of *Augsburgh*. The time being expired, and the Emperour being comn thither, all came or sent their lawfull excuses: And notwithstanding that the Duke of *Bauiere* came not, yet he sent by his Agents, to yeeld his obedience to the Emperour; but in the behalfe of the King of *Bohemia* it was not so, for he sent his Ambassadours, amongst which was a Bishoppe, to whom publike audience being giuen, the Bishoppe began a long set Oration, wherein he sought to proue, that the election of RODVLPH was of no effect, and that the King of *Bohemia* was not bound to yeeld him obedience, neither to acknowledg him for his Lord: Wherewith he and the Princes present were so much displeased, that without permitting him to end his discourse, they commanded him presently to depart the Court and City; and so he and his associats departed. In that Councell the King of *Bohemia* was proclaimed a Rebell and disobedient, and as such, they were to proceed both against him and his estate: The Emperour presently sent the Burgraue of *Norembergh*, (which is a dignity in *Germany*) to require him to surrender the Duchy and states of *Austria*, *Carinthia*, *Carniola*, and *Stiria*, which he vsurped. But the King neither would, neither had any meaning to do so, and therefore tooke Arms to make resistance: And the Councell being ended, the Emperour likewise leuied an Army against him: What ensued, wee will tell you after that we shall haue related what end the King of *Castile* had in the Empire, which passed in this manner.

ALONSO King of *Castile* vnderstanding that RODVLPH of *Habspurgh*, was chosen Emperour, was very sory; and after many consultations held, and a peace established with the King of *Granada*, he departed from *Spaine*, purposing to haue been Emperour, and sent souldiers and other prouision before him, by sea and land to the City of *Marselles*; for he held the Kings of *France* and of *Naples* for his friends and kinsmen: and so departing from *Castile*, accompanied with his brother EMANVEL, and other great men in the moneth of March in the yeer 1275, leauing his eldest sonne HERNANDES Gouernour in his absence, he came into *France*, with an intent to haue proceeded on his iourney. What ensued, and how he passed, Histories record not: the effect is, that at the same time the Pope GREGORY hauing dissolued the generall Councell, and returning into *Italie*, met with King ALONSO, at a place called *Bellocadoro*; where the King shewed himselfe discontent, for that the Pope (to his preiudice) had consented to the election of an Emperor, he pretending to be already lawfully chosen: but the Pope so excused himselfe, and gaue the other so good counsell, that he perswaded him to giue ouer his

challenge, and to returne to *Castile*, which was greatly furthered through the newes of the death of this valiant Sonne, and of the incursions made into his Countrey by the Moores, and of the practises of his second son called SANCHES, (who afterwards was King) who then took vpon him the gouernment of the Kingdom, and sought to haue succeeded by depriuing the sonnes of DON HERNANDO his late brother of those and other great difficulties (whereof the King was aduertised) he returned into *Castile*, where he afterwards liued in great trouble, for his son SANCHES rebelled with the Kingdom; only the Cities and Kingdoms of *Seuil* and *Murcia* were faithfull vnto him; till about 9 or 10 yeers after he died in *Seuil*, in the yeer 1284. and the said SANCHES succeeded him in the Kingdom. Pope GREGORY after his departure from king RODOLPH, trauailing through *Italy* towards *Rome*, died in *Arezzo*, and in his place was chosen PETER TARENTASIVS Cardinall of *Hostia* a Dominican frier, and was called INNOCENT the fift: in whose time the truce between the Venecians and Genoais being expired, cruell warre began between them: the Pope sought to make peace between them and the other citys in *Tuscane*, *Pisa*, *Florence*, *Lucia*, *Siena*, and the rest which were in armes; King CHARLES of *Naples* also interposing his authority. But before he could effect it he died, hauing been Pope 5 monoths and two daies only; to whom succeeded OTHO BONI a Cardinal, and was called ADRIAN the fift, who was Pope but forty daies: after him was chosen one PETER, born in *Lisbon*, and was called IOHN the 12, who was a great Physician, and wrote of Physick: and although he was a great clerk, yet was he nothing expert in gouerning his charge, so as if he had liued long, he would haue shewed his imperfections, but in the 8 moneth of his Papacy (he being in *Viterbo*) the roofe of a chamber fell vpon him: and although he was taken out aliue, yet he was so bruized, as he died within 7 daies. He being dead, Cardinal IOHN GAETANVS was chosen, and called NICHOLAS the third, with whom, and with all the rest, the Emperor held friendship, whom we left making preparation for his wars against the king of *Bohemia*, which he was constrained to defer for a space, for that LEWIS Count Palatine of the *Rhine*, and the Marquess of *Baden*, would not (within the time limited) surrender such lands and townes as they had taken, at what time the Empire was void: wherfore he went in person to recouer them by force with much trouble and danger. This being done, he marched first with his forces to make war against the D. of *Bauiere*, for that he performed not what he had sworn by his Ambassadors and Proctors, but aided and fauored the K. of *Bohemia*. The Emperor with a mighty Army entring his countrey, slew many of his people, and by force took and ruined some towns, so as he compelled the Duke to submit himself. The Emperor marching further, entred *Austria*, which OTHO CLARVS had taken, and therein had placed Bohemian garrisons: neuertheless some castles yeelded, and others were taken by force; and he afterwards besieged the city of *Vienna*, to the relief whereof, after the siege had lasted the space of 7 weeks, the King of *Bohemia* came with a great power, which he had leuied in his kingdom, and in *Moravia* and other countries: and to the Emperors campe came against him the King of *Hungary*, who was an enemy to the King of *Bohemia*, and had taken some towns from him: the two Armies being come, the one neer the other, and in a readiness to haue fought; certain Monks and Friers became mediators betwixt the King and the Emperor, who vsed such meanes, that a peace was concluded: and the Emperor pardoned the King, vpon condition that he should presently surrender the estates of *Austria*, *Carinthia*, *Stiria*, and *Carniola* to the Emperor; and to the King of *Hungary*, what he had taken from him; and that the Emperor should confirm vnto him the Kingdom of *Bohemia*, and *Moravia*, for which he should come in person to yeeld obedience, and to be sworne after the accustomed manner. All which the King (seeing no other remedy) yeelded to performe, being at the point to haue lost all the rest: but hee instantly requested, that he might doe his homage in some secret place, for as he was a very haughty minded man, so did it extremely grieue him to kneele to a man to whom he had giuen pay; and thinking that the Emperour would haue performed what hee requested, forasmuch as he stayed for him in a close Tent, hee came, and kneeling downe before the Emperour to doe him homage; the Tent was so artificially made, that it fell open, in such manner, as he was seene by the whole Army, wherewith he was much discontented.

This agreement being made, and the King returned into his countrey, he was by his wife the Queene very ill entertained; for being a vaine proud woman, she told him that hee was not worthy the name of a King, neither to weare a crown, since he had lost so great estates without the hazard of one battaile; and had humbled himselfe disarmed, before him who had been his seruant

seruant; hauing an Army of so good men to take his part as he had: and since that he had made so shamefull a peace, he should now let her haue his Army, and she would by war recouer what he had lost by auoiding it. These his wiues speeches, and such like, which she vsed at other times, added to the sorrow for what he had lost, did so disquiet him, that he repented him of what he had done; and rebelling, meant to wipe away this reproach by Arms: Whereupon he drew his forces to an head, and such places as were not resigned, he repayred, and fortified; and went into *Austria* to recouer what he had already surrendred; which he did with such expedition, that he took many places there. When the Emperor vnderstood of the King of *Bohemia*'s proceedings, he with no lesse expedition raised his forces, and with some Princes of the Empire came against him with a great power; who resolutely stayed in the field to giue him battel, which befell vpon the six and twentith day of August, in the yeer of our Lord, 1277: which battell was sharpe and cruel, and the king in the middest of the troupes, being deadly wounded by one BERTOLD a fauorite of the Emperors, fell from his horse: Which sudden accident, together with the enemies force, was the cause of his peoples ouerthrow, and that the Emperour being victorious was master of the field; and the King was afterwards found there, as naked as he was born of his Mother.

A Battaile betweene the Emperor and the king of Bohemia, wherein the Bohemians were ouerthrowne, and their King slaine.

The Emperor hauing obtained this notable victory, followed not the same with such rigor and cruelty as he might haue done; for the King leauing a sonne called WENCESLAVS, the Emperor married him to his daughter IVDITH, and inuested and confirmed him in the kingdomes of *Bohemia* and *Moravia*: and for as much as he was but a childe, he gaue the gouernment both of his person and estate, to the Marquesse of *Brandenburgh*: and so had RODOLPH the Duchy of *Austria*, and other estates thereto appertaining; which hee afterwards gaue to his eldest son ALBERT, who in processe of time came to be Emperor.

After the war of *Bohemia*, the Emperor sought to settle iustice, and to free the country from theeues and rebels, by reason of the late troubles; amongst which, one was so audacious that he shamed not to say that he was the Emperor FREDERICK the Second, who died in *Italy*; stoutely maintaining himselfe to be the same: the cause whereof was, for that the common people neuer certainly knowe what passeth; and some reported that the Emperour FREDERICK was not dead but lay hidden. This rumor was so generally diuulged and beleeued, that this man gathered so many vnto him, that he took some Cities, and so much troubled the Emperor, that he was constrained to leuie an Army against him, by which this counterfeit FREDERICK was ouerthrowne and taken prisoner; and afterwards burnt by the Emperors commandement, and the rest of his confederats were seuerely punished: and so he was generally obeyed.

A counterfeit Emperor.

But as for matters of *Italy*, he tooke no care to goe thither in person, but sought to gouerne by his Vicars and Lieutenants, euer maintaining peace with the Popes; contenting himselfe that some Cities in *Lombardy*, and others which acknowledged the Empire, repaired vnto him and paid their customes and tributes, whereof he was very greedy: for in truth, notwithstanding that this Prince was adorned with many great vertues, yet he was much noted and taxed for being couetous and greedy of money, as he afterwards shewed. And in regard of peace betweene him and Pope NICHOLAS, he freely granted to him *Rauenna*, and the other Townes of that gouernement, which the Pope challenged to be the Church inheritance; vniting thereto the City of *Bolonia*, which of later time held for the Empire. Pope NICHOLAS hauing the Emperors friendship, and for that he was a Romane borne, was of greater power then any of his predecessors had been; and took from CHARLES King of *Naples* the office of Senator, and made a Law, that from thenceforth no king or Kings sonne should be Senator: he also tooke from him the Lieutenantship for the Church in *Tuscane*, alleaging that it was not the Emperors pleasure that he should hold that dignity; and so iealousie and suspicion grew betweene them: for it was odious to the Pope to see that CHARLES was of such power; wherefore he procured PETER king of *Arragon*, to make challenge to the Kingdome of *Naples* and *Sicilia*; affirming that they appertained vnto him, by reason of his mariage with CONSTANCE daughter to MANFRED king of *Sicilia*. All this the Pope durst to doe, hauing the fauor and friendship of the Emperor RODVLPH, whom they knew to be of great power in *Italie*, and obeyed in *Germany*.

The Pope was author of all the warres between the French and Spanish for the kingdom of Naples.

About this time the Emperor sent one to be his Lieutenant in *Italy*, whom many Cities receiued and obeyed, and others would not. At this time also died Pope NICHOLAS, hauing held the sea foure yeers, sauing foure moneths; and vpon some occasion, that Sea was voide fiue moneths; and then was chosen SIMON Cardinall of S. *Sicilie*, a French-man borne, who

was called MARTIN the Fourth. In those times, the Popes made their abode in *Viterbo*, but he would not be sacred there, but went for that purpose to *Ciuita Vechia*, whither came to see him CHARLES King of *Naples*, who (for that they both were French-men) was very ioyfully receiued, and afterwards much fauored: which was in the yeere of our Lord 1281. In the same yeer, the Emperor settled WENCESLAVS king of *Bohemia* (whom he had maried with his daughter IVDITH) in the gouernment of his kingdom; free from the tutorship of the Marqueese of *Brandenburgh*, to whom he had giuen the same. And the same yeer he had warre with the Gouernor of a people called *Ethni*, inhabiting a prouince in *France* about *Lionois*, who rebelled, and would haue made himselfe Lord of *Burgondy*, and of part of *Sueuia*; whither he went in person, obtained victory, and left the countrey in subiection. And returning from his iourney, he came into the prouince of *Alsatia*, where were many factions, and many great men rebelling, disobeyed his commandements: but with his presence all was still and in quiet: so as in all *Germany* he was both obeyed and feared, and raigned in prosperity. But as in this life no estate high or low is free from disasters and misfortunes, so a sonne of his whom he much loued whose name was HARMAN, passing the riuer of *Rhine*, in a boate, was drowned, together with certain other eminent men, and his wife the Empresse also died; and about three yeeres after he maried again, with the daughter of the Duke of *Burgondy*: and so he passed fiue or six yeeres without any accident worth the writing. In *Italy*, CHARLES, King of *Sicilia* and *Prouence*, being rich and of great power, through the fauor of Pope MARTIN, had a conceite to haue deposed MICHAEL PALEOLOGVS, and to haue restored BALDVVIN to the Empire of *Constantinople*; who marying his daughter, was deprined: and although hee pretended this title, yet it was thought that he would haue had the Empire for himselfe.

This being done, he thought to haue recouered the kingdome of *Ierusalem*, whereof he intituled himselfe King: whereupon he practised with the Pope, perswading him to excommunicate PALEOLOGVS, for that he had not obserued what was decreed in the Councell late held at *Lions*, whither he came to Pope GREGORY the Tenth, concerning the vniting of the Greeke Church with the Latine. He had also intelligence with certain Cities in *Gracia* which rebelled against PALEOLOGVS, and began to prouide men and gallies for that enterprise. But all these purposes were frustrate: for whilest he sought to depose another from his Empire, he within few daies lost great part of his owne: for all the Cities in *Sicilia*, vnable to endure the violence and oppression vsed by the French, rose and rebelled, and slew all the French-men which were in the Iland, in two houres space: hauing first had intelligence with PETER King of *Arragon*, who lay in waite for *Sicilia* (vnder this title, that he maried the daughter of King MANFRED) and came in great haste with a fleete of fifty gallies and ships, fayning that he had rigged the same, to haue passed ouer into *Africa*; and so became Lord of the whole Iland. Afterwards there were great wars between them both by sea and land, during which, King CHARLES falling sick, of an infirmity and of sorrow, died; leauing his eldest son CHARLES prisoner, in the power of PETER King of *Arragon*. Pope MARTIN sent his Legate to *Naples*, to hold that kingdom in subiection to CHARLES who was in prison, whom he proclaimed to be his fathers heire and successor: the French King sent also to the same effect. Fitally, at this time the Kingdom of *Sicilia* was diuided from the Kingdom of *Naples*, and the King of *Arragon* held the same; and afterwards followed other alterations. Returning to my History, I say that the Emperor RODVLPH, through the counsell of HONORIVS the Fourth, who succeeded Pope MARTIN, in the yeer of our Lord 1286, sent for his Lieutenant-generall, an Italian Earle called PINCINAGLIA *di Fisco* (a man very priuate with the Pope) who coming into *Tuscane*, *Florence*, and many other Cities which were of the faction of the Guelphs, would not obey him; and there passed many treaties and demands; but in the end, he hauing made his protestations, and condemned some cities, returned into *Germany*: and the Emperor sent thither another Lieutenant, who (hauing commission) gaue eare to certain cities, which offered to compound for money; and so by the Emperors consent, *Florence*, *Luca*, *Pisa*, and some others, bought their liberty, whereby the Emperor gat little honor; notwithstanding that in all the rest he was a good, a valint, and a prudent Prince: but the greedinesse of money, and his resolution not to come into *Italy*, made him to vse this basenesse.

The Frenchmen slaine in the Ile of Sicilie.

Florence, Luca, & Pisa bought their freedome of the Emperor Rodulph the first

In those daies, EBERARD Earle of *Wittembergh*, being assisted by some other Princes, rebelled: but the Emperour entring his countrie, besieged him in a strong Castle, and compelling him to sue for mercy; at the entreaty of the Archbishop of *Mentz*, he pardoned him: and although that he afterwards made some alterations, yet in the end he perseuered in his seruice. At

At this time died in *Rome* HONORIVS the Fourth, hauing been Pope two yeeres and one moneth, and after his death the chaire was void ten moneths; and then was chosen the Cardinall of Saint *Sabina*, a Frier, and Generall of S. FRANCIS Order, called NICHOLAS.

All this while the Emperour RODVLPH gouerned *Germany* in peace; yet in the prouince of *Turinge*, many insolencies and robberies were committed, by reason of the factions and controuersies, betweene the Lords of the Castles there: wherefore the Emperour called a Diet to be held in the citie of *Erfordia*; and by the consent of the Princes, made threescore Castles in that prouince to be throwne downe, and laid leuell with the earth, whereby he brought all *Germany* into quiet subiection; which continued so, vntil his death, which was within a little while after. So as it cannot be denied, but that this Emperour was a good Prince, and a prudent gouernour, both in peace and in warre, and in all things (wherein hee would intermeddle, which was but in *Germany* onely) desiring as a wise Prince to rule and gouerne the same well, rather then to seeke to subdue *Italy*, and other countries, and so to lose both the one and the other; and to auoid contention with the Popes, which in *Italy* he could not eschue. One thing made his raigne infortunate, which was the losse of the Holy land; the Christians losing all the cities which they held in *Soria*, and *Palestina*: for the Souldan of *Egypt* being Lord of *Ierusalem*, seeing the warres betweene the cities of *Italy*, and the Christian Kings of *Arragon*, and of *Naples*; and also betweene the Kings of *England* and of *France*; came with a great Army of foote and horse, and besieging the citie of *Tripoli* in *Soria*, took the same by force: and presently did the like by the cities of *Tyre*, *Sidon*, and *Brito*, with their confines; which he destroying, slew and captiuated an infinit number of people. The Christians which escaped, retyring themselues by sea and land to the citie of *Ptolomaida*, whither came the King of *Cyprus*, the Masters and Knights Templars, of S. IOHN, and of the Duch order, together with the Patriarch of *Ierusalem*; they fell there at variance amongst themselues, who should be Gouernour, and haue the command: which the Soldan vnderstanding, and a certaine truce which he had graunted them being expired, he came with 150000 men before the citie; and taking and destroying all the countrie round about it, sent his sonne with his whole power to besiege the citie: who continued the siege, notwithstanding that his father died in the meane season.

The losse of the Holy land.

After sundrie accidents which happened, the greatest part of those which were in the citie, abandoning the same, fled by sea; and neere to the coast of *Cyprus* were ouertaken with such a tempest, that the greatest part of them were cast away and drowned: and the next day, the Soldan entring the citie (some few which had no meanes to depart, being left to defend the same) commanded first all those which he found therein, to be slaine; and then the citie to be ruined, leauing no house or wall standing: and so the Christians were wholly expelled out of all which GODFREY of *Buillon* and other Christian Princes had gotten 196 yeeres before: which was in the yeere of our Lord 1290: for which as soone as it was published in *Europe*, the Emperor, the Pope, and generally al the Princes Christian were very sorie; knowing that by reason of the wars betweene them, those countries could not be relieued.

The next yeere after this, the Emperour falling sore sicke, was carried to the citie of *Spire*, accompanied with the Empresse and his sonne in law, the King of *Bohemia* and his Queene, the Duke of *Bauiere*, and many other Princes: and dyed the same day that hee came to the citie. This Prince may well bee accounted for one of the most valiant and excellent of the world; for that being but a meane Lord, and finding the Empire diuided, rent, and tyrannized, without an Emperour, and at libertie, for many yeers space, he pacified and brought the same fully into subiection and obedience, and maintaining iustice and equitie therein, left the same in peace. His house and estate he so much encreased, that he left to his sonne ALBERT, the Duchies of *Austrich*, and *Carniola*. He was twice married: first with a Countesse of *Sueuia* called ANNE: the second time with the Duke of *Burgondies* daughter, called YNES: by the first onely he had children. About the number of his children authors varie: but when he died, it seemeth that he had but two sonnes; the one was ALBERT afore named, and the other RODVLPH, whom he made Lord of part of *Sueuia*, who was father to IOHN the paricide, who slew his vncle, as hereafter you shall vnderstand. He had also (as writeth IOHN CVSPINIAN) seuen daughters, which he married to mightie Princes: the first was EVPHEMIA, which was a Nunne; the second was IVDITH, married to WENCESLAVS King of *Bohemia*; the third was MAVD, married to the Count Palatine of *Rhine*; the fourth was YNES, married to the Duke of *Saxony*; the fift was KATHERINE, married to HARMAN Marquis of *Brandenburgh*; the sixt was ANNE, married with OTHO Duke of *Bauiere*; the seuenth and last was

The Emperor Rodulph dyed in the yeere 1291.

called CLEMENCE, and was married to CHARLES the Second, King of *Naples*; from which issued great Kings and Princes.

The same yeere that the Emperor RODVLPH died, MICHAEL PALEOLOGVS Emperour of *Constantinople* died also, and his sonne ANDRONICVS had the Empire: and the next yeere following died Pope NICHOLAS, having bin so foure yeeres, and through discord betweene the Cardinals, that Sea was voide two yeeres and three moneths.

THE LIFE OF ADVLPH, ONLY OF THAT NAME, AND THE HVNDRETH AND FOVRTH ROMAN EMPEROR.

(***)

THE ARGVMENT.

ALL men thought, *after the death of the Emperor* Rodulph, *that the Electors would haue chosen his sonne* Albert: *but, through the cunning of the Bishop of Mentz,* Adulph *Earle of Nassaw was chosen; which,* Albert *disdaining (with the aid of the French King) bare Armes against him, purposing to depose him. Heere to the Electors consented; and repenting that they had chosen him, deprined him of the Empire, and chose* Albert; *who, going to be crowned in Aken, came to a battel with* Adulph, *and slue him.*

THE Empire, through the death of the Emperour RODVLPH, being void, all men were of opinion that his sonne ALBERT Duke of *Austria* should haue succeeded him: and (in a manner) all the Princes Electors desired the same. But GERARD, Archbishop of *Mentz* (which was one of them) vsed such policy, that at the Princes meeting at *Franckford*, he (cunningly) got their voices, and made ADVLPH, Earle of *Nassaw*, who was his neer kinsman to be chosen. The mean which he vsed was this: Hee hauing already gotten to this effect the Archbishop of *Colens* voice, vsed the same policy in obtaining the rest of their voices. First, conferring with the Duke of *Saxony*, he told him that he had some of the Electors voices to chuse the Duke of *Bruinswick* (who was *his great enemy*) but *yet he would forbear to do it, if he would giue him his voice.* The Duke fearing that this had been true (for, he had heard that the Bishop of *Colen*, and the Marquesse of *Brandenburgh*, had granted their voices to the Bishop of *Mentz*) perswaded him not to consent thereto; for if he did, it would be his ruine if he were chosen: so as whosoeuer were chosen (were it not the Duke of *Bruinswick*) he should haue his voice presently.

A policy vsed by the Archbishop of Mentz.

The Duke of *Saxony* being thus deceiued, with the like wile he gat the voyces of the Archbishop of *Trenier*, and of the Count Palatine of *Rhine*; propounding in secret, to the Count Palatine, the King of *Bohemia*, and to the Bishop of *Treuier*, the Duke of *Gueldres*; whereto each of them answered him, that if he were not chosen whom hee named vnto them, they would giue him their voyces: this they did, supposing that he would haue chosen ALBERT the Duke of *Austria*, for so hee made shew in outward appearance: so as by this device hee gat all all their voyces, the one not knowing what the other had done: and the Marquis of *Brandenburgh* promised him his voice also, for that he had fauoured him in the controuersie betweene the vncle, and the nephew, Marquises, whether of them should be Elector: so as the day of the election being come, they all referring their opinions to the Archbishop of *Mentz*, by common consent the Earle of *Nassaw* was chosen; whereat they all marueiled, as well for that they expected that ALBERT should haue bin chosen, as also for that ADVLPH was a man of meane estate, and of too poore a reuenue to maintaine the imperiall dignitie; notwithstanding that for his owne person hee was valiant, greatly esteemed, and held for an excellent man of warre: but as his reuenewes were small, he presently began to be held in contempt, especially by the Duke of *Austria* and his adherents.

Adulph Earle of Nassaw chosen Emperour.

ADVLPH being thus chosen, by means of the Bishop of *Mentz*, and of his other friends and kindred, went to *Aken*, and there was crowned with great solemnitie; and then called a Councell to be held in a citie in *Suevia*: and from thence, (for that there were then great wars betweene the Kings of *England* and of *France*) hee sent to offer his ayd to the king of *England* against the French King; and the King of *England* sent him a great summe of money, to the end that with an Army he should in person haue come to his ayd; wherewith the Princes of the Empire seemed to be much grieued, alleaging that it was a great dishonour to the Empire, that the Emperour should take pay of any forraine Prince: and the Duke of *Austria* said, that seeing the Emperor receiued pay of the king of *England*, he might as well take pay of the French king. The Emperour hauing receiued this money, and knowing that the Lantzgraue of *Turinges* sons made war vpon their Father, hee went in person to ayd the Lantzgraue; who to obtaine his fauour, and for the hatred which he bare against his sonnes, sold to him the Earledome of *Turingia*, for part of the money which the King of *England* had giuen him. It seemes the Author was not truly informed of this historie: and therfore (for that it is a memorable action) I will borrow so much liberty as to set it downe as I finde it in an approoued Author. ALBERT Lantzgraue of *Turinge*, married MARGVERIT daughter to the Emperour FREDERICK the Second, a very vertuous Lady, by whom he had two sonnes FREDERICK and TICHMAN: ALBERT fell so passionately in loue with a strumpet, as he sought his wiues death, who being aduised by her wife and faithful frends to flie the furie of her wicked husband, retyred by night out of his Castle, and got to *Franckford*, where spending some yeeres in mourning and deuotion in a Nonnerie, she dyed. Soon after the Mothers escape, DITERIE Marquis of *Missnia*, brother to ALBERT, a wise and a iust Prince, called the two sons to his Court, lest they should be spectators of their fathers villanie, and also to free them from daunger, breeding them vp vertuously in the feare of God. This Marquis had one son who dyed, and therefore beeing loth his brother should succeede him, and fearing that he would chase away his children, for that he more respected a base son, as also for that he hated his conditions, he made his wil, by the which he adopted his brothers sons, and made them heires of *Missnia*: and calling together the principall men of the prouince, hee acquainted them with his testament and the reasons thereof, requiring them to protect his heires, which they promised, and not to receiue any other Lord.

The Emperor Adulph offered to serue the King of England in his warres against the French.

DITERIE being dead and the heires in possession and much beloued of their subiects for their vertues, the father ALBERT challenged the estate, as his brothers next heir: but the estates of the countrie would not accept of him, saying that they had allowed of DITERIE's pietie and the reasons of his last will, and that they would defend them who were recommended to their protection. ALBERT flies to armes, and in the beginning took his eldest son FREDERICK whom he kept in prison a yeere: but his kepers pittying the young mans estate, assisted him in his escape.

The Emperour RODVLPH being dead, who had inioyned them to peace, ADOLPH succeeding, ALBERT takes Armes againe, and to ingage him in this warre, he sels him *Turinge*, to depriue his heires: so as the warres grew hot in *Missnia* both during the six yeeres raigne of ADVLPH, and in the time of ALBERT. of *Austria* his successor, but God protected the brethren and expelled the Emperours Army both out of *Turingia* and *Missnia*.

The Emperour ALBERT put FREDERICK in hope of peace, but finding *Missnia* and

Turingia fitt for him to make warres against the Bohemian, he deceiued FREDERICK and entred the Countrie with an Armie. They write that FREDERICK was called to a counterfet treatie; where being inuited to a banket by the Emperor, a souldier stept forth with his sword drawne to strike FREDERICK; but a Citizen of *Friberge*, being among the guard, receiued the blow that he might escape. The Emperour excused himselfe: yet all men thought that he had suborned the murtherer.

TICEMAN the younger brother was soon after treacherously wounded in a Church at *Lipsie*, on Christmas eue at night being at his deuotion, and died within two daies after; It was thought that PHILIP of *Nassau* had imployed this murtherer, of whom FREDERICK vowed to be reuenged, and meeting him in a battaile, he slew him with his owne hand.

ALBERT the father a breaker of wedlock, cruell to his wife and children, who furiously drew ruine vpon himselfe and his Countrie, suffered bitter punishment by the Iustice of God, dying in extreame want and contempt in the yeare 1315.

The Emperor spent two yeers in those warres, desiring to aduance his house, and to enlarge his possessions, as he did: and this time being expired, he desiring to satisfie the King of *England*, and being vnable to perform the same (for, the Princes were much discontented for that hee gaue them no part of the gold which the King of *England* sent him) open enmity brake out between him and the Duke of *Austria*: and the Duke practised with the other Princes to depose him from the Empire, by the consent of the same Archbishop of *Mentz* who had chosen him; so as the Emperor ADVLPH was of no such power or authority as was his Predecessor: and men began to stand in fear of what afterwards ensued. While these matters passed in *Germany*, which were of great moment, I will tell you what passed in *Italy*, touching the Papacy: which was in this manner;

At the end of two yeeres and three months after the death of Pope NICHOLAS the Fourth, in all which time he had no successor; in *Perugia* (whither the Cardinals repayred to make their election) was chosen a very zealous man, who was both a Monke and an Hermite, called PETER MVRRON; who thinking himselfe to haue bin called of God accepted the Popedom, and was named CELESTINE the Fift: in his beginning (as it was written) he was so highly honoured, that vpon the day of his sacring, there came to *Perugia* (as to see a wonder) 200000. persons: but as this man had wholly secluded himself from the world, and giuen himself to contemplation and prayer; so the world could not well like of him, nor of his fashions; neither knew he how to deale in the world, for his small vnderstanding, and lesse experience in worldly matters; which was the occasion that he gaue credit to what was told him; by meanes whereof he did sometimes one thing contrary to another: whereupon some of the Cardinals cunningly counselled and perswaded him to renounce the Papacie; whereto this good man willingly agreed, accounting himselfe incapable of that charge, and so oftentimes protested, and in conclusion (notwithstanding that CHARLES King of *Naples* would haue hindred him, and to that end induced him to come to *Naples*) did so, and in a solemne act renounced the Popedome; fiue moneths after that he had accepted the same: and vpon his renunciation, was chosen Cardinal BENEDICT, who was called BONIFACE the Eight, who was the man which chiefly perswaded CELESTIN to renounce the Papacy: and this deuout man being about to returne to his hermitage, BONIFACE fearing that the people would againe haue restored him, made him to be apprehended and detained in prison vntill he dyed, which was within short space after: whose successor BONIFACE was farre vnlike vnto him, for he was ambitious, proud, factious, and a great persecutor of the Gibelins, yet very learned, politique, subtill, and of great experience; whose end was such as hereafter wee will tell you.

Pope Celestine the Fift renounced the Papacy.

Returning to the Emperour ADVLPH, vnderstanding that the Duke of *Austria* practized against him, and sought to depriue him of the Empire, he made warre against him, to whom the French king vnder hand gaue secret ayd, to the end that the Emperour should not be able to ioyne with the King of *England* against him, as he purposed to haue done.

Vpon this occasion all *Germany* was in combustion, some holding with one partie, and some with the other: and ADVLPH's friends daily forsooke him, through his vnequall cariage towards them, for in his fauours he was partiall, a thing which maketh Princes to be hated: by meanes whereof ALBERT's party became so strong, that the Princes Electors (excepting the Archbishop of *Treuier*, and the Count Palatine of *Rhine* who would not be there) met in the citie of *Mentz*, where alleaging such reasons as they thought good (which in my iudgement were very insufficient) they depriued ADVLPH of the Empire, and chose his enemie ALBERT; who with the greatest and most florishing power that he could procure, of his owne, and of his friends, went to be crowned in *Aken*: whom ADVLPH (who was not a coward, or any way pusillanimous, notwithstanding that his power was vnequal) went to meet: and the two Armyes ioyning neere the citie of *Wormes*, in the moneth of Iuly in the yeere of our Lord 1298, there began betweene them a most cruell and bloudy battaile; the despaire wherewith ADVLPH and those of his party fought, making their inequalitie equall. The battaile continued aboue six houres, either party fighting most cruelly, before that it could be perceiued whether Army should haue the victorie; and each General hauing lost great part of his people: ADVLPH fighting with his face against the sunne (which did greatly annoy him) in the middest of the throng where the fight was most cruell, was in a great charge ouerthrowne from his horse, whither (by chance) came his enemy ALBERT, who (before that he could be able to auoid his thrust) with the point of his sword gaue him so great a wound in the face, that it bereaued him of his senses, so that he was slaine in the place. Some write, that whilest that he was in this fight, ALBERT cried vnto him alowd; Here ADVLPH shalt thou lose the Empire; whereto he answered, This (O ALBERT) is in the hand of God.

A battaile betweene the Emperour Adulph and Albert Duke of Austrich.

The Emperour Adulph slaine.

As soone as the Emperour was slaine, and being perceiued by his souldiers, they (without making any more resistance) were ouerthrowne, and ALBERT remained victor, although it cost him deere, for a great number of his men were slaine and wounded. In this manner was this Emperour murthered by the hands of a Prince subiect to the Empire; in the seuenth yeere of his raigne: whether the cause mouing him thereto were right or wrong, I leaue to God, who is the righteous iudge: but the reasons which they alleaged, were that he took pay of the King of *England*, wherewith he was grown so proud, that he caused a Masse priest to be beheaded, that he had caused false money to be coyned, and had degraded certaine Ecclesiasticall persons: that he had forced certaine damsels: and such others which they alleaged: which whether they were true or false, it pleased GOD that hee dyed in this manner. Some authors write that all those which conspired against him, and were accessarie to his death, had euill endes: how ALBERT sped, I will tell you hereafter.

Of ADVLPH's sonnes small mention is made, excepting one who with many Earles was taken prisoner in the Battaile; and the Duke of *Bauiere* escaped by flight; other men of great account in this cruell battaile were slaine. In *Constantinople*, ANDRONICVS, sonne to MICHAEL PALEOLOGVS, was Emperor.

THE LIFE OF ALBERT, THE FIRST OF THAT NAME, AND HVNDRETH AND FIFT ROMAN EMPEROR.

(***)

THE ARGVMENT.

ALbert *would not accept of his first election: but* Adulph *being dead, he caused it to be renewed, and was confirmed by the Pope, who was easily drawne to confirme him, to the end he should make warre vpon the French King: which he would not doe, neither euer came into Italy. Germany then enioyed peace, and in twelue seuerall battailes he euer had the victory, by reason whereof he was called* Albertus Triumphans. *Many notable matters happened in his time, as the translating of the pontificall seate from Rome*

Rome to Auinion, the subuersion of the Knights called Templars, the beginning of the house of the Ottomans in Turkey, and many other things worth the reading. He died infortunately through the conspiracie of a nephew of his who slew him neere to the Rhine, in the tenth yeere of his raigne.



S the chief right to Kingdoms and Empires many times consisteth in Arms: so ALBERT (who was, as it hath been often recited, sonne to the Emperor RODVLPH, Duke of *Austria*, and Lord of other estates) remaining Victor; and the Emperor ADVLPH (who was his riuall) beeing dead, he finding no man in field to make head against him, remained sole Emperor. But forasmuch as his election was made in the time of the Emperor ADVLPH, in discord (many contradicting the same) hee sought to legitimate and assure his estate. For which cause (accompanied with many Princes) he went vnto the City of *Franckford*: where, in the presence of the Princes Electors assembled, he renouncing his first election, and holding the Empire for void, was the second time by common consent chosen Emperor; and from thence went to *Aken* to be crowned, together with his wife ISABEL, daughter to the Earl of *Tirol* and of *Carinthia*, by whom he had many children, whose brother married ALBERT's sister. Which Coronation was performed with so great solemnity, and so many repaired thither to see the same, that vpon the coronation day there was so great a throng and preasse of people, that the Duke of *Saxony* (who married another of the Emperors sisters) and many others were smothered to death, and no man could rescue them; which was a great disgrace to the Feast.

Albert Duke of Austria the second time chosen Emperor.

After this Coronation, a Diet or Councell was held in *Norembergh*, wherein he took order for such matters as appertained to the Empire: and thence sending his Ambassadors to Pope BONIFACE, he gaue him to vnderstand of his election, and intreated him to confirme the same; which the Pope at that time would not grant, but like a proud priest (as it is written) answered, that he was not worthy the Empire who had murdered the Emperor. But hee shortly after confirmed him: for, as this Pope was of an high minde and presumptuous, so vpon some occasion which hapned (which I haue no time to relate) he fell at such oddes with PHILIP the French King, that the King apprehended a Bishop which was his Ambassador: and such other matters passed between them, that the Pope summoned a Councell to proceed against the King of *France*; who would not permit any his subiects to sue to the Court of *Rome*, neither to carry or send any rents or reuenues to the same. Whereupon the Pope, meaning to vse the Emperors aid against the French King, very willingly confirmed his election; and perswading him to take vpon him the title of King of *France*, he promised to depriue the King, and to giue him the Kingdom: about which matters were many treaties, and in the end the Pope pronounced Sentence against the French King; whereby he depriued him of his Kingdome, and gaue the same to the Emperor. Heerin is great difference between the Historiographers: for, they report this after sundry manners. But the truth is, that the Emperor was the Kings friend, and had married his eldest sonne RODVLPH, whom he had made Duke of *Austria*, to the Kings daughter BLANCH: for which cause, or for some other (for, many are alleaged) he accepted not the title to the Crown of *France*; but was contented with his confirmation in the Empire, wherein (following his fathers counsell) he raigned in prosperity, without any desire to go into *Italy*; and so neuer went thither.

The Pope depriued the King of France by his censures, and gaue his kingdome to the Emperor.

The hatred betwixt the Pope and the King so much increased, that the King, deadly hating the Pope, practised with a Noble-man of *Rome*, whose name was SARRA, of the house and family of the COLVMNOIS (who was Lord of many Towns and Castles, and was of the faction of the Gibelins) whom the Pope had banished: for this cause hee abode in *France*, and was highly fauoured in the French Court. The conclusion was, that this Lord should apprehend the Pope; which he vndertook, vsing such means as you shall hear. This Lord SARRA COLVMNA, hauing many friends of the faction of the Gibelins in *Alnania*, where the Pope was then resident (for, it was his natiue Countrey) departed *France* disguised, hauing first agreed with a Captain called NOGARET, to lodge himself with two hundred souldiers in a place which he had appointed; and he himself went into *Alnania*, where hauing secret conference with

with his friends, he shewed them the French Kings Letters and fauours; and so carried the matter, that one day he assaulted the Popes Palace, and took him prisoner, and presently took his way with him towards *Rome*; which he entred with the aid of the Gibelins, and of his owne family of the COLVMNOIS which liued there. But the Pope within fiue and thirty dayes after died, hauing been Pope the space of eight yeers and nine months, which was in the yeer of our Lord 1302.

Pope Boniface apprehended by Sarra Columna.

In this manner ended the high designes of Pope BONIFACE; who wrote the first book of the Decretals. What the Lord SARRA meant to haue done with him, is vnknowne; yet it is written that he purposed to haue carried him into *France*, which hee then could not, or durst not put in execution. After that BONIFACE was dead, NICHOLAS Cardinall of *Hostia* was chosen, and was called BENEDICT the Eleuenth, who was born in *Treuigi*, and was a Dominican Frier.

While these matters passed in *Italy* and *France*, ALBERT raigned happily in *Germany*: but in *Hungary* were great combustions about the title to that Kingdome: for, ANDREW their King dying without issue, VENCESLAVS, son to the King of *Bohemia*, aspired to that Kingdome; and afterwards, OTHO Duke of *Bauiere*, and CHARLES, sonne to the King of *Naples*: but in the end CHARLES was King; and VENCESLAVS inherited *Bohemia*, which was his fathers inheritance, who was of the same name: but hee prooued to be so wicked (notwithstanding that he was but a yong man) that his subiects, conspiring against him, slue him in a City of *Morania*. And forasmuch as he also had no issue, the like controuersie arose in *Bohemia*, as was in *Hungary*, notwithstanding that he left a sister whose name was ISABEL; which the Emperor ALBERT vnderstanding, he resolued to procure her for his sonne RODVLPH, by reason of a certain couenant and agreement made between the houses of *Austria* and *Bohemia*; which was, that the one wanting heirs, the heirs of the other should succeed in the estate. But the greatest part of the Bohemians resolued to chuse a Lord of their owne nation for their king, whose name was HENRY, who was Earl of *Carinthia* and of *Tirol*, and was the Emperors brother-in-law: neuertheless there was euer some dislike and discord between them; and HENRY, desiring to raign, without any intermission hasted into *Bohemia*, and there was receiued and obeyed for King. But the Emperor, presently leuying an Army, entred the Countrey with so great power, that HENRY durst not abide his coming: and he put his sonne RODVLPH in possession (who was a widower, hauing buried the French Kings daughter); and the better to assure him, and to make him the more acceptable to the Bohemians, he married him to the widow ISABEL, late wife to VENCESLAVS deceased: which took such effect, that he was presently obeyed by all men, and began to raign in peace. But it pleased not God that he should long enioy that Kingdom: for, within fewe months after, when he was freed from all his enemies, he died suddenly in the yeer of our Lord 1306. By reason whereof, the old discord and contention was renewed, some desiring to haue the deposed HENRY, Earl of *Carinthia*, and others would haue FREDERICK, the Emperors second sonne, to bee their King. But the Earl HENRY's party being the stronger, he was receiued and established in the Kingdome: which the Bohemians did so willingly, that the Emperor (within few daies after) coming thither in person with a mighty Army to haue preferred his sonne FREDERICK, they all so resolutely serued their new King, that, after much harm done in the Country, the Emperour was forced to return without effecting what he came for, seeing how constantly the Bohemians stood to their defense. In which warres and others, which he first had with the Emperour ADVLPH and other Princes, it is written, that he fought in person twelue seuerall times, and in them all had the victory, and therefore was called ALBERTVS *Triumphans*.

The death of the King of Bohemia

In the time of this Emperor ALBERT, Pope CLEMENT the Fift, leauing three Cardinals to gouern *Rome*, remoued his seat from thence to *Auinion* in *France*, where he and his successors made their abode for the space of seuenty and odde yeers, whereof ensued many inconueniences. In the beginning of the Emperor ALBERT's Raign, in *Asia* the lesse began the Empire and dominion of the great Turk, which is now so mighty and powerfull: the head and founder of which Empire was one OTTOMAN, of the same nation; a man of base parentage, but of a great spirit, and very politick; who of a small beginning grew to bee so mighty, and brought so many nations to his seruice and subiection, that he conquered many Countries, and made himself a King, and laid the foundation of that Empire, which his successors haue from time to time inlarged, and brought to that estate wherein we see it at this day: and from him is descended in line masculine, to the great Turk now raigning, in the yeer of our Lord 1604.

The Pope remoued his seat from Rome to Auinion in France. The beginning of the Turkish Empire, anno 1307.

Kk

In the tenth yeer of the Emperor ALBERT's Raigne, which was in the yeer 1307, the Knights of the Order of S. IOHN took the Ile of *Rhodes* from the Infidels, where they made their seat and principall residence, and therefore were afterwards called Knights of the *Rhodes*; and performed many maruels in Arms both by sea and land, vntill (in our time) that Iland was taken by SOLIMAN the great Turk, who conquered the same.

The Knights of the Rhodes.

In the time of the Emperor ALBERT, in *Lombardy* neer to *Nouarra*, began a sect of Heretickes, which vnder colour of religion and charity, made all things common: and women in like manner moued men to carnall conjunction, alleaging it to bee a deed of charity; and did many other things. This error dispersed it self into sundry parts, and many thousands of people followed the same. But the Pope and other Princes vsed such diligence in punishing these Heretickes, that in the end it was suppressed, yet not without great difficulty.

The beginning of the Cantons of the Swissers.

In the time of the Emperor ALBERT's Raign, the Heluecians (now called Swissers) began to be famous: all which ioyning together, made a league to enfranchise themselues, and to defend their liberty, and gouerned and ruled their state by their Heads or Cantons; which they haue maintained vntill this day, and haue done many singular feats of Arms against the Dukes of *Austria* and other Princes; and from that time hitherto haue been accounted for a very valiant Nation.

The order of the Knights-templers dissolued and condemned. The Ile of Sardinia taken by the Moors.

Towards the end of this Emperors Raign, Pope CLEMENT, by the counsell and consent of the King of *France*, dissolued the whole Order of the Knights Templars, and condemning their bodies, confisked their goods; which were of so great value throughout all Christendom, that what was taken from them, was sufficient to haue enriched many Princes, and the other Orders of Knights whereunto they were applied. In his time also *Sardinia* was taken by the Moors: which Iland Pope CLEMENT bestowed vpon the King of *Sicilia*, to the end that hee should recouer the same.

The death of the Emperor Albert the First, murdered by his nephew.

About the end of the tenth yeer of this Emperors Raign, hee hauing leuied great forces to haue gone into *Bohemia*, with an intent to haue made his sonne FREDERICK King, wherein then raigned HENRY, Earl of *Carinthia*; a nephew of his, beeing his brother RODVLPH's sonne, whose name was IOHN, through secret hatred which he conceiued against him for not giuing him any estate (he withholding from him in *Sueuia*, what to him by inheritance from his father appertained) resolued to kill him: and vpon this occasion, conspiring with other Barons, which were RODVLPH, VLRICH and WALTER, in the month of April, in the yeer 1308, the Emperor being in *Austria*, purposing the next day to haue passed the Riuer of *Rhine*; he after dinner for his pleasure taking horse, and riding ouer the ploughed fields between two little riuers called *Risa* and *Arula*, neer to the *Rhine*, accompanied onely by these conspirators, who were his great Familiars; his nephew IOHN with his confederates, and others which followed him for the same purpose, getting before him, RODVLPH laid hand vpon his horses bridle: his nephew IOHN stabd him in the throte; and VLRICH with a blowe claue his head; and the rest wounded him, some with blowes, some with thrusts, so as he was soon slain: and the murderers, setting spurres to their horses, left the miserable Emperor dead in the place; in which, his sonne the Duke of *Austria* afterwards built a stately Monastery: his body was carried to *Spire*. The conspirators were sought out by his sonnes, and most of them found and put to death. This death was reputed to happen in this manner to him through the iust iudgement of God, for killing his Predecessor the Emperor ADVLPH: the truth is knowne vnto God onely, who orders all things according to his good pleasure. All that I can say, is, that the highest estates are in least safety, and most subiect to danger both bodily and ghostly. What appertaineth to the soule is hard to be proued, for that it is secret, whereof God onely can iudge: but, as it appeareth, in great estates liberty to sin maketh it doubtfull, and mens weaknes is alike as well in the great as in the small; *which is an argument of the greater danger*, as our Sauiour plainly expresseth in the Gospell; wherein he sheweth how hardly rich men inherit the Kingdom of heauen: wherefore great Princes ought to be circumspect concerning bodily dangers. I will not wearie the Reader with other examples: those shall suffice which I haue written of Emperors; on whom (as I haue declared) there is no kinde of death that hath not befaln. And, to the contrary, in many mean estates we finde not any that in many yeers space haue died of a violent death, but that most men of mean fortune haue died naturally: but pride and ambition do so blinde mens eyes, that what is most hatefull is most desired; and we euer seek to attain to that wherein is greatest danger: yet some haue been of so good an vnderstanding, that they would not accept, but haue refused Empires and dominions when they haue been offred them, although the number be but small. But returning to the Emperor ALBERT, he had by ELIZABETH his wife one and twenty children, sonnes and daughters, whereof tenne died in their infancie: and his eldest sonne RODVLPH died in his time King of *Bohemia*; so as when the Emperour ALBERT died, he left fiue sons, and as many daughters: his daughters names were ELIZABETH, ANNE, GVTTA, KATHARINE and INES, all which were married to sundry Princes: his sons names were FREDERICK, LEOPOLD, HENRY, ALBERT and OTHO, which OTHO married the Ducheſſe of *Bauiere*; all which (after the Germane manner) were called Dukes of *Austria*, which causeth a great confusion in historics; but the house of *Austria* rested in ALBERT, who (for that he had the gowt) was called the lame; and was the stem & original of the house of *Austria*, from whom are descended his successors.

At what time as the Emperor ALBERT was slaine, ANDRONICVS was Emperour of *Constantinople*: of whom I finde little written, and therefore make no particular relation of him.

Pope CLEMENT the Fift making his aboad in *Auinion*, gouerned *Rome* and his estates of *Italy*, by his Legates; by reason whereof, and of the Emperours long absence, many cities in *Italy* took for their Lords, the heads and leaders of their factions, which they possessed a long time, and to this day some remaine, which of tyrants, haue in processe of time made themselues absolute Lords; as in *Verona*, those of the house of SCALA, in *Ferrara*, the house of ESTE, extending it selfe afterwards to MODENA, whose descendents at this day enioy that estate; in *Padoa* those of CARRARA; in *Mantoa* the PASSERINI were expelled by the GONZAGHI, who afterwards were, and to this day are, great Lords: and others in other parts.

THE LIFE OF HENRIE, THE SEVENTH OF THAT NAME, AND HVNDRETH AND SIXT ROMANE EMPEROVR.

THE ARGVMENT.

HEnry *being chosen by the Electors was confirmed by the Pope, with an iniunction that hee should come into Italie, by reason of much discord which was there: the French King was greatly displeased with his election, for that he pretended to haue been Emperour. The first enterprise he took in hand was against the King of Bohemia, and against the Earle of Wittenbergh, against both which he had good successe: he came afterwards into Italy, as well to satisfie the Pope, as to visit the Countries vnder his iurisdiction: hauing past the Alpes he found no great resistance by reason of the factions in Rome, where he was crowned with more solemnitie then ioy; the Citie beeing diuided betweene the Colonnesi and the Vrsini, who daily fought together. The Florentines would not yeeld vnto him, nor lose their liberty: and hauing endured a long siege, in conclusion they defended themselues bravely, so as the Emperour changing his minde went to the conquest of Naples, and while he made preparation for the same he was poisoned, and dyed in Buon Conuento; leauing Italy in greater combustion then before. Hee reigned seuen yeers.*

TRuly I coniecture, that in writing the life of the Emperour ALBERT, I haue made too long a digression, by reason of the recitall of other matters which happened in his time: but yet neuertheless I did it, for that I was briefe in writing his life; holding it necessary, to the end the rest may be the better vnderstood, and to explaine what is already sayd: and also for that the accidents were notable, it was not fit to passe them ouer in silence. The Emperour ALBERT being slaine through the treason of his Nephew IOHN, and his death being generally published, his sons sought reuenge, and to get his goods and estates, and some of them to haue the Empire.

The princes Electors, to make choice of a new Emperour, retired themselues (according to custome)

custom) to the city of *Franckford*. By the translation of the Popes seate from *Rome* to *Auignon*, the French conceiued no small hope to obtaine the Empire, as the Councels of PHILIP the father, the French King, and CHARLES of *Vallois* his brother did discouer. For, hauing him in their power, who did arrogate vnto himselfe a right to giue the Empire to whom he pleased, they perswaded themselues that they should recouer it by him without any opposition: Wherfore, when as they were to go to an Election after the murther of ALBERT, CHARLES of *Vallois* by his brothers aduice drawes an Army together, that he might wrest away the Empire, euen in spight of the Pope; who although he were no enemy to the King, yet foreseeing that this alteration would be fatall to *Italie*, and to the Roman Hierarchie, he would not suffer it, but preuent the French.

The Pope being secretly aduertised of his purpose (and being, together with the greatest part of his Cardinals, of opinion, that if the French King were Emperour, he would by that meane make himselfe Lord of all *Italy*, and so his patrimony should be oppressed, and brought to subiection, and that many other inconueniences would haue ensued) by his Letters and Bulls enioyned the Electors presently without any delay to chuse an Emperor, such a one as should be most fit for the state and common good: and they knowing his minde (notwithstanding that they were solicited and vrged to the contrary by the French King) by common consent chose HENRY Earle of *Luxenburgh*, vpon the first day of November, in the yeer of our Lord 1308: Wherein his brother BALDVVIN Bishop of *Treuiere*, and one of the Electors did greatly assist him. When his Election was published, and notice giuen to the French King, he was much discontented (for he assured himself to haue been Emperor) and much more after that he vnderstood that the Pope had hastened the Electors, and had authorised them to make the Election; for which, afterwards grew some discord between them. The new chosen Emperor, well accompanied, went to the city of *Aken*, where with great solemnity hee was crowned; and thence sent his Ambassadors to the Pope, entreating him to confirme his Election: which the Pope gladly performed, inioyning him within the terme of two yeers to come to *Rome*, there to be crowned by his Legates.

Henry Earle of Luxenburgh chosen Emperor

This the Pope did to the end that the Emperor should haue endeuoured to make peace in *Italy*, for there were then many factions and tyrannies. HENRY accepting these conditions, resolued to come into *Italy*, and began to prouide for his iourney, which neither RODVLPH, ADVLPH, nor ALBERT, his predecessors would doe; and to this effect called a Diet to be held in *Spire*, whither came (in a manner) all the Princes. At the same time new cares and troubles arose, besides his iourney for *Italy*: the first was, that vnderstanding that HENRY Earle of *Carinthia*, was king of *Bohemia*, and that the same Earle was in possession of the kingdome, the new Emperor (wanting none to incite him thereto) resolued to depose the said Earle, and to make one of his own sonnes King: whereupon he caused the daughter of WENCESLAVS king of *Bohemia*, and of the Emperor RODVLPH's sister, to be brought to *Spire*; and notwithstanding that she was foure yeers elder then his sonne IOHN, yet he married him vnto her, and with this title leuied an Army and sent him to the conquest of *Bohemia*, whither he was solicited to come by many of that Kingdome. At the same time also a second occasion of care was offered, which was, to leuie an Army and to send the same against EBERARD Earle of *Wittembergh*, who being discontent with HENRIE's election refused to come to his obedience, and being countenanced by the French King, took many townes in the Empire. The enterprise of *Bohemia* had good successe: for the said Earle hauing (as writeth HENRICVS MVCIVS) raised a power to fight with the Emperor; and the two armies being encamped the one neere to the other, between them many notable skirmishes were maintained; but in the end the Earle of *Carinthia*, who was called King, was constrained to retire, and the Emperors sonne assaulted the City of *Prague*, which is the head of that kingdom, and taking the same, was therein crowned by PETER the Archbishop of *Mentz*; and his power presently so much encreased, that the Earle of *Carinthia* abandoning the Kingdom, went home into his own countrey; and the Emperours sonne IOHN remained King of *Bohemia*. If he sped well in *Bohemia*, the Army had no lesse good fortune, which he sent against EBERARD Earl of *Wittembergh*, for the greatest part of his castles were taken, which (as saith NAVCLERVS) were fourescore: and in the end hee himselfe in the best manner that hee could, was constrained to compound, not without great losse of his estate; which notwithstanding after the Emperor was dead, he recouered againe.

The Emperor Henry made his son Iohn K. of Bohemia.

During the time of these troubles, the Emperour forgat not within the time limited by the

the Pope to prepare for his iourney into *Italy*: where, when his comming was certainly known, it caused so great feare, as though it had been a matter the like whereof had neuer been seene; for threescore yeers were now expired since that any Emperor had beene there, euen from the time that FREDERICK the Second died there, who also was King of *Naples*: that time being spent in contention and discord in the Empire, by reason of the death of the said FREDERICK: and afterwards in the time of the Emperours ADVLPH and ALBERT, neither of them would euer come into *Italy*. The Emperor HENRY being in a readinesse to march with his Army, he first sent his Ambassadors to the Cities in *Italy*, and to their Gouernours, giuing them to vnderstand of his coming, and of his Army; exhorting them to peace, and to lay down their Arms, for to that purpose he principally addressed his iourney into that countrey; and he further required them to receiue him and his Army into their Townes and Cities. His Ambassadors were very honorably receiued, and answered generally by them all: for as there were many factions and partialities, each party desired to win the Emperors fauor: onely the Florentines holding themselues for free (hauing bought their liberty of the Emperour RODVLPH, and being then very mighty, hauing at that time made a league with ROBERT King of *Naples*, and lying then encamped before *Arezzo*) answered the Emperor that they marualled, that so wise a Prince as he was, would come into *Italie* with so great a number of barbarous people, as it was said he brought with him, seeing that the Emperors office and dutie was to take care to purge that country of barbarous nations, and not to bring them thither. And whereas he said that they should leaue to make war against the Aretines; they answered, that it also was against his Imperiall office, for it was his part to right wrongs, and to redresse iniuries: and whereas those of *Arezzo* had banished the Guelphs from their houses, he ought to command them to be restored: and as for receiuing him into their City, they would be aduised and consider what ought to be done, and in time would answere him accordingly. The Emperor took this answer in very ill part: BLONDVS, PLATINA, and others write, that DANTE an excellent learned Poet in that time, vnderstanding of his countrey-mens answere in his absence, said, that the Florentins were blind and saw not the present estate, seeing they had giuen such an answere.

The Florentines answere to the Emperor Henry the 7.

The Emperor hauing past the Alps, the Earl of *Sauoy* and the Marquess of *Monferrato* came to receiue him, and went with him to *Turin*; where he and his wife the Empresse were quietly receiued: with him also came RODVLPH Duke of *Bauiere*, and LEOPOLD sonne to the Emperour ALBERT, who (as were his brethren FREDERICK, ALBERT, and HENRY) was called Duke of *Austria*: and the Archbishop of *Treuier*, with other Princes, which was in the yeere of our Lord 1312. At that time Pope CLEMENT called a generall Councell to be held in the citie of *Vienne* in *France*, whither came three hundred Bishops, besides many other prelates, wherein the Begardes were condemned for heretikes. From *Turin* the Emperor came to *Aste*, whither came vnto him some principall heads and Lords of cities, offring him their seruice and to receiue him into their gouernments. And so came to him PHILIP who was called Earle of *Pauia*; SIMON COLLVVIANO of *Bercelli*; ANTHONY VISCRAGO from *Lodi*; to all which cities, and to *Turin* and *Aste*, the Emperor sent his Lieutenants to gouerne in his name, who were receiued.

The Emperor Henries comming into Italy.

From *Aste* he went to *Milan* (the head and strength of all *Lombardy*) wherein were two houses & factions of great power: *viz.* the Visconti from whom descended the Dukes of *Milan*; and the Turriones which were of the faction of the Guelphs; and as these two were then of chiefest authoritie, so they sought to hinder the Emperours comming into their citie: so as there was a great tumult about the matter: but either party fearing that their aduersaries would ioyne with the Emperour, they both receiued him into *Milan*, and he made many of the Viscounts which were expelled by the Turriones, to come in with him: and the Emperour to content both parties, and to make them friends, to GVIDO TVRRIO, he gaue the citie of *Bercelli*; and made GALEAZO Viscount, his Constable of the citie; and left LEOPOLD of *Austria* with certaine companies of Germanes to keepe the citie in peace. CARION writes, that before the Emperour came to *Milan*, he reconciled the Iurioni, and the Visconti, inioyning them to liue with equall rights in their countrey which was now restored to their aatient liberty, and to be content with their patrimonies: but when at the Emperors entring into *Milan*, MATHEVV VISCONTI went on the right hand, and GVIDO TVRRIONI being commanded to go on the left, he grew discontented; and fearing the losse of his authority, and that his faction would be expelled, he flew to turbulent courses, causing a tumult in the City after the coronation of HENRY, so as the Emperor was in no small danger, but the losse fell vpon the Author.

The other cities of *Lombardy* vnderstanding that the Emperour was possessed of *Milan*, sent their deputies vnto him to offer him their obedience, and receiued such Lieutenants as he sent them: and so did those of the contrarie faction, excepting *Alexandria* and those which were further off, as *Padoa*, *Ferrara*, and *Bolonia*, which being of the faction of the Guelphes, and in league with the Florentines, sent not to him. The Emperor within few daies after was crowned with the iron Crowne in *Milan*, which was wont to be done in *Monza*: for which and for other occasions, a certaine contribution of mony was leuied in the citie, which (as they thought which paid it) was too excessiue: by reason whereof and of the Germanes ill behauiour, the people murmuring, took Armes against the Imperialists and fought with them; and the Emperor sending for his souldiers into the citie, GALEAZZO Viscount, head of that faction, vsed a notable (though doubtful and dangerous) stratagem; which was, that he leauing his father in his house, together with the greatest part of his adherents, went to LEOPOLD of *Austria* (who was with the Imperialists) and told him that GVIDO TVRIONI and his adherents had caused that tumult, to make themselues Lords of the citie, as they already were: but as for him and his friends, they were still ready to doe the Emperor seruice in ought they should be commaunded. It was an easie matter to perswade him, who had all men in suspicion, to giue credit hereto: and so LEOPOLD and the Imperialists ioyning with GALEAZZO, set vpon GVIDO and the Turriones, who suspected no such matter, (yet armed and in order, expecting the issue of that tumult) and wounding and killing many of them, they draue them from the place which they had taken: and GVIDO TVRRIONI surmising what the matter might be (seeing the Imperialists ioyned with his aduersaries against him) abandoned the citie, and in the best manner he could, with the greatest part of his faction, retired to *Bercelli*: in this manner were the Turriones (who were of the faction of the Guelphs) driuen out of *Milan*: wherefore as soone as this was knowne, some other cities which were of that faction, forsooke the Emperours seruice, amongst which were *Crema*, and *Cremona*, which presently by force thrust out the Emperours Lieutenants, together with the faction of the Gibelins: the like was also done in *Brescia* and in *Parma*. The Emperor leauing *Milan* vnder the gouernment and guard of the Viscounts, which (as he thought) had done him loyall seruice, marched with his Army against *Crema* and *Cremona*: but as soone as those of *Cremona* vnderstood that hee was entred their confines, without making any resistance they submitted, and yeelded themselues and their citie, and the Emperor receiued them to mercie. But those of *Crema* suffering themselues to be besieged, were taken by force, and had the walles of their citie rased and dismantelled, and the Emperor otherwise punished them for an example: whereupon *Parma* fearing the like, sued to him for pardon. But the Brescians trusting in the strength of their citie, chose rather to hazard themselues like those of *Crema*, then to follow the example of *Cremona*, and so had the like successe: the Emperour besieged them long, and many were slaine both of the besiegers and besieged, but in the end the citie was yeelded to the Emperour; who commaunded their gates and the most of their Bulwarkes to be thrown downe. By these two enterprises the Emperor wanne so great reputation, that the cities of *Verona*, *Vicenza*, *Padoa* and *Treuigi*, sent their Ambassadors, and entreating for peace, offered him their seruice, and to receiue any garrison that he should send them. His Ambassadours also which he had sent to *Venice*, returned, certifying him that the Venecians were willing to do what he required of them, which was, to furnish him with shipping to conuey his Army (if he pleased) to *Rome*.

The Turriones driuen out of Milan.

The Emperor hauing taken order for the affaires of *Lombardy*, desired to see the citie of *Genoa*, and being there his wife the Empresse fell sicke and died; and thither came to him Ambassadours from ROBERT King of *Naples*, and from FREDERICK King of *Sicilia*; both to desire peace and his friendship: but the request of the King of *Naples* was held for counterfeit for that he maintained three thousand horse in *Tuscane*, in fauour of the Florentines & of *Luca*, who pleading liberty rebelled against him; and to the end also to relieue *Bolonia* and *Ferrara* if need required. The Emperour dispatched them, some with fained, and others with vnfained kind speeches of loue and good will, according to their ambassages; and within few daies after departed from *Genoa* by sea, and sent his Army by land, which making great spoyle in the territorie of *Luca*, came to *Pisa*, a citie at that time very friendly and much deuoted to the Emperors seruice, wherein hee was receiued with great ioy, and continued there aboue two moneths. There hee was aduertised of the estate of *Rome*, and how that therein were great factions and combustions, some desiring his comming, and others seeking to hinder the same. Those which sought to let his comming were the Lord IOHN, who was brother to the King of

of *Naples*, who came thither with some troupes; and with him came all the faction of the Vrsins, and were seised of the Castle S. *Angelo*, the Capitoll, the Vaticane, and other Holds, and of all *Rome* beyond *Tiber*: against whom the Colonois and their faction held the rest of the citie; between whom was daily skirmishing and slaughter of either side: for which, Pope CLEMENT, by whose counsell and instigation the Emperor came into *Italy*, was much blamed: for it appeared that where he thought to haue established peace, he kindled warre.

The Emperour departing from *Pisa* towards *Rome*, and (for that he would not be pestered with the Florentines) taking his way neere to the sea side, sent the Earle of *Sauoy* before with part of his horse troupes: finally, after some daies stay in *Viterbo* he came to *Rome*, where by the Cardinals Legates, and the Colonois, he was receiued with great solemnitie; the Kings brother of *Naples* together with the whole faction of the Vrsins hauing fortified themselues in such places as they had taken. The Emperour being entred *Rome*, how long he remained there, and what befell him, is not distinctly written: some say that he staied there three moneths, in all which time were daily skirmishings, the king of *Naples* sending galleys and souldiers vp the riuer of *Tiber* to relieue his brother, who with the Vrsins, held the Vaticane, and the Castle S. *Angelo*: and that the Coronation was deferred vntill they might send to the Pope to appoint the place wherein it should be solemnized, for it could not be done in S. PETER'S Church (for that it was held by the enemie) and that the Pope was in doubt to giue order for the Emperors coronation, for that many of his friends and seruants were of a contrary opinion. Others set lesse time, and write not that the Pope stood in any such doubt: but they all agree that the Emperor (for that he could not get into S. PETERS Church) was crowned by the three Cardinals which were the Popes Legates in *Rome*, in S. IOHN *de Lateran*; and that during the time hee continued there, his people fought daily with the Neapolitans and Vrsins, not onely in the streetes, but euen in the houses also wherein they dwelt: during the time of which skirmishings he left *Rome*.

The Emperor crowned in Rome.

The Emperor being highly displeased with ROBERT King of *Naples*; leauing *Rome* went to *Arezzo*, which being at his deuotion was enemie to the Florentines and Lucois; whither all the Gibelins which were expelled *Florence*, *Luca*, *Siena*, and other cities in *Tuscane*, repaired vnto him, and from thence he went to besiege *Florence*, in which siege many notable aduentures passed: but the citie was with their owne people (together with the Sienois and Lucois which came to their aide) so well fortified and manned, that it sufficiently defended it selfe: whereupon the Emperor hauing lien six weekes before it, raised his siege, hauing first built a fortresse on a mountaine neere to the citie, wherein, and in other Castles and places of greatest importance, he left munition and garrisons to ouerrunne the Florentines countrie, and to make warre vpon them; and so marching vp and downe their countrey for the space of two moneths, in the end he went to *Pisa*: where vsing more then ordinarie authoritie of an Emperor, he summoned ROBERT King of *Naples* to make his appearance before him, as before his Emperour and soueraigne Lord, and to answere to such matters as should be obiected against him, for that hee meant to proceed against him, and to cause him, for such matters as he had attempted and done against him, aswell in *Rome*, as in other parts of *Italy*, to be indited of treason. But King ROBERT making no account of this summons; the Emperour (lying at the siege of *Florence*) procured FREDERICK King of *Sicilia* (with whose sonne he purposed to marry his daughter) to make warre against him in *Pulia*: which FREDERICK putting in execution rigged a fleet, wherein he sent great forces, which began the warre. And in the meane time the Emperour left not to prosecute the warre against the Florentines and the other cities of their faction; and the Florentines seeing in what distresse they were, and fearing that the Emperour would the next Spring in person againe returne to the warre against them, sent to yeeld themselues subiect to the king of *Naples* (reseruing certain preheminences and exemptions) vpon condition that he in person, or some other either his sonne or his brother should come to relieue them.

Florence besieged.

The Emperor summoned the king of Naples to appeare before him in Pisa.

The Emperor hauing made his aboad in *Pisa*, many daies, in the middest of sommer (as writeth S. ANTHONY) departed thence very ill at ease; and passing through the territory of *Siena* (wherein he did much harme) he went to the citie of *Arezzo*; whither being come, and the time limited to the King of *Naples* expired, he pronounced sentence against him, whereby he deprined him of his kingdome of *Naples*, and released his subiects from the homage and allegeance which they ought him; and gaue authoritie to his enemy FREDERICK King of *Sicilia*, to make a conquest thereof for his sonne, and sonne in law, which should be, to the Emperour: which sentence, as soone as Pope CLEMENT vnderstood, he presently protested the same

Robert king of Naples condemned by the Emperor.

same to be of no effect, alleaging that the Emperor neither could, or had any authoritie to condemne King ROBERT; for that kingdome was neither subiect nor feudatorie to any but to the Church of *Rome*; as appeareth in the Clementines, in the chapter, *Pastoralis de Sententia & re Iudicata*, and made other protestations contained in that chapter. With what leuitie the Pope did it, and with what impudencie he doth make other Kingdomes of the christian world subiect to the Romane Hierarchie, the forme of the decree doth shew.

The Emperor departing from *Arezzo*, with a resolution to haue besieged *Siena*, imagining that the Florentines seeing themselues on euery side oppressed, would haue come to som composition: and being by the way aduertised, that in *Naples* and in other parts of that kingdom after the publication of his Sentence pronounced against the King, were some Commotions and Insurrections against him: he thereupon with a desire to haue been reuenged of king ROBERT, and to haue made a conquest of that kingdome, resolued to goe thither with all his whole power; and comming within three miles of *Siena*, he lodged his Army in a place called *Monte aperto*: where feeling himself ill at ease, (by the aduice of his Physicians) he went thence to the Bathes of *Macerata*, and then (feeling no amendement) went to *Buonconuento*, directing his iourney towards *Naples*, whereon he had settled his thoughts: all which, together with his other deseigns were made fruitrate by his death, which thorough his infirmitie ouertooke him in the same place; which happened upon the day of the Assumption of our Lady, he hauing the same day receiued the holie Sacrament of our Lords Supper; wherein (as some say) hee was poysoned by a Frier of the Order of S. DOMINICK, called BERNARDIN, and died thereof the same day: which was so wicked and so odious a fact, that a man would thinke that no Christian would haue committed, much lesse a religious man. The same Historians write, that the Pope vnderstanding that a religious man was accused thereof, wrote his Letters and Buls by which he published him for innocent and not guiltie.

The death of the Emperour Henry the Seuenth, who was poysoned in the Host by a Frier.

This Emperour died in the yeere of our Lord 1313. in the seuenth yeere of his raigne. Most authors which write of him, say, that he was a louer of iustice and equity, of a pleasing conuersation, amiable, valiant, expert in the wars, of an honest life, a deuout Christian and one that feared God: yet BLONDVS taxeth him of indiscretion, and couetousnes. He had by his wife the Empresse one son and three daughters; his sonnes name was IOHN, whom he had already made King of *Bohemia*, and was likewise by inheritance from his father, Duke of *Lutzenburgh*. The eldest of his daughters called BEATRICE was maried to CHARLES King of *Hungary*, brother to ROBERT King of *Naples*, who within one yeere died in childbed: the second was MARY, and she was married to CHARLES King of *France*, who also died in childbed: the third was maried to RODVLPH Count Palatine of the *Rhine*. His body was carried to *Pisa*, and there with great lamentation solemnly entombed. The Emperor being dead there ensued a great alteration in all *Italy*, his Army was dispersed and came to nothing: and great and cruel wars ensued between the Florentines and *Pisans*.

There is so little written of the Emperors of *Constantinople* in these times, that it is hard to accord one Historie with another: what I can gather out of the authors is, that the Emperour ANDRONICVS, of whom we haue before made mention, by reason of his great age, made his sonne MICHAEL his companion in the Empire, who presently dyed, and left one sonne called ANDRONICVS, after the name of his Grand-father, who rebelling against the olde ANDRONICVS after six yeers warre bereaued him of the Empire; cauing him his life, and the Title of Emperor. This ANDRONICVS was called the yonger, and was a great warriour, and very valiant. He that will know more of this Emperour, let him reade GEORGE MERVLA in his seuenth and eighth books of the Historie of *Milan*, and LEONARD ARETIN in his fourth book of his Historie of *Florence*.



THE



THE LIFE OF LEVVES, THE FIFT OF THAT NAME, AND HVNDRETH AND SEVENTH

Roman Emperor; And of his Competitor,

FREDERICK.

THE ARGVMENT.

HEnry *being dead, and much time spent before the Princes electors did meete, in the end they were diuided, and chose two Emperors, and each endeauoured to defend and maintaine his party by Armes. They both were Crowned, and all Germany was diuided into two factions;* Frederick *was fauoured by the Pope, yet he would not confirme any of them. This diuision increased the troubles in Italy, wherein were long and cruell warres, and no lesse in Germany betweene the two Emperors, which fought a battail continuing* 12 *houres; at the end whereof* Lewes *was Victor and* Frederick *taken prisoner.* Lewes *being sole Emperor he warred against the Pope, who excommunicated him: so that he was constrained to set* Frederick *at liberty; who together with his brother* Leopold *dyed shortly after. So as he remained without any ryuall, and without suspicion; but not without griefe, for that he was constrained to come into Italy, called thither by those of his faction, where insued many Innouations, by reason of the factions of the Guelphs and Gibelins. After many accidents hee came to Rome, where he was crowned by* Stephen Colonna, *hauing an intent to haue gone to Naples against his enemy* Robert. *Vpon certain occasions he made a new Pope in Rome by whom he was absolued: which the other Pope in France vnderstanding, excommunicated him againe with greater vehemency; and the new Pope after the returne of the Emperor into Germany fell into the old Popes hands, and this Emperor could neuer agree with the Popes, neither could be absolued from the Popes curse, so much were they incensed against him. And so the Electors fearing the Popes fulminations chose another Emperor, which was the occasion that Germany was again diuided. So as this Emperours raigne was in the beginning and ending after one manner: and he in these troubles, ouercome with griefe, dyed suddenly, when hee had raigned in company and alone thirty three yeeres.*

AFter the decease of the Emperor HENRY (who died in *Buonconuento* and was buried in *Pisa*) the Princes of *Germany* which were with him, returned home with some part of his Army, for the most of his souldiers remained in *Italy* to get pay and entertainment in the warres, which were already begun, and as it seemed would neuer haue been ended; the rest were dispersed into sundry parts. But it was one whole yeer after his decease before the electors chose him any successor, by reason that it was long before they met, and also for that they could not agree in their election; so as (the Empire being without an head) there was in all things a great confusion, and the worst of all was, that in all their treaties and negociations, they could neuer agree (as reason required) but were still diuided: at length meeting, it seemeth most of them made choice of FREDERICK Duke of *Austria*, for HENRY Archb.

of *Colein*. ALBERT duke of *Saxony*, and VALDEMAR Marq. of *Brandenburgh*, though absent, by his Agent, tooke his part; all which were his cosins-germans, his fathers sisters sonnes and Nephews to the Emperour RODVLPH; and RODVLPH Duke of *Bauiere* and Count Palatine of *Rhine*, had promised him his voice: but IOHN King of *Bohemia*, PETER Archbishop of *Mentz*, and BALDVVIN Archbishop of *Treuiere*, were so contrary vnto him, that thinking to get the voyce of RODVLPH Duke of *Bauiere* & Count Palatine on their side (procuring also the voice of the Marquesse of *Brandeburghs* deputy to that effect) they resolued by all meanes possible to make LEVVES Duke of *Bauaria*, Emperor: and eyther party was so obstinate in their resolution, that making their election with the accustomed solemnities, vpon S. LVKE's day, which was in the yeer of our Lord 1314, in steed of one Emperor, they chose 2. The K. of *Bohemia*, the Archb. of *Treuiere* & of *Mentz* & NICHOLAS *de Booc* (who was deputy for the Marquesse of *Brandenburgh*) chose LEVVES Duke of *Bauiere*: And the Archbishop of *Colen*, the Duke of *Saxony*, and RODVLPH Count Palatine of *Rhine* and Duke of *Bauiere*, to hold his word (notwithstanding that LEVVES was his owne Brother) chose FREDERICK of *Austria*; and so there was a diuision in the election; and either party maintained that he whom they had chosen, was and ought to be Emperor. LEVVES his party alleaged that he was chosen by most voices, for of seuen he had foure. FREDERICK and his friends pretended that the Marquess of *Brandenburghs* proctor had falsified his authority, who bringing in writing the hand of the Marquesse for FREDERICK, rased it out, and wrote LEVVES in the place; wherefore hee was the man that was chosen: So as all *Germany*, the Princes and Cities, was diuided into two factions, the one holding for the one party, and the other for the other: and from contrariety of opinions, they came to blowes; and the warre continued betweene them for the space of eight or nine yeers, vntill it ended in such manner as hereafter you shall heare.

Lewes Duke of Bauiere, and Frederick duke of Austrich both chosen Emperors by the Electors.

LEVVES departing from *Franckford* with the aide of those which tooke his part; went to the City of *Aken*, where he was crowned by the Archbishop of *Colen*: but for as much as FREDERICK could not get into it, (which was the right place) he was crowned in another Citie. The solemnity of the Coronations being ended, they could not send to the Pope for that the Sea had been voide aboue two yeeres, through the death of CLEMENT the Fift; but eyther of them sent to the Princes, Cities, and Potentates, signifying by their Letters and messengers, the equity of their causes, and to iustifie their election. And some being persuaded by the one party and others by the other, the most part of the Cities of the lower *Germany* as farre as *Colen*, held for LEVVES; and so did (in a manner) all *Sueuia*, excepting the City of *Vlme*, and some Townes which were of the contrary faction: and in high *Germany* and in *Swisserland*, almost all the Cities held FREDERICK for Emperour; and either of the Princes Electors took his part whom they had chosen, and so they were diuided: yet the greatest part fauored LEVVES more then FREDERICK; but his brethren ALBERT and LEOPOLD did so assist him, that leuying an Army and taking the field, he besieged *Smina* in *Sueuia*, and brought it to such extremitie that the inhabitants sent to LEVVES for relefe; who raised his whole power, and with the aide of the King of *Bohemia*, and the Archbishop of *Treuiere*, came to free the City: FREDERICK being aduertised of his comming, went to meete him, and neer to the Riuer of *Nechar*, ioyned battail, where both the Emperours fought in their owne persons: and the battaile was so furious that it lasted the greatest part of the day; so as the darke night parted them without any apperance of victory; yet HENRICVS MVCIVS saith, that LEVVES lost more men then FREDERICK: and so FREDERICK returning to the siege which he had begun, LEVVES went to the City of *Strausburgh* which held for FREDERICK, and was receiued into it by meanes of the great priuiledges and exemptions which he gaue and promised them; which FREDERICK's brother LEOPOLD vnderstanding, hee raised a great power of his subiects and friends, and came to make warre against such as held for LEVVES, and encamped himselfe before *Spire*; whereof as soone as LEVVES was certified, he departed from *Strausburgh* and with his greatest forces went to seeke LEOPOLD, with a desire to haue fought with him before he ioyned with his brother; but FREDERICK made such speede that he ioyned with LEOPOLD before they could meete: Whereupon LEVVES not daring to fight with them both together retired, with some losse both of his people and reputation, resoluing to make warre after another manner without hazarding any battaile, and so tooke his way into *Bauiere*, to warre against his owne brother, for that he hauing chosen FREDERICK took his part, who, being expelled *Germany*, fled into *England*, where after some yeers

A battell betweene Frederick & Lewes

yeers he died in banishment. His wife MECHTILDA, daughter to the Emperor ADVLPH, remained in *Austria* with her sons, where she also died. Soon after, LEVVES called home his brothers sons, and restored vnto them *Heidelberg*, with some other Townes so as, according to the custome in ciuill discords, the beginning of the warre was the expulsion of his brother.

This hapned in the yeer of our Lord 1315: and in the same yeer Pope IOHN the three and twentith was chosen at *Lions* in *France*, after two yeers and odde months that the seat had been void; who, presently coming to *Auinion*, fauoured the party of FREDERICK of *Austria*: but for that time he confirmed neither. The warre between these two Emperors (notwithstanding that in the space of foure or fiue yeers the one sought not to giue the other battell) was so cruell and generall through all the Countrey, and between the Cities and some Princes, as the like had not been seen; whereof ensued many violencies and robberies by the high-wayes: insomuch that for redresse thereof, the Cities of *Strausbourgh*, *Spire*, *Worms*, *Mentz*, and others, made a league, and agreed to raise certain companies of foot and horse to guard and assure the wales and passages for merchants and trauellers, whithersoeuer they went. And so was *Germany* afflicted with combustions and misery, without any battell or exploit of Armes worth the writing between the two Emperors, vntill the yeer 1323; in which time what hapned in *Italie*, from the time of the Emperor HENRY the Seuenth vntill then, we will briefly relate; especially in *Lombardy*, being a matter concerning the Empire.

When the Emperor HENRY died, the Viscounts (from whom descended the Dukes of *Milan*) were so absolute Lords thereof, that they being no longer content with that City, MATHEVV Viscount, GALEAZZO and the rest, took *Pauia* and other cities; which they might easily effect, hauing the aid of the Germanes, which had been left there by the Emperor; they also taking part with the Emperor LEVVES: and as the Empire was diuided and in strife, LEVVES, to haue of his side so puissant a people and family, sent him Ambassadors and verie kinde and friendly Letters. But Pope IOHN being of the contrary faction, as soon as he was chosen, perswaded FREDERICK to send his brother HENRY into *Italy*; who, in hope that the Pope would haue confirmed his election, did so. But his going was to small effect, for hee came but neer to the City of *Pauia*, and from thence returned: for, as the Imperialists euer maintained the faction of the Gibelins, and the Pope the Guelphs; so he, for that he could not hold with both parties, returned into *Austria*: by reason whereof, the Gibelins preuailed in *Lombardy* against the Pope, and against King ROBERT of *Naples*, who were of the contrarie faction; insomuch that MATHEVV Viscount of *Milan*, being of the Gibelins, with the aid of CANNIS SCALIGER, Gouernor of *Verona*, purposed to haue taken *Genoa*, vnder colour to haue restored the SPINOLAS and the DORIAS, who were banished thence for that they were Gibelins (the Guelphs being of greatest power in that City) and sent his sonne MARK Viscount thither with an Army, who besieged the City; and aid coming to either side, the war was very sharp, and the siege was one of the most cruell that hath been seen; insomuch that the Genoais, to obtain aid and succour, became subiect to the King of *Naples* for ten yeers. Before and after which siege there was cruell warre between the Pisans and the Florentines; the King of *Naples* assisting the Florentines; and other Princes and Cities, the Pisans: a matter too long to be related.

The power of the Viscounts daily increasing in *Lombardy*, the Pope, who was their enemy, sought a means to draw the French King to send his nephew PHILIP with an Army into *Italy*; which he did: and coming into *Lombardy*, many things hapned which I haue no time to relate; but the conclusion is, that he returned again into *France*, without doing any thing worthy memory. The siege of *Genoa* continuing, MATHEVV Viscount besieged *Bercelli*, and took it, expelling the Turriones, who were his antient enemies: so as at this time the Viscounts were Lords and in possession of the Cities of *Milan*, *Pauia*, *Placencia*, *Lodi*, *Cremonia*, *Bergamo*, *Nouarra*, *Bercelli*, *Terdona* and *Alexandria*, besides others which were his confederates; as, *Luca*; and CASTRVCHO the Gouerner thereof, the Cities of *Pisa* and *Arezzo*, and the Marquesse of *Ferrara*, a City belonging to the Church; and SCALIGER of *Verona*: against whom ROBERT King of *Naples*, the Florentines, the Pope, and all those which were of the faction of the Guelphs, waged warre. The siege of *Genoa* continued fiue yeers, wherein many accidents befell both by sea and land; whither the King of *Naples* and the Pope sent threescore gallies to the relief thereof: and in the end the City was not taken, but the siege was raised, and many matters befell which I cannot write, for that I am to return to my history of LEVVES and FREDERICK;

RICK; both which were called, and pretended to be Emperors.

The eighth yeer being now expired since these two made warre, and FREDERICK pretending to make a conquest of the Country of *Bauiere*, whereof the Emperor LEVVES was called Duke, and was in possession (as Protector to his nephew, through the death of his brother RODVLPH) he leuied 2200 armed pikes, and a great number of other footmen which were his subiects, and of the King of *Hungary*, and other his friends: and therewith (being accompanied with his brother HENRY, and other Princes and great men, daily expecting the coming of his brother LEOPOLD out of *Sueuia* to ioyn with him, with eight hundred men at Arms, and a great number of foot) he departed from *Austria*, and entred *Bauiere*, wherein hee took Towns and Castles.

Being there for a time master of the field, his enemy LEVVES *in the mean time was not idle*: but of his owne forces, the Kings of *Bohemia*, the Archbishops of *Treuier*, and other of his friends which being absent sent their aid, he leuied an Army containing aboue thirty thousand foot, and about two thousand men at Arms. With these forces he went to seek his enemy, with a resolution to giue him battell before that his brother LEOPOLD should ioyn with him; which FREDERICK purposed to haue deferred vntill his brothers coming: but LEVVES came so neer him, and gaue him so many occasions, that, contrary to the opinion of most of his friends, he resolued to hazard a battell; and so vpon a morning, in the moneth of September, in the yeer of our Lord 1323, each of these competitors marshalling his squadrons, and both the one and the other assuming himself that in the victory consisted the possession of the Empire, *with equall power and courage most valiantly beginning the fight, they maintained* the same with great fury vntill it was dark night; that Author which setteth down least time, saith, that the battell lasted twelue houres: and in the end LEVVES hauing the victory, FREDERICK and his brother HENRY valiantly fighting were taken prisoners, and many others of great account were taken and slain.

A battell betwixt the Emperors Lewes *and* Frederick, *wherein* Frederick *was ouerthrowne and taken*

It is written, that in this battell were slain foure thousand horsemen, and so great a multitude of foot, that they number them not: so as the victors receiued no lesse losse than the vanquisht. After this notable victory, the most of the Cities and Princes which held with FREDERICK (conforming themselues with the time) yeelded obedience to LEVVES: and so he remained sole Emperor, whom all men imagined would haue put FREDERICK to death; but he, receiuing him to mercy, sent him prisoner to the Castle of *Trifnir*. FREDERICK's brother LEOPOLD (who as I said came to ioyn with him) vnderstanding that his brother was ouerthrowne and taken, was wonderfully grieued; and the more, when he knew that if he had forborn to fight vntill his coming, he might haue obtained the victory. This passion continuing in him, hee neuer left to molest the Emperor LEVVES during his life; first procuring his brothers liberty, and afterwards in reuenge to execute the wrath and displeasure which he had conceiued.

In this manner LEVVES, by the ouerthrowe and imprisonment of his enemy FREDERICK, remained sole Emperor: but he was not therefore free from troubles and warres; for, as he was chosen in discord and controuersie, so his Raign (though of long continuance) was euer vnquiet and full of crosses and troubles: wherefore the history of his time will be longer than ordinarily of others. When he had obtained this victory, he sent an Ambassador to Pope IOHN the 23 (who then lay in *Auinion*) and desiring him to confirm his election, yeelded apparant reason for the same. Pope IOHN, who had euer been his aduersary, would not grant his request, whereof FREDERICK's brother LEOPOLD was the principall occasion; who leauing his estate of *Austria* to his brothers OTHO and ALBERT, came into *France* to the Pope to incense him against the Emperor LEVVES, and to intreat him to command him to resigne the Empire, and to release his brother: and thence he went to the French King to procure the like; in both which places hee found good entertainment and fauour: and they sent their Letters and Ambassadors to the Emperor, requesting and requiring him to release FREDERICK, and presently to set him at liberty: but he, making his excuses, would not perform what they required; and knowing that the Pope was his enemy, he wrote his Letters of fauor, and sent authority to MATHEVV Viscount, and to his son GALEAZZO, Gouerners of *Milan* and of other Cities in *Italy*, to gouern the same for him; and he sent souldiers to them, and to others of the Gibelins.

The Pope being heerof aduertised (assembling many Bishops in *Auinion*, together with his Consistory of Cardinals, by the consent of the French King, and through LEOPOLD's entreaty,

treaty, which solicited the same) excommunicated the Emperor, and alleaged for his reason, that he fauoured such as were enemies to his Church in *Lombardy* and in *Italy*; and therewith assigned him the term of three moneths; within which, he renouncing the election which was made of him, should appear before him, *to answer to what should be obiected*; and should recall the forces which he had sent to the Viscounts in *Italy*, and other enemies to his Church. The Emperor LEVVES answered modestly, that he had sworn at his election to maintain iustice, and therefore he had assisted *Galeace* in a iust cause. Moreouer, by the same oath hee was bound, that being chosen he should perform the office of an Emperor. Therefore the election was made, that he should be a true defender of iustice, and maintainer of peace in all his dominions; the defense whereof was recommended to the Emperor, and euery Power was bound *by the word of God to do that which belonged to his office*. Neither was the power to vse try the sword, giuen by the Pope, but by God: wherefore he maintained, that hee neither could nor would renounce the Empire which was giuen him from God; and if this answer would not satisfie the Pope, he would appeal to a lawfull Councell: and then he published his reasons and excuses through all *Italy*; where at that time were most cruell warres made by the Popes Legates and Captains, and the King of *Naples*, against the Viscounts, the Pisans, the Lucois, and other Cities and Princes Gibelins, whom the Emperor LEVVIS fauoured and assisted; whereof GEORGE MERVLA, LEONARD ARETIN, ANTHONY and MACHIAVEL, haue written at large.

The hatred between the Emperor and the Pope so much increased through the instigation of LEOPOLD of *Austria*, for that he would not release his brother FREDERICK, that the Pope, meeting the French King, consulted with him how he might depose the Emperor, and giue the Empire to the King of *France*: but the Emperor LEVVIS was of so great power in *Germany*, that this parley took small effect; neuertheless, to pacifie LEOPOLD, and FREDERICK's other kinsmen and friends (taking FREDERICK's oath, and such other security as he could giue him, that he would no more take vpon him the name of Emperor, neither practise or procure the same) he released him out of prison, and suffred him to go at liberty into his Country of *Austria*, where he after for a small space liued in peace and sorrow. Some write, that after three yeers imprisonment he was released vpon these conditions, *that it should bee* lawfull for him to bear the name of Emperor whil'st he liued, but not to vsurp any authority or iurisdiction. HENRY his brother, who was taken prisoner with him, freed himself by the restoring of certain Towns and Castles in *Morauia*, which the Austrians had in this warre taken from the Bohemians: and LEOPOLD, notwithstanding that he saw his brother at liberty, neuer desisted from molesting LEVVIS, but yet could doo little for the small time hee liued; and both of them dying without issue to succeed them, with their death the controuersie ceased.

The Emperor Frederick *set at liberty by the Emperor* Lewis

LEVVES being freed from this quarell with FREDERICK and LEOPOLD, and Letters coming daily to him from the Gibelins which took his part in *Italie* (soliciting him to com thither) and from the City of *Rome* it self, hee with a desire to rule and command, and to bee crowned there, resolued to go: wherefore, causing a Diet to be held in *Spire*, he gaue the Princes of *Germany* to vnderstand of his resolution; who, moued with his reasons, consented to his going, and some offred to serue and accompany him; and all, to aid him with men and money. And so leuying an Army he departed out of *Germany*, carrying with him his second wife called MARGARET, daughter to the Earl of *Holland*, and came to the City of *Trent* (in the yeer of our Lord 1327, and in the thirteenth of his Raign, reckoning from the beginning of him and FREDERICK) *where he staied*: for, thither he had appointed all the Cities which were at his deuotion to send their Agents, to treat of what was to be done. Thither came Ambassadors from GALEAZZO Viscount of *Milan*, and from his brothers, IOHN, MARK, LVCHIN and STEVEN (for, their father MATHEVV was dead) and from the Marquesse of *Mantua*, and from him of *Verona*, and the cities of *Pisa* and *Lucca*, and the rest within *Lombardy* which were in league with *Milan*, and from many others; who, making great offers to aid and assist him with men and money, counselled him presently to march forwards; and he did so, and came directly to *Brescia*, and thence to *Milan*, and there was crowned with the Crown of iron: where he staied aboue thirty daies after his coronation. And from thence, as some say, sending to entreat the Pope to confirm his election, and to absolue him of his excommunication, hee staied there longer than he thought to haue done, to get money to pay his souldiers: by reason whereof a greater contribution was to be leuied in *Milan*, and in other cities of the league, than they wil-

willingly would haue paid: and GALEAS Viscount, sometimes by entreaty, and sometimes by counsel, sought to haue auoided the tribute which was to be leuied vpon his country: whereupon the Emperor made him, his sonnes and brothers, to be apprehended, and deposed them from the gouernment of the City; and, to win the good will of the people, and to shew that he gaue them liberty, he granted that they should chuse among themselues 28 Citizens and one President, which should haue the gouernment thereof. With this bait hee obtained what hee desired, and the tax which he had laid vpon them: which deed (although it is written after sundry manners) was the cause of great alterations; and that the Emperor was noted of ingratitude and exceſſiue cruelty, so to deal with those who had called him into the country, although it cannot be denied but that they were Tyrants.

Hauing dispatched his businesse in *Lombardy*, he took his way through *Tuscane* towards *Rome*, by the procurement of CASTRVCHO, who was one of the most valiant Captains of his time; and commanding in *Luca*, maintained the warre against the Florentines, and against CHARLS the sonne of ROBERT King of *Naples*, who with a great garrison defended that City by his fathers direction, to whom it was becom subiect: and he carried with him GALEAZZO Viscount and his brethren, prisoners.

The Emperor, being comn to *Luca*, was by CASTRVCHO receiued with very great ioy and solemnity: and from thence desiring to go to *Pisa*, the Pisans were in doubt whether they should receiue him or no; but in the end he was entertained, and made his abode there about two months. During which time, CHARLS of *Naples* being with great forces in *Florence*, the Emperor resolued to hould on his iourney without troubling himself with him; and beeing in *Pisa*, released GALEAS Viscount of *Milan*, and his sonnes, AZZO and MARK, vpon their oaths; and at CASTRVCHO his intreaty, whose authority (gotten by his valour in Armes) was then very great: who afterwards were released from all, in such manner as you shall hear. The Emperor going from *Pisa*, accompanied by CASTRVCHO with 1500 horse of his own, went along the sea coast towards *Rome*, purposing (as some write) after his coronation to haue gone against the King of *Naples*, who was his great enemy: whereupon, as soon as the Emperor was comn neer to *Rome*, CHARLS departing from *Florence* towards *Naples* to the aid of his father, left an excellent Captain called PHILIP CARNOSENSE, in *Florence*: and within short space after, this CHARLS dying (his father hauing no more sonnes) left two daughters.

The Emperor coming being knowne in *Rome*, caused great dissension and tumults; but as the greatest part was willing to receiue him, and the rest to the contrary, in the end he was solemnly receiued: but his coronation, and who crowned him, where, and vpon what day, is diuerſly written; which often happens among those which are present, much more among Historiographers: the truth is, that LEVVES was crowned in *Rome* by the hands of STEPHEN COLONNA, who at that time was Vicar of *Rome* (an office and gouernment then newly erected) yet LEONARD ARETIN and ANTHONY say, that his son SARRA COLONNA crowned him, and that he was crowned against the will of the Pope or his Legates, yet with great applause of the people both secular and regular.

The Emperor Lewes the Fift crowned in Rome.

It is written, that being in *Rome*, the Emperor would not be crowned before hee had deliuered vnto the Cardinals and Bishops, and then vnto the Senate consisting of many worthy men, the iniuries which Pope IOHN the 23 had done him, and had vnderstood that they approued his cause and affection to the Common-weal; referring the businesse to them, and promising to obserue what soeuer they should decree. He affirmed, that he did constantly beleeue the doctrine of the Catholick Church, and did alwaies wish a generall peace; whereto both the clergy and Senate answered, that they held that Pope IOHN the 22 had not done rightly, for that he had made decrees in so great a businesse without a Synod, or knowledge of the cause, and had followed them with excommunications, and therefore (knowing he was free from all false opinions) they would ioyn with him.

LEVVES being crowned, together with his Empresse, he was called Emperor and *Semper Augustus*; and the newes being dispersed ouer *Italy*, there repaired to him many chief men of the Gibelins: and he being very puissant, and accompanied by the valiant CASTRVCHO (of whom next to the Emperor was made chiefe that count) to iustifie his coronation and his other actions in the iudgement of the people, maintaining, that Pope IOHN the three and twentith, who then was in *Auinion*, neither was, neither ought to be held for Pope, hee of his owne authority created one PETER *de Coruaria*, a Franciscane Frier, Pope; which Frier (as writeth PLATINA) had been a married man, and in his wiues time took that habite: and he

hee, accepting the Papacy, was called NICHOLAS, and made Cardinals and Bishops, and held a pontificall Court; and the Emperor gaue him the obedience and honour, as to a Pope; and being absolued of his excommunication, was confirmed in his Empire, and had else what he would desire: which was done against the will of many Priests & other regular persons, who therefore left *Rome*; yet there were others which, approuing the same, took part of the benefit.

The Pope excommunicated the Emperor.

When these newes were brought to Pope IOHN, he aggrauating his censures and excommunications, proclaimed him for no Emperor, but a Tyrant and an Vsurper of the Empire. The Emperor being in *Rome*, the Empresse bare him a sonne, called LVDOVICVS ROMANVS; and making preparation to go in person against the King of *Naples*, hee practised with FREDERICK King of *Sicilia* to do the like: but, staying longer in *Rome* than was expedient, it hapned that the Captain whom CHARLES of *Naples* had left with the garrison in *Florence*, together with the Florentines, surprised the City of *Pistoia*, which was at CASTRVCHO his deuotion, and in league with *Pisa* and *Luca*: whereof when CASTRVCHO (being then with the Emperor in *Rome*) was aduertised, he for fear to loſe the rest, presently departed, and comming thither, found great resistance; but in the end hee valiantly recouered the City. CASTRVCHO his departure from the Emperor made him so to alter his resolution, that, giuing ouer the enterprise of *Naples*, he departed with his Pope from *Rome* (wherein he left the best order that he could for his purpose, first establishing two Gouerners, one of the family of the Vrsins, and the other of the Colonnois, which were called the Emperors Vicars) and then hee took his way towards *Florence*; where when it was knowne that he was coming, all men were of opinion that he would haue taken that City by force, holding it not possible to bee defended, since that CASTRVCHO was in his seruice, against whom alone the Florentines could hardly make their party good: but it pleased God to dispose thereof after another manner; for, CASTRVCHO (in whom he reposed his chiefest trust) died, and his death caused so great an alteration, that the Emperor by his death, and through the losse of many of his people, and also for that others mutined, resolued to return into *Germanie*, first placing his Lieutenants in *Pistoia* and in *Luca*, out of which he put the sonnes and kinsfolks of CASTRVCHO: such are the rewards which ingratefull Princes vse to bestowe vpon the children of those which haue done them good and faithfull seruice. At the same time also died in *Pisa*, GALEAS Viscount (tyrant of *Milan*) depriued of that dominion; and the Emperor for a great summe of mony, gaue leaue to his sonne AZZO to return to *Milan*, which he promised the Emperor towards the paiment of his souldiers before his departure, and left his brother MARK in pawn for the same. Coming to *Milan*, he was receiued with great affection, into the same place and authority his father held; and recouerd in *Milan* the mony promised, and deliuered the same to the Germans, sent by the Emperor; who, forgetting to come therewith to *Pisa*, returned to their houses.

The Emperor leauing *Pisa*, resoluing to continue his journy into *Germany*, left his Pope there behinde him; who after, by the practice of one BONIFACE of *Pisa*, was taken and brought to *Auinion*, and coming in a priuate habit before the Pope, dyed in his power a prisoner. The Emperor passing through *Lombardy* into *Germany*, AZZO Viscount would not receiue him into the City, nor was the Emperor able to assault it. And so, leauing *Italy*, he left neither the peace nor the good gouernment which he found there: but the City of *Pisa*, and others which had held for him, when he was gon, cast out his Lieutenants and Gouerners; and the former tyrants therein, took mo Towns and Cities, most of which were Gibelins: and those of the house of GONZAGA then made themselues absolute lords of *Mantoua*, which they hold till this day.

It seems that the long continuance of their possession hath made their title iust & lawfull, adding thereto the confirmations made afterwards by Emperors & Popes after sundry sorts: and some Captains also had tyrannized: as, GALEOTTO MALATESTA in *Ariminо*; MANFREDO PIO in *Carpi*; RICHARD MANFREDI in *Faenecia*, and others in many other places. But for all this, the factions of the Guelphs and Gibelins was so rooted in *Italie*, that all the Gibelins which took his part presently solicited the Emperor for his speedy return: for, by his absence, the Guelphs, with the aid of the Florentins, the K. of *Naples* and the Pope, warred vpon them: but the Emperor, being otherwise busied in *Germany*, could not return, though hee desired the same. But IOHN K. of *Bohemia* by his direction leuied an Army and came into *Italy*; who past many aduentures which for breuity I omit: in fine, he thinking to please both parties, was cald *Italies* peace-maker: and hee procuring many parlies with the Popes Legates, thereby displeased both the one and other party, as it ordinarily happens to those who seek to pacifie two contrary factions, and fell into suspicion with the Emperour, but much more with

the Lords of *Italy*: whereupon, AZZO Viscount Lord of *Milan*, MASTINO *de la Scala*, Lord of *Verona*, PHILIP GONZAGA Marqueſſe of *Mantoa*, VBERTINO *di Carrara* Lord of *Padoa*, the Marqueſſe of *Ferrara*, and ſome others, as ROBERT King of *Naples*, and the Florentines which vntill then had been their enemies, joyned together in a league and confederacy, promiſing that they would protect and defend the one the other againſt the whole world: for the which not onely the Emperor, but the Pope alſo was very much diſcontented; and there enſued great changes & alterations in all matters and affairs in *Italy*, which I haue no time to relate.

The Emperor ſeeing himſelf excommunicate, and that the Pope deſiſted not from proceeding againſt him, perſwaded all men that he was vniuſtly accuſed; and fearing ſome alteration, *with fair* words, large gifts, and good entertainment, ſatisfied the Lords and Princes of *Germany*, ſeeking otherwiſe to be abſolued, and ſome means of reconciliation, which was a matter almoſt impoſſible to be effected: for, the King of *France*, in whoſe countrey and (as we may ſay) power the Pope and his Cardinals then were, notwithſtanding that the Pope would, yet hee would not conſent thereto; and ſo the matter continued till the death of Pope IOHN, which was in the yeer of our Lord one thouſand, three hundred, thirty and foure, hauing been Pope 19 yeers and foure months: at which time the States of *Carinthia* and *Tirol* came to be vnited to the houſe of *Auſtria*.

Matters being in ſuch confuſion as we haue declared, and Pope IOHN being dead, the Cardinall of Saint *Priſca*, whoſe name was IACOB, born in *Tholouſe* in *France*, was choſen Pope; who was a Monk of the Order of CISTEAVX, and was called BENEDICT the Twelfth. Being inſtalled, he ratified and renewed the Sentence pronounced by his Predeceſſor againſt the Emperor; which he did ſo ſpeedily, that it was thought to haue been done through the inſtigation of the French King: but within fewe daies after, the King deſiring the Pope to make him his Vicar or Lieutenant Generall in *Italy*, and to giue him the tenth part of the Church reuenues and firſt fruits throughout all Chriſtendom (therewith to make a conqueſt of *Ieruſalem*) he ſo much troubled the Pope with that requeſt, *that he made ſhew* to be much diſcontented therewith; and began in ſecret to giue ear to the Emperors party: whereof he being aduertiſed, ſent him a ſolemn Ambaſſage, praying and intreating him to abſolue him, and to approue his election; whereto the Pope made a pleaſing anſwer, and the matter was at the point to haue been concluded: but the Kings of *France* and of *Naples* (enemies to the Emperor) ſo terrified the Pope and his Cardinals, that he durſt not perform it; ſo as the Emperors Ambaſſadors returned with good words of no effect: and the like hapned to the Ambaſſadors ſent by the Princes and Cities of the Empire, *the next yeer following*. Whereupon, foraſmuch as at that time there were great warres between EDVVARD King of *England*, and PHILIP *the French king*, about the ſucceſſion and right to the Crown of *France*, the Emperor entred into league with the King of *England*; ſo as there was great trouble and diſſenſion betwixt the one & other party: but in the end the French King, ſeeking the Emperors friendſhip, promiſed to cauſe the Pope to abſolue him, to the end that he ſhould ſtand his friend; ſo as the Emperor, through the great deſire he had to be confirmed in the Empire by the Pope, came to a compoſition with him. With this confidence in the French King, the Emperor ſent his Ambaſſadors into *France*; the which, together with the Kings Ambaſſadors, went to *Auinion* to treat of the matter: but the Pope with diuerſe reaſons ſo prolonged the concluſion, that it plainly appeard that it would *take no good effect*; which made the Emperor to ſuſpect the King: for, it was held for certain, that the Pope would therein haue ſatisfied the King, as *in many other matters he had done, euen* againſt his owne will; which was ſo euer as long as the Court of *Rome* remained in *France*, and is the reaſon why the Germane Hiſtorians, *treating* of the Emperors affairs, ſay, that the King of *France* made ſhew to deſire that which he would not haue, and the Pope to haue that which he deſired not.

The Emperors iniunction made againſt the pope.

The Emperor deſpairing to come to any agreement with the Pope, ſeeing that his Ambaſſadors returned without any ſuch end or concluſion as he expected, returned to his former rigour: and aſſembling a generall Diet or Councell, he ſought out learned men to pen his reſolution; and finding ſuch as were for his purpoſe (as Princes neuer want) after many matters *treated of*, he *ſeeking* to get the good will of the Princes, cauſed an iniunction to be diſpatched, wherein he affirmed the Sentence pronounced *againſt him* by Pope IOHN to bee vniuſt and of none effect, and that his excommunication did no way binde him: wherefore hee commanded, vpon great penalties, that no man ſhould obey his interdictions and cenſures in that behalf, alleaging other matters contained in the ſaid injunction, which the Popes friends would not ſhould be reuealed in any publike hiſtory: which injunction (being publiſhed, and commanded to be obſerued) cauſed great alterations in *Germany*, eſpecially amongſt the Clergy; ſome holding with the Emperor, others with the Pope. But DANTE, a man at that time, of a moſt excellent wit and profoundly learned, wrote a Book called The Monarchy, wherein hee ſeemed to fauour the Emperor; for which he was afterwards condemned, and his Book held for hereſie: and other great men wrote Books and Treatiſes defending the Popes ſupreme authority, alleaging the ſame to be aboue all principalities and powers; which (beſides other reaſons) *they ſought to proue* by hiſtories: as, how that Pope ADRIAN tranſlated the Eaſterne Empire into the *Weſt*, in the perſon of CHARLES the Great; and after, in proceſſe of time, the Popes remoued the ſame out of *France* into *Germany*, in the perſon of OTHO the Firſt; and how that many Emperors were excommunicated by them, yea and depriued of their Empires; and how that the manner and authority to chuſe them, was giuen by the Popes, and from them was deriu'd the power and authority of the Princes Electors; and that the Emperors were confirmed and crowned by the Popes. Yet there wanted not ſome which defended the Emperors cauſe; and ſo the Popes curſes and excommunications were contemned and rejected: but hee, knowing that the Emperor had publiſhed the ſaid Letter againſt him, renewed the ſame; and *imploying* his whole power, alleaged the Empire to be void, and that the gouernment thereof belonged vnto him vntill that a new Emperor were choſen, according to the declaration made by CLEMENT the Fift in the Councell of *Vienne*. And vnderſtanding that the Emperor purpoſed to come into *Italy*, he did one thing which then was held for a point of wiſdome, but experience teacheth, that it was very prejudiciall to his eſtate; which was, that he made thoſe Tyrants or Princes which in *Italy* held the Towns of the Empire, his Vicars or Lieutenants in the ſame Towns they held; to the end they ſhould be reſolute enemies to the Emperor; and, commanding that they ſhould neither receiue or obey the Emperor, gaue them power and authority to defend and maintain the ſame, as Lieutenants to the Church: which were, LVCHINO Viſcount, Tyrant or Gouerner of *Milan*, and other Cities; MASTINO SCALA in *Verona* and *Vicenza*; PHILIP GONZAGA in *Mantoa* and *Reggio*; ALBERTINO *di Carra* in *Padoa* & other places; ORIZO *da Eſte* in *Ferrara* and *Modena*: and foraſmuch as theſe were the Churchlands, he enjoined them to pay him yeerly ten thouſand Ducats of gold; with which title they were the more ſtrongly poſſeſſed of thoſe eſtates.

The Emperor excommunicate, and depriued by the Popes cenſures.

This contention continuing between the Emperor and the Pope, there failed not ſome who vſurped the Popes Towns: to which, or to the moſt part of them, in requitall of what the Pope had done to him, and to binde them to do him the better ſeruice, and the more to incenſe them againſt the Pope, the Emperor gaue and ſent titles and charters, making them Lieutenants for the Empire in the cities and lands appertaining to the Church of *Rome*: which they accepted and held, and the of-ſpring of many of them haue continued therein vntill this day. Amongſt which was GALEOTTO MALATESTA in *Arimino*; ANTHONY FERETRANO in the City of *Vrbin*; GENTIL VARANO in *Camerino*; GVIDO POLENTA in *Rauenna*; IOHN MANFREDO in *Fauencia*; ISMADETIO in *Sanſeuerino*; and NICHOLAS BOSCARETO in *Eſſo*: and in like manner others had the gouernment of, and continued by ſucceſſion in, other Towns and Cities.

These matters paſſing in this manner in *Germany* and *Italy*, Pope BENEDICT being dead (who had held that ſea the ſpace of ſeuen yeers and three months) in his place was choſen in *Auinion*, in the moneth of May, in the yeer of our Lord 1342, Pope CLEMENT the Sixt, in whoſe time were great alterations as well in the Cities of *Lombardy* as of *Tuſcane*. The Emperor ſought to come to ſome compoſition with the new Pope (as the Germane Authors write) but there was no peace to be expected: for, the Pope alleaged, that the Emperor ſued not for peace in ſuch humble and ſubmiſſiue manner as he ought to haue done. But CVSPINIAN, NAVCLERVS and MVCIVS write, that by means of the French King, who fained to be a good mediator between them, the Emperor ſent his Agents to Pope CLEMENT with full authority, to accept of any condition of peace that he would propound vnto them: to which the Pope gaue a certain note in writing, wherein they in the name of the Emperor were enjoined to confeſſe the Emperor to haue erred, and to haue been a ſchiſmatick, and diſobedient to the Church; and moreouer, that the Emperor ſhould preſently renounce his right to the Empire, together with the poſſeſſion thereof; and that he ſhould not intermeddle therein without the Popes permiſſion; and that the Emperors perſon, together with his ſonnes, ſhould be at the

The intolerable pride of Pope Clement the Sixt.

Popes disposing: all which Articles the Emperors Ambassadors accepted and granted in his name; whereat the Pope wondred.

These rigorous and terrible Articles and conditions being brought to the Emperor, he holding them for vniust and intolerable, sent the copy of them to the Princes and Cities of the Empire; and therewith summoned a generall Diet or Parliament to bee held in *Franckford*, where with a graue speech hee complained of the Pope, and shewed what his Ambassadours without his knowledge or consent had yeelded vnto; alleaging these demands to be made but onely to ruinate the state of the Empire, with other matters which hee thought might cause greater indignation against the Pope, and moue the Princes the more to fauor his proceedings. And his words wrought such effect, and the Popes demands seemed so dishonest and intolerable, that they adiudging the same to be reiected and not to be allowed, made great offers to the Emperor for the defense of his person and estate: yet some were of a contrary opinion, who affirmed that the Pope ought to be obeyed, and that the matter ought to be referred to him, as it was sworn and promised. Hee which held this opinion, was IOHN King of *Bohemia*, and his sonne CHARLES, who were discontent with the Emperour for some other causes: but the Councell resolued to send Ambassadors to Pope CLEMENT, to shew him that the conditions ought not bee performed, and so Ambassadours went: what ensewed wee will soone tell you; which was, that the Pope holding himselfe for deluded, was so enraged, that hee againe proceeding against the Emperor, sent to all parts copies of the fulminations and censures giuen by Pope IOHN, with a relation of his offenses, including the same within the compasse of heresie; and also that he had chosen and installed another Pope, and that he was not according to due order chosen Emperor, but by deceit and bribery; and that he neuer was Emperor, neither ought to be so called; and that he gaue Bishopricks and Prelacies at his pleasure, placing such as pleased him, and displacing such as were preferred by the Pope; and that he making marriages, dispensed like a Pope with such as were married within prohibited degrees of consanguinity, as he had done by his sonne LEVVES and the Countesse of *Tirol*, being allied vnto her within an vnlawfull degree; and she hauing an husband aliue, which was the sonne of the king of *Bohemia*: for which cause the Pope, sending his generall edicts against him, enioyned the Electors, vpon pain of excommunication, to meet and chuse a new Emperor; excommunicating all such as followed the Emperor LEVVES, or obeyed him. So as the Popes edicts, and the Emperors contradictions caused many insolencies and combustions in *Italy* and *Germany*. As the King of *Bohemia* and his sonne were his aduersaries, so they procuring the good will of the Duke of *Saxony*, and of the Archbishop of *Colen*, by bribes and large promises, sought to procure a meeting, and so to elect and chuse an Emperour. At the same time there were two which pretended to be Archbishops of *Mentz*, the one called HENRY *de Vierner* (whom the Pope condemned and depriued, for that he defended the Emperors cause) the other was by name called GERLASSE of *Nassaw*, whom the Pope had appointed to enioy the others place.

This GERLASSE, to shew his authority, and to accomplish the Popes commandement, summoned the Princes Electors to meet in the City of *Rens*, in the yeer 1346: where met the Duke of *Saxony*, the King of *Bohemia*, the Archbishops of *Mentz*, *Treuier*, and *Colen*: and so by reason of the Popes decree, alleaging the Empire to be void, they chose the King of *Bohemia*'s sonne CHARLES for Emperor; LEVVES being then in *Bauiere*, busie in leuying forces to stay the same. The new elect CHARLES would presently haue gone to haue been crowned in *Aken*, but could not: for, that City held for the Emperor LEVVES, and was sufficiently fortified. Pope CLEMENT beeing aduertised of the election of CHARLES (as a thing done by his commandement, and against LEVVIS) presently confirmed and approoued the same, and procured the French King to aid and assist him, which he promised to do with all his power: but in the mean time befell a strange accident which marred all; which was, that shortly after, EDVVARD the Third, King of *England*, came into *France* with a mighty Army: and PHILIP the French King raised his whole power to fight with him; whereof the King of *Bohemia* and his son CHARLES (newly chosen Emperor) hauing intelligence, they with more haste than good speed with all their forces came in person to his aid, the more to binde him to perform his promise to them against the Emperor: and they ioyning in battell against the English (which, as all Writers affirm, was very cruell and bloudy, and continued fully six houres) the King of *England* in the end had the victory, and many great Personages of the vanquished were slaine. Amongst which was IOHN King of *Bohemia*; and the French King, and the new elect

Warr between Philip King of France and Edward the third, king of England, wherein a battell fought betweene the two Kings, the King of Bohemia was slain.

elect Emperor CHARLES escaped by flight. Through the losse of this battaile, the French King had so much to do to defend his owne countrey, that he could yeeld CHARLES no reliefe or succor at all against the Emperor LEVVES, which made his case the more doubtfull: but as he had the Popes fauor and the fauor of those which chose him, so was *Germany* diuided, some holding with him, others with the Emperor LEVVES: so as LEVVES his raigne ended as it began, with competencies and factions. But yet he forgat not to raise forces and to seek aid and friends, which with his life lasted but a while: but before we declare his end, I will briefly relate a strange accident that hapned in the city of *Rome*, which shall neither be impertinent, nor vnworthy to be related, which was this.

Rome at that time being gouerned in the Popes absence by two Senatours, as the Popes Vicars or Lieutenants; one of which was of the family of the Colonnois, the other of the Vrsins; a certain man born in *Rome* of meane parentage, whose name was NICHOLAS RENZO, who being of a great courage and high minde, yet of no greater calling then a Notary publike, in such manner wonne the good will of the people, which repaired vnto him, that he perswaded them to recouer the antient liberty of *Rome*, which (as a man well read in Histories) he laid open vnto them, and was not ashamed to tell them that it was requisite, for the good of the common-wealth, to alter the manner of the gouernement, and to reforme and reduce the same to the antient estate, rule and order: for seeing *Rome* was a free City and Lady of the whole world, they ought and were bound in duty to recouer her liberty. To theese speeches together with many other to the like effect, the common people (as light of beliefe, and desirous of nouelties) willingly gaue eare: and he found such fauor and good liking amongst them, as gathering a head, he seised on the Capitoll, and without that any man durst make head against him, he deposed the Popes Vicars or Lieutenants from the gouernment, and intituling himself NICHOLAVS SEVERVS (the fauourable Tribune of peace, liberty and Iustice, the noble redeemer and restorer of the sacred Roman common-wealth) he made and ordained Senators, and settled the gouernment of *Rome* in such manner as it was in the time of the antient Romanes, with so great obedience in all men, as if he had come from heauen for the same purpose. And he presently established such peace and iustice in the City, and made the same to be obserued in such manner, as the like had not been seen in *Rome* in 500 yeers before.

The fame whereof was presently spred into many parts, and all the Towns neere to *Rome* became obedient vnto him, and so did many other that were farre off: and all the tyrants and Princes hearing of so strange an accident, and of the title, and the enterprise which this man vndertook, sent Ambassadors to him; and making great offers, sought his fauor and friendshippe. And the matter was so carried in the beginning, as it seemed that in short space *Rome* would againe haue become Lady of a great part of the world. And as the report of such accidents is euer greater then the effect, so these news being carried out of *Italie*, such feare was generally that many altred their resolutions: And this NICHOLAS as a proud vaine man (nothing considering that vpon so weake and feeble a foundation he could not possibly build any great edifice) making *Rome* to be the head and Lady of all the World, he wrote his Letters with the aforesaid proud titles, to the Pope, requiring him to make his residence in *Rome*; and to the Emperour LEVVES and his competitor CHARLES, commanding them within a certaine prefixed time to make their appearance before him and the Romane Senate, and to shewe by what Title they held the Empire: The like hee wrote to the Princes Electors and to other Princes.

These Letters being seen and read (notwithstanding that they were held for vaine and friuolous) did put the Pope in a great perplexitie, seeing that *Rome* and the territory thereof in his time was vsurped. But this vanity continued not aboue seuen or eight moneths: for as it was grounded but vpon the fauor of the common people, so it soone waxing cold, and they repenting of what they had done, began to murmur and so to forsake him: whereupon he foreseeing his fall, departed from *Rome*, and went to CHARLES, the Emperors competitor: thinking to haue found fauor, and to haue made some league with him; but he caused him to be apprehended, and sent him to *Auinion* to the Pope, who commanded him to be detained prisoner: what end he had we will tell you, which truly is a pleasant discourse, as you shall see in the end, and so haue all the vanities of the world; although some last longer then others. What I haue spoken is written by BLONDVS, PLATINA, NAVCLERVS, and all the Historiographers. PETRARCH, in some of his Epistles affirmeth, that all the time that this man commanded, there was such peace and quietnes, and iustice was so duly executed in *Rome* and in part of *Italie*,

that it seemed the Golden-age was come againe: wherupon hee made that excellent Sonnet which beginneth,

Spirto gentil che quella membra reggi.

But now to returne to our History: *Germany* being thus diuided, some holding for the Emperour LEVVES, and others for the new chosen CHARLES, who was already King of *Bohemia*, this controuersie betweene these two was ended, through the sudden death of LEVVES, which happened vpon the seuen and twentith day of September, in the yeere of our Lord 1347, in this manner: He riding that day ouer the fields on hunting, was taken with so cruell an Apoplexie, that he fell from his horse and died suddenly, when he had raigned 33 yeeres, the first nine in contention and competency with FREDERICK, who was called Emperour: it was also suspected that he was poysoned by the widow of ALBERT of *Austria*, with whom he had been familiar. This Emperor hauing bin twice married, had six sonnes, and one daughter, which from their father inherited sundry Lordships and estates. At this time the Genowaics and the Venecians made most cruell warre one against another; the like did the English and the French. The Kings of *Spaine* wholly applied themselues to warre against the Moores.

In *Constantinople* raigned IOHN PALEOLOGVS, called CALOIOANNES, son of ANDRONICVS the younger, who had much to doe with CATACVZENVS (whom his father left for his tutor) about the Empire; sometime the one preuailing, and sometimes the other: by reason whereof they both are accounted Emperors; but in the end CALOIOANNES PALEOLOGVS was sole Emperour, as hereafter shall be declared.

THE LIFE OF CHARLES, THE FOVRTH OF THAT NAME, AND HVNDRETH AND EIGHTTH ROMAN EMPEROR.

(*,*)

THE ARGVMENT.

CHARLES *hauing no Competitor, went to subdue those Countries which held with* LEWES. *Many were of opinion that the Empire was voyde: wherefore some of the Electours met at Vranckford, and chose successiuely two Emperours, which would not accept thereof. In the time of this* CHARLES, *was that memorable pestilence through all Europe, in Anno Domini,* 1348. *and the slaughter of an infinite number of Iewes. Afterwards the Electors chose one* Gunther *for Emperour, who comming against* Charles *died before any battaile.* Charles *hauing made an accord with the Electors which were his enemies, was freed from all his competitors; and came afterwards into Italie to be crowned, where he behaued himselfe with such humanitie, as there was no Lord or Common-wealth that did not acknowledge him for their Emperour: and contented to pay his Souldiers, he giuing priuiledges to sundrie Cities in Italy, hee returned into Germany: wherein he maintaining peace and iustice, hee sued to make his eldest sonne* Wenceslaus *King of the Romanes, which he obtained for money. After all these things falling sicke hee dyed, when he had valiantly raigned two and thirty yeeres.*

WHen the Emperour LEVVES died, his Competitor CHARLES (who in his life time was called Emperour) was in his kingdome of *Bohemia*; and as soone as he was certified of his death, with the greatest power he could raise left his kingdome, to make himselfe Lord of such townes as held for the deceased Emperour LEVVES: and comming to *Ratisbone* he was there without any contradiction receiued as Emperor; and thence went to *Nuremberg*, and had there the like reception, and generally in all the other cities whither he came; for he released all the actions which he had against them, and promised to procure the Pope to absolue all those which had continued in the seruice of LEVVES: but he afterwards comming to *Basil*, they would not receiue him, except he first obtained for them the Popes pardon, and a release from all the curses pronounced against their citie, for that it held for the late Emperour: and while as they treated hereof, there came a Legate from the Pope, who hearing that LEVVES was dead, sent him to CHARLES with authoritie to absolue them and all the rest. And although that in this citie and in others theie was great contention, about the oth and the forme of the confession which the Pope had commanded to be made before they should be absolued; yet in the end absolution was giuen, and the Emperour with great solemnitie was receiued into the citie, and into some other places. And notwithstanding that in the beginning he had so good successe with some cities and Princes, yet with many of the rest he sped not so well: for those which had continued firme and loyall to the Emperor LEVVES, and had been enemies and made warre against CHARLES, would not accept him for Emperour; but holding the Empire voide, pretended a new election to be made; especially those Electors which consented not to his election; which were HENRY Archbishop of *Mentz*, (whom the Pope had deprined, and in his place set GERLAS of *Nassaw*) LEVVES Marques of *Brandenburgh*, ROBERT Count Palatine of *Rhine* and Duke of *Bauiere*; al which pretended that CHARLES his election was neither lawfull, nor of any validitie, for that it was not made in *Franckford*; and also for that the estates were not assembled by the Count Palatine, neither were they present, or sent their Agents or Proctors: all which things (they said) were requisite in a lawfull election: and HENRY the new Duke of *Saxony* and some cities ioyning with them, alleaged also that those which chose him were corrupted with mony by CHARLES and his father IOHN King of *Bohemia*; and also that he was not crowned in *Aken* as hee ought to haue been. For which causes (although in my opinion the greatest was the splene and hatred which they bare him) in the beginning of the yeere 1348, the aforesaid Princes met in the citie of *Franckford* (notwithstanding that CHARLES vsed all his power and policie to haue preuented the same) where declaring the Empire to be voide (the Bishops of *Colen*, *Treuier* and the other Bishop of *Mentz* being absent) by the common consent of those which were present, they chose the king of *England* (for that he was descended from the Germane bloud) for Emperor, to whom they presently sent their Ambassadours to the same effect: but after that hee had well considered of the matter, refusing their offer, he sent to them, desiring to be held excused: And they seeing themselues frustrate of their hope, chose FREDERICK Marquesse of *Misnia*, who was a man of great iudgement and very valiant; who standing in doubt whether he should accept it or no, and considering well thereof (for CHARLES being thereof aduertised, to the end that hee should not accept the election, sent him a great summe of gold and siluer, and therewith gaue him to vnderstand of the inconueniences that would ensue) made the like answere as did the King of *England*: so as for that time without agreeing vpon any other, these Princes stil continuing disobedient to the Emperor CHARLES, departed from *Franckford* not chusing any Emperour at all.

Edward the 3. King of England being chosen, refused to be Emperor.

The chiefest cause of their departure was the plague in that countrey, which in that time was so great and so vniuersall through all parts of *Europe*, that the like thereof before that time had neuer beene seene nor heard of: for Historiographers affirme that it continued aboue one whole yeere,

Generall plague through all Europe.

yeere, beginning in the yeer one thousand three hundred forty eight, and ending in *Anno* 1350; which raged in such extreme manner, that where it did least harme, the tenth person escaped not.

BLONDVS saith, that he heard his grandfather GASPAR BLONDVS affirme with an oath, that many townes in *Italy* were therewith so dispeopled, that not any one remained therin aliue. During the time of this calamity, there was a generall peace, so as not any could or durst make warre against other, except a little which was made against the Synagogues of the Iewes: for the common people took a conceit, and it was firmly beleeued, that the Iewes had poysoned the waters, and caused this plague; whereupon (the Princes and gouernors being no way able to preuent the same) the Iewes were euery where torne in peeces, and an infinite number of them were by the Christians sacked and robbed, in *France*, *Italie*, *Germany* and *Spaine*. At this time also the French King gat the Countrey of *Daulphine*, and the City of *Vienne* the head thereof; which doe now belong to the Princes of *France*; which was giuen him by HVMBERT, Daulphin of *Vienne*, hauing no heire to succeede him; vpon condition that the eldest sonne of *France* should bee called Daulphine of Viennois.

In the yeere 1350. our Lord mitigating his ire, and the plague ceasing, Pope CLEMENT this yeere by the consent of his Cardinals ordained that the Iubile which Pope BONIFACE the 8. had granted to bee held in *Rome* euery hundredth yeere, should he held that yeere; and thenceforth euery fiftith yeere, considering the shortnes of mans life; so as an infinite number of people repaired to *Rome* to the Iubile. After the daunger of the plague was past, men presently being free from the feare thereof, returned to their wars and defension, principally the aforenamed foure Princes Electors, HENRY Archbishop of *Mentz*, LEWES Marques of *Brandenburgh*, RODVLPH Duke of *Bauiere* and Count Palatine of *Rhine*, and HENRY Duke of *Saxony*: all which rebelled against the the Emperour CHARLES, and stood vpon their guard; and the one aiding and assisting the other, they againe met at *Frankford*, and after many consultations, chose GVNTHER Earle of *Swarzemburgh*, who was an excellent and very valiant man of warre. This man with the aid of those that chose him, and of his friends and kinsfolks, with a great number of very good men of warre, came to *Frankford*; where attending his enemies comming, hee kept the field the space of sixe weekes (for so they write was then the manner of the new chosen Emperors). That time being expired, he was receiued into the city, and sworne and obeyed for Emperor. And notwithstanding that the Emperor CHARLES had lenyed a very great power, yet being vnwilling to hazard his whole fortune in one battaile, he would not fight with GVNTHER: but all the Princes of his faction, meeting in the City of *Spire*, it was concluded that he should employ his whole power to make head against GVNTHER, and by force of Armes defeate him.

Gunther Earle of Swarzemburgh chosen Emperor against Charles King of Bohemia.

With this resolution the Emperor CHARLES with his Army took his way towards *Mentz*; and the one drawing neere the other, the war began between them, which men thought would haue proued very terrible and cruell: but through the death of GVNTHER, peace ensued: before which time some write it was concluded; for as soone as GVNTHER fell sick, some vnpassionate Princes sought to reconcile them: the conditions of the peace were, that GVNTHER should renounce the Empire to CHARLES, and that CHARLS should giue him two walled Cities in *Turinge*, together with their confines. But in the time of this treaty (as most writers affirme) GVNTHER died, poysoned by his Physician; who being to giue him a purging potion, and taking but the assay of it, died together with GVNTHER the next morrow; which made men to thinke, that without the knowledge of the poore Physician, poyson was put into the decoction; so as, GVNTHER dying in the time of the parle of peace, CHARLS remained sole Emperour, and in good sort compounded with those which were his aduersaries, who being weary of choosing Emperors, the controuersy ended, to the contentment of all men. And for as much as the plague was in *Aken*, he was with great solemnity crowned in another city; and going afterwards in his progresse, he visited many Cities, to which he gaue sundry priuiledges.

In time of this prosperity he had a sonne whose name was WENCESLAVS, of whom we shall haue cause to speake hereafter: and he applying himself with great care to maintain peace and justice, there yet rested for him to goe to be crowned in *Italy*; whereof Pope CLEMENT the sixt was very desirous: but in his time it could not be, for he died within few daies after. At this time the Viscounts hauing made themselues Lords of *Milan*, were of great power in many other Cities, the chiefest of which was IOHN Viscount Archbishop of *Milan*, a man feared through

through all *Italy*; who by the Popes permission vnder the title of his Vicar, or Lieutenant, made himself Lord of *Bologna*, for which he was to pay yeerely 12000 ducats of gold. Pope CLEMENT being dead, INNOCENT the sixt was chosen; This Pope sent for Legate into *Italy* the valiant Cardinal *Giles*, a Spaniard borne, who was called *Don* GIL CARILLO ALBORNOZ, who by his great witt and valour, comming twise into *Italy* recouered all the Cities and lands of the Church which had been vsurped by tyrants: in the beginning of whose Papacie was fought the memorable battaile by sea betweene threescore galleys of the Genowaies, vnder the command of PAGAMO DORIA; and fourescore of the Venecians, the Kings of *Arragon*, and the Emperours of *Constantinople*, who were in league togerher against them; which battaile was fought in the streight of *Constantinople*, and lasted from the break of day vntill the euening, in which the Genowaies had the victory, but with losse of many of their people: and the yeere following which was in the yeere 1354, the Venecians and Catalonians repairing their fleete, againe fought with the Genowaies, neere to the Ile of *Corsica*, wherein the Genowaies were so pitifully ouerthrowne and with so great losse, that one and fortie of their galleys, with all the men in them, were sunke in the sea; by meanes of which ouerthrow their power was so much weakned, that they became subiect to IOHN Viscount Archbishop of *Milan*, vpon condition that he should protect them; yet there ensuing other alterations, they afterwards committed themselues to the protection of the French King.

A nauall battaile between the Genowaies and the Venecians.

At this time also was a treaty betweene the Emperour and the Pope, concerning the Emperours comming into *Italy* to be crowned in *Rome*, he making preparation for the same. There befell in *Rome* also another great accident, although not so much spoken of as that of NICHOLAS RENZO who would haue raised *Rome* to her auncient state and dignitie, and was called the Enfranchiser of *Rome*: which was, that another Notary called FRANCIS VARONCELLO, imitating the said NICHOLAS, incensed the people, and with the same title of Romane Tribune, deposed the two Senatours, IOHN VRSINO, and PETER *de Colonna*, who gouerned as the Popes Vicars: whereof the Pope being aduertised, and fearing that the matter would haue growne of importance; to auoid a further inconuenience, he thought it best to release NICHOLAS RENZO, whom his predecessor CLEMENT had left in prison; and thinking (as we say) to driue out one naile with another, sent him to *Rome* against FRANCIS; who vsed such meanes, through the helpe of the Romane Nobilitie, that by force hee expelled FRANCIS VARONCELLO out of the Capitoll and slew him in fight: but after this victory, the said NICHOLAS with a desire to vsurpe, persecuting the Colonnois fell at variance with the principall men of *Rome*, and in the end was slaine; and so *Rome* was deliuered from both the one and the other: and then one GVIDO IORDAN (by the Popes consent) was made Gouernor, and afterwards there were two.

While these matters were in hand, it was agreed between the Pope and the Emperour (as write the Italian authors) that as soon as the Emperour should be crowned in *Rome* by Cardinals, without making any longer stay, he should returne into *Germany*. The Emperour and Empresse accompanied with many Princes and a great Army, in the yeere 1355 came into *Italy*, with intent onely to be crowned, and to fauour and further the Popes proceedings, which hee did accordingly, which made his iourney easie: for being come into *Italy* and seene to vse no violence, or to oppresse any man, neither to depriue or dispossesse any man of his goods or lands, he was very honorably receiued by the Lords of CARRARA in *Padoa*, and afterwards by the GONZAGAS in *Montoa*, and by those of the house of ESTE in *Ferrara*, and by the Viscounts in *Milan*, and by the most of the Lords of *Italy*, which did him homage, and acknowledged him for their Emperour; and he left them in their lands and estates: and comming to the city of *Milan* he was crowned there with the Iron Crown, and from *Milan* went to *Pisa*; whither came Comissioners to him from *Florence*, and from many other cities, who acknowledging him for their Emperour, and suing for peace and his fauour, furnished him with money for the paiment of his souldiers; and so departing from *Pisa*, he went peaceably to *Rome*, where they attended his comming, and was solemnely receiued by the Cardinals Legats which came to crowne him, together with the Senators, the Popes Vicars, and with all the Clergy and Romane people: and on Easter day, which was the morrow after his comming, hee together with his wife the Empresse, was after the accustomed manner by the aforesaid Cardinals crowned with great pompe. His coronation being ended, as he came in peace and quietly, without offending or grieuing any man, so he departed from *Rome*, contenting himselfe with their seruice and the money which they had giuen him, which (some write) amounted to a very great summe; and so

The Emperour Charles came into Italy.

so he returned into his countrie, more peaceably and with lesse tumult, then euer any Emperor that came into *Italy* before him had done. Being in *Italy* he fauoured *Don Giles* Cardinal of *Albornoz* who recouered the patrimonie of the Church.

At this time King IOHN of *France* being in a battaile taken prisoner by the King of *England*, after foure yeeres imprisonment, was vpon certaine conditions of peace set at liberty. This King had by inheritance the Duchie and County of *Burgundy*, which after his decease he gaue to his second sonne PHILIP, whose offspring enioyed the same; from whom lineally descended the Emperour CHARLES the Fift, by his grandmother, who was Lady of that estate. What ensued after the Emperours returne into *Germany* is briefly and confusedly written, and the Annales of *Germany* treate of some matters of small importance, and that very preposterously; wherefore I will write onely what shall seeme most agreeable, vntill we come to the end of his life. First, this Prince is commended for his wit and humanitie, and to haue been discreete and iust in administring iustice, and to haue been learned in the tongues, and wel seene in history, and indifferently well in other Arts and Sciences, whereof he made no small benefit in his actions. CARION writes, that after the Emperors returne out of *Italy*, he called a famous assembly of Princes in the Cities of *Mentz*; where the matter being wisely discust with the cheefe orders of the Empire, for the contracting into one, and reducing into order, the antient and moderne institutions concerning the Maiestie and honor of the Empire, and of euery one in particular, he made a law which is famous by the name of the golden Bull, comprehending certain orders to be obserued in the Emperors election, and prouiding for the power, authority, and dignitie of all orders: which worke of his was very commendable; for that hath been a firme bond of publike peace. By this law he did strengthen the Maiestie of the Empire, and did cut off all occasions of dissension in the election; by this he did so bind the Emperour and Princes, as no man durst attempt any thing to the preiudice of the Common-wealth or Emperor. And as he was much affected to his countrey of *Bohemia*, so (as Pope PIVS QVINTVS and other authors write) in *Prage* he erected sundry stately edifices; and made the Church and Archbishoprick of that citie a Metropolitane, exempting it from the Church of *Mentz*, and erected an Vniuersitie in that citie, wherein Arts and Sciences were read; and all his whole life time he had so great a care to adorne that citie and kingdome, that the rest of *Germany* murmured against him for it, and so doe the Historiographers which write thereof. In those daies some sedition and tumults arose in the citie of *Nuremburgh*, which in the end he pacified, although with some difficultie. It happened also that EBERARD Earle of *Wittembergh* made an Insurrection against this Emperour, and had a great Army and many followers; but all was pacified, and CHARLES raigned peaceably. In the yeere following, which was in the yeere 1362, died Pope INNOCENT the Sixt, and in his place was chosen Cardinall WILLIAM of S. *Victor*, a Monke of S. BENNET's order, and was called VRBANE the Fift.

The golden Bull made by Charles.

This Pope hauing resolued to come into *Italy*, the better to secure and settle his estate he sent to entreate the Emperor to doe the like: which he chiefly did, for feare of the Viscounti Lords of *Milan*, and of the greatest part of *Lombardy*, which the Emperor at his entreatie performed: at which his comming I finde it not written that he came by *Milan*, for that BARNABY and GALEAS Visconti were not his friends; but he took his waie by *Padoa*, and from *Padoa* to *Bologna*, and thence to *Pisa*, and so to *Rome*, where he found the Pope: what they did there, I finde not written, either through negligence or for that it little imported; one thing BLONDVS, PLATINA, and others report, that it was vnknowne what was become of the heads of S. PETER and S. PAVL, and that the Pope and the Emperour made great search for them, and at last found them and set them where they stand (as they say) this day. After this, the Emperor hauing been but three moneths in *Italy*, returned into *Germany*, and after his departure the Pope went to *Marselles* in *Prouence* in *France*, and thence to *Auinion* where he died; after whose decease PETER *de Belfort* Cardinal of S. MARY the new was chosen, and called GREGORY the Eleuenth.

The Emperor in the same yeere summoned a Diet to be held in the citie of *Franckford*, where after many practices, he entreated the Princes Electors to make his sonne WENCESLAVS, King of the Romanes, and his successor; which was not onely solicited by entreatie, but by great gifts and large promises; which were so excessiue, that (as PIVS QVINTVS writeth) he promised an hundred thousand Ducats to euery Elector: and as the summe was greater then he was able to pay, he gaue in pawne for the same many townes and lands of the Empire, which they hold vntill this day. This they write to be the cause of the weakning of the Emperours power

power which were his successors; which ALBERT CRANTZ also confirmeth in his History of *Saxony*, alleaging that this Emperor morgaged sixteen Imperiall townes in *Sueuia* to the neighbour Princes, which, together with the imbecillity and baseness of his son WENCESLAVS who succeeded him in the Empire, so decayed and weakened the power of the Emperors in *Germany*, that they neuer recouered their former vigour: this was imputed to haue been a great ouersight in so wise a Prince, notwithstanding that in all his other actions he gouerned with great policy and wisedome. Yet many imperiall cities, through sundry accidents which hapned, without his commandement or leaue, made war vpon the Earle of *Wittembergh*, which war continued many daies, and many were slain of either party: wherewith the Emperor being much displeased, and fauoring and assisting the Earle, he besieged the city of *Vlme*, where he punished some for examples sake.

In this meane time, some cities in *Italy* belonging to the Church of *Rome*, discontent with the gouernment of the Popes Vicars or Lieutenants, rebelled against him: Whereupon, the Pope knowing the great preiudice which his Church receiued through his absence, resolued to returne with his court to *Rome*: for which purpose (vnder another pretext) in the yeere one thousand three hundred seuenty six, he caused certain gallies to be rigged and armed in the riuer *Rodanus*, wherein embarking himselfe he sailed into *Italie*: and so the Papall court after it had continued in *France* the space of threescore and ten yeers and somwhat more, and the most part of that time in the city of *Auinion*, returned to *Rome*.

The Emperour hauing raigned now 32 yeers, and being busie in pacifying the cities in *Germany* which warred against the Earle of *Wittembergh*, was in the yeere of our Lord, one thousand three hundred seuenty eight, taken with an infirmity, whereof he dying, left two sonnes legitimate; the eldest of which was called WENCESLAVS, who was already King of the Romans, and succeeded his father in the kingdome of *Bohemia* by inheritance, and in the Empire by election: the others name was SIGISMVND, who afterwards by the right of his wife was king of *Hungary*, and in processe of time came to be Emperor.

Some Authors write of the Emperour CHARLES, that he had been worthy of praise, if he had not more affected *Bohemia* and *France* then the Empire, if he had not been more carefull of his owne priuate interest then of the publike; and to aduance his posterity, then to enlarge the Empire; if he had not been more greedy of money, then to do what was right and iust, and if he had not both in *Germany* and *Italie*, diminished the dignity and wealth of the Empire, alienating kingdoms and the publike reuenues, selling Immunities, and granting liberties: wherefore the Empire being spoiled of many ornaments, his posterity did not raigne long, but was vnfortunate, and in the end fell; but yet he may not be depriued of his due commendation, for the constitution which he made, which was very beneficiall to the common-wealth.

Touching the Emperors of *Constantinople* (of whom I am bound to make some mention) I finde so great confusion in the Histories of those times, as there was in that Empire; wherein were factions and warres: but in summe, in the time of CHARLES the Fourth in *Germany*, the discord in *Constantinople* between IOHN PALEOLOGVS CALOIOANNES, and his father in law IOHN CATACVZENVS (both which were called Emperors) was the cause that AMVRATH King of the Turks (hauing taken all that the Christians held in *Asia*) vnder color to help and succor CATACVZENVS, passing *Hellespont*, came into *Europe*, and took *Gallipoli*, and other cities in that coast, and afterwards the city of *Adrianople*: and he passing forewards, there came against him LAZARVS DISPOTE of *Seruia* (which in antient time was called the vpper *Misia*) and MARKE DISPOTE of *Bulgaria* (which is part of the antient lower *Misia*) and many other Princes; which in a battaile about the yeer of our Lord 1363 being ouerthrown, AMVRATH became Lord of a great part of the Christians lands in *Europe*; and his sonne BAIAZETH succeeding him conquered more; and so the Empire of *Constantinople* daily decreased. And afterwards in the time of the Emperour WENCESLAVS, CALOIOANNES being now old, and hauing dispossessed CATACVZENVS, dying, a son of his called EMANVEL PALEOLOGVS succeeded him.

The first comming of the Turks into Gracia.

THE

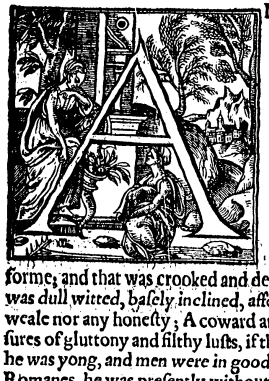


THE LIFE OF WENCESLAVS, ONELY OF THAT NAME, AND HVNDRETH AND NINTH ROMAN EMPEROR.

(✻,✻)

THE ARGVMENT.

IT seldome hapneth that the sonnes imitate their fathers goodnesse, chiefly among Princes, But Wenceslaus *would verifie this rule in himselfe: for being without any contradiction chosen Emperor, he prooued so vnlike his father in goodnesse, that he left of himselfe as much infamy, as his father did glory: Neither did he pacifie the wars which in Germany were kindled in his fathers time, but suffered them to proceede; which was the cause of much misery in that countrey. In his time began the great schisme which continued forty yeers. The Turks in his time made great conquests vpon the Christians: and* Iohn Galeas *made himselfe in his time Lord of Lombardy. The Electors seeing the small care that this Emperor took to be crowned for the defence of Christendome, to set his hand to the good gouernment of the Empire, especially in the affaires of Germany, and that he led a base and a licentious life, deposed him, as vnprofitable and of no worth. When he had vnworthily raigned Emperor two and twenty yeers, he afterwards died a priuate Lord.*



ALthough that the desire to come to an end of this History (being neer thereunto) doth incite me to make haste; yet there are so many matters to be written of, and modern Historiographers haue so copiously set down the same, as I am constrained (euen against my will) to prosecute the remainder more at large; wherein I presume to be held excused, for the pleasure and profit which the Reader shall receiue thereby: wherefore to auoide prolixity, I say, that WENCESLAVS King of *Bohemia*, and eldest sonne to the Emperor CHARLES the Fourth, succeeded his father in the Empire; who proued very vnlike to his father; for hee grew to be vicious, and of little worth. It is written of him, that he had nothing in him like vnto a man, but the forme; and that was crooked and deformed, more like to THERSITES then a Prince. He was dull witted, basely inclined, affecting nothing but pleasures, not caring for the Commonweale nor any honesty; A coward and very cruell; Of a lazy body, fit for nothing but the pleasures of gluttony and filthy lusts, if they may be called pleasures: But yet in the beginning, as he was yong, and men were in good hope of him; being chosen in his fathers time King of the Romanes, he was presently without any great contradiction obeyed for Emperor, and was so two and twenty yeers, and in the end lost it, as you shall heare.

His brother SIGISMVND being of more spirit, and fifteen yeers yonger then WENCESLAVS, LEVVES king of *Hungary* married him to his daughter (who was also by his mother

ther King of *Poland*) and thereby SIGILMVND came afterwards to be King of *Hungary*, as we will declare, of whom in the History of WENCESLAVS we shall make especiall mention, for in processe of time he came to be Emperour; for by reason of the insufficiency of WENCESLAVS, little is to be written of him: so as of these two and twenty yeeres that he held the name of Emperor, the least that is to be said, is of him; but yet neuertheless passing it vnder his name, we will briefly relate what passed in the countries subiect to the Empire in his time, wherein he should haue borne the greatest sway, if he had not been so base and negligent; for although it seeme little to the purpose, yet it shall be expedient for the knowledge of such matters as follow.

First, for the warre betweene the cities of *Germany*, and the Earle of *Wittembergh*, which his father before his decease sought to haue extinguished, his sonne had no such care: for in his time it encreased; and *Germany* from the beginning of his raigne, vntill the end thereof, endured want both of peace and iustice. In his time also hapned a schisme in the Church of *Rome*: for in the same yeer that the Emperor CHARLES the Fourth died in *Germany*, in *Rome* died Pope GREGORY the eleuenth, who as I said returned the Papall court to *Rome*: and after his decease the Cardinals assembling themselues in the Conclaue to choose a successor, of which, thirteene were French-men, and foure Italians, whither all the Romane people running, desired them to choose an Italian, and no French-man; and the French Cardinals vsed all meanes to haue had a French-man, and the rest an Italian: And notwithstanding that the greatest number were French, yet disagreeing amongst themselues, one BARTHOLMEVV a Neapolitan, and Archbishop of *Barri* was chosen Pope, who tooke for his name VRBANE the sixt. The French Cardinals presently repenting, alleaged that what they had done was for feare of the Roman people; whereupon some of them departed from *Rome*: yet VRBANE notwithstanding was consecrated, and generally obeyed; and those which had absented themselues returned, and so they continued three moneths: which being expired, through some discontentments which they conceiued against him (and as PLATINA writeth, for that he shewed himselfe seuere and rigorous against the abuses and pride of the Clergy) eight of the French Cardinals, faining that they left *Rome* by reason of the heate, went to *Fundi*,; where being fauoured by Queene IOANE of *Naples* which sold the City of *Auinion* to the Pope, they pretending and publishing the election of VRBANE to haue been made by violence, that he was no Pope, and that the Sea was voide; they amongst themselues in *Fundi* chose a new Pope and called him CLEMENT the seuenth; whom Queene IOANE and all the kingdom of *Naples* obeyed and held for Pope; and so began the schisme, which lasted forty yeers. Through the warres and dissension betweene Princes, Christendome was diuided into two factions; for besides Queene IOANE and her kingdome of *Naples*, the French king fauoured Pope CLEMENT, and perswaded the King of *Castile* to doe the like. All *Italie* (excepting *Naples*) obeyed Pope VRBANE; so did the Emperor WENCESLAVS, *Germany England* and *Portugall*; and the one and the other alleaged such reasons, and so great and so worthy personages took part with the one and the other, as it made the matter very doubtfull.

This schisme (as I say) continued long, notwithstanding that those which were chosen died, for the Cardinals of either party chose a successor, and held the chaire for voide, as hereafter shall appeare. Pope CLEMENT went into *France*, where with the aide of the French King, and of the Queene of *Naples* and of *Prouence*, he held his court in *Auinion*, and VRBANE remained in *Rome*; and they two making warre, either of them by all meanes possible sought the others destruction. Pope VRBANE sent his Ambassadours to complaine to the Emperour WENCESLAVS, of what had happened, and to perswade him to come into *Italie* in fauor of him, against the Queene of *Naples*, who then was the widow of LEVVES Duke of *Tarent*, after that she had murthered her first husband: But he giuing them good words took little care for the matter, but yet he and his brother SIGISMVND sent to Pope CLEMENT at *Auinion*, admonishing him to leaue the name of Pope, and to submit himselfe to Pope VRBANE.

Pope VRBAN finding himself much grieued against Queeene IOANE, for that through her assistance the schisme began (that Kingdom being subiect and held of the Church of *Rome*) sent to treate with CHARLES, Nephew to LEVVES King of *Hungary* (who as some say) was the sonne of her husband ANDREVV King of *Naples*, whom she had made away) to come into *Italie* with an Army; promising him (as a schismatick and disobedient to his Church) to depriue Queene IOANE, and to make him King of *Naples*, whereto CHARLES and his Vncle

LEVVES King of *Hungary* willingly gaue ear, which LEVVES was father-in-law to SIGISMVND the Emperors brother; who, being very glad thereof, gaue him his aid and counsell. CHARLES, when as he was called to the Kingdome of *Naples*, made warre against the Venecians: for he and his Vncle, the King of *Hungary* and *Poland*, fauoured the Genowaies; betweene which and the Venecians in those daies were very great and cruell warres, many Princes assisting both the one and the other party: in which war many great exploits were performed, chiefly by sea; sometimes the one party preuailing, and sometimes the other. But at this time the Genowaies had the Venecians at such an aduantage, that with a mighty fleet of Gallies by sea they besieged the City of *Venice*, and their partakers and friends made very sharp warre against them by land; so as the City was in danger to haue been taken and ruined. We may say, this was the most cruell warre that vntill that time euer was seen in the world: for, therein was artillery first of all vsed by the Venecians; which was about the yeer of our Lord one thousand three hundred, eighty two, or a little while after. The inuention of this pestilent scourge of mankinde was attributed to the Germanes: some say that a Monk, who was a great Philosopher, found out the same; not to that purpose to haue killed and slain men therewith, but with a desire to haue experimented the quality and naturall force of things. Others are of opinion, that it was one PETER, a great Magician: but it importeth little to knowe who it was; for, besides the ordinary Historiographers which I follow in this place, ther be many others write thereof.

Artillery first vsed in the warr.

Venice escaping from being taken in this warre, and many other matters succeeding; the Duke of *Sauoy* treated, and set downe articles of peace between those two Common-wealths, which peace was concluded. So as to return to my discourse, CHARLS being called to the kingdom of *Naples*, he went into *Hungary*: where being furnished with men and other fauors by his Vncle King LEVVES, and the Emperor WENCESLAVS, he came into *Italy*, and to be briefe (leauing what befell him vpon the way) he went to *Rome*, and was very honorably receiued by the Pope, and thence took his way towards the kingdom of *Naples*; and comming to blowes with Queen IOANS Army, he ouerthrew and scattered the same; and then marching to the City of *Naples* tooke it: and the Queene retiring to *Castel nouo* was therein besieged, and so CHARLES in short space made himselfe Lord of the whole kingdom, which was in the yeer of our Lord one thousand, three hundred, eighty two. Queen IOAN, being besieged, sent to the French King, to her Countrey of *Prouence*, and to Pope CLEMENT, for relief; and forasmuch as she had no issue, she adopted LEVVES Duke of *Aniow*, Vncle to the French King, for her heir: which LEVVES, with a puissant Army of French-men, and with all the fauour that Pope CLEMENT and the Countrey of *Prouence* could yeeld him, went to relieue her; which was so great, that what is written thereof seems incredible: for they write, that he came with aboue thirty thousand horse. Being comn into the Territory of *Bologna* in *Italie*, warring vpon such as were his aduersaries, and giuing it out that he came to set Queen IOAN at liberty, to supplant Pope VRBAN, and to place Pope CLEMENT (of which, both the one & the other in any mans iudgement was easie to haue bin done) in the midst of his iourny (which was very long by reason of the great number of people which came with him, and being hindred by King CHARLES of *Naples*, and Pope VRBAN) hee was taken with so vehement a sicknes, that within very fewe dayes it depriued him of life; and his Army, without a Leader being diuided and dispersed, returned to their Countrey: and so was King CHARLES freed from this fear; who, hauing by sundry practices gotten Queen IOAN into his power, commanded her secretly to be drowned: and so she dying, suffred punishment for the death of her husband; and CHARLES remained King and absolute Lord of *Naples*, with whom the Pope fell at variance, and other matters followed.

The death of Lewes Duke of Aniow.

Ioan queen of Naples drowned

While these things passed in *Italy*, there was neither peace nor quietnes in *Germany*, through the negligence and little care of the Emperor WENCESLAVS; who, making his abode in his Kingdome of *Bohemia*, gaue himself wholly ouer to his pleasure. About this time died the Earl of *Flanders*; and PHILIP Duke of *Burgundy*, son to King IOHN of *France*, inheriting his estate, the houses of *Flanders* and *Burgundy* were vnited. It hapned at that time also, which was in the yeer of our Lord one thousand, three hundred, eighty three, that LEVVES King of *Hungary* and *Poland* dying, left onely two daughters; of which, one who was called MARY was maried to the Emperors brother SIGISMVND, who by her inherited the Kingdome of *Hungary*: and the other was maried to the Duke of *Austria*, with the title of the Kingdome of *Poland*.

The vniting of the County of Flanders to the duchy of Burgundy.

King

King LEVVES being dead; and SIGISMVND being but fifteen yeers old, after that he and his wife were crowned, his mother in law Queene ISABEL had the gouernment of the kingdome: who following the counsell of the Earle of *Gara* (a fauorite of hers) gouerned with such rigor and seuerity, that the greatest part of the subiects murmuring against her, rose and rebelled; and as SIGISMVND was but a childe, and she a woman, and the Emperor vnable to relieue them, the rebellion could not be pacified: whereupon the principall men of that kingdome, sent for CHARLES king of *Naples*, alleaging that the inheritance of the kingdom of *Hungary* appertained vnto him, and to no other; for that he was a man, and neerest of blood vnto King LEVVES deceased. King CHARLS thirsting after another kingdom, and hoping of the like good successe in *Hungary* as he had in *Naples*, accepted the offer; and making preparation for his iourney, leauing the gouernement of *Naples* to his wife; with the greatest prouision of men and money that he could make (for that he would not compasse *Italy* about) sailed along by the Adriatick Sea (now called the Gulph of *Venice*) and landing at a place in *Slauonia*, subiect to the kingdom of *Hungary*, was there so well receiued, and in like manner by all those of that kingdom, that the yong King SIGISMVND, doubting of the power of his friends which held with him, leauing his wife and his mother in law the widow Queen in *Hungary*, fled to his brother the Emperor, who then was in *Bohemia*: and the Queene mother being a subtle woman, sent a messenger to welcome king CHARLS into the countrey, and to tell him that she reposing her trust in his goodnes, would yeeld her selfe and her daughter into his power, for that she assured her selfe his comming to be for the good of that Kingdom. King CHARLS gaue such credit to her speeches, that he came to the place where she was; and holding himselfe for absolute Lord, and taking vpon him the gouernment of the kingdom, was not so carefull for the safety of his person, as reason required; for one day comming to the Queens lodging, he was there by the Queenes direction and some of her fauorites traitrously slaine by the hands of one BLASE *de Forback*: so as this King, not contented with the kingdom of *Naples*, came to lose his life for the kingdom of *Hungary*: and the two Queens, mother and daughter hauing made away their enemy, wrote to the Emperor, to send his brother SIGISMVND into that Kingdom; and they in the meane time had the gouernment; for as it seemeth, there was then no open contradiction.

K Charles of Naples murthered in Hungary.

The Queene being more confident then she ought to haue been considering what she had done, went from the place where she made her abode, to goe in progresse into the countrie, carrying her daughter with her; and passing one day carelesly with a small guard; a great Lord of *Hungary*, called IOHN BAN *de Horubach* (who had been of the aduerse party) meeting her vpon the way, apprehended the two Queenes, mother and daughter, and so many as were with them; and there in her presence slew BLASE FORBAC, who murthered King CHARLES; and made the old Queene and others of her company to be drowned in a lake of water which was thereby: and hauing thus cruelly reuenged the death of king CHARLS, he carried the sorrowfull yong Queene MARY prisoner to a Castle. When King SIGISMVND was certified of this great and strange disaster, moued with iust sorrow for his mother in law and his wife, with the aide of his brother the Emperor, he entred *Hungary*, where, by the most part hee was receiued and obeyed; moued therto with compassion to see his wife imprisoned: which when IOHN HORVBACH, the cruell reuenger of King CHARLES his death vnderstood; repenting of what he had done, or fearing to be brought to ruine for the same, he so practised with the Queene, whom he held prisoner, that she promised and sware to obtaine his pardon of her husband, whereupon she being set at liberty went presently to *Buda*, where her husband was, and there they both were again crowned, and receiued for King and Queene, which happened in the yeer of our Lord, one thousand three hundred eighty and six. But SIGISMVND notwithstanding his wiues oathes and promises, in such manner persecuted IOHN *de Horubach*, that after many conflicts hauing gotten him into his power, he commanded him to be slain: and so he remained King of *Hungary*, wherein he raigned many yeers after the chances and changes of fortune before recited, in that Kingdom, and in *Naples*; such as if they haue been read with attention, are as strange as most that haue passed in the world; yet afterwards ensued other as great or greater, as shall appeare.

The Queene of Hungary drowned.

SIGISMVND hauing brought that kingdom to subiection, and throughly seated himselfe therein; in reuenge of matters past, he at a Parliament held at *Buda* (as writeth PIVS QVINTVS, who before was called ÆNEAS SYLVIVS) who beheaded two and thirty of the chiefest Lordes of that Kingdome, who had beene his enemies and made warre against

him: which truly was cruell and seuere iustice, notwithstanding that they had deserued it: for which cause, the kinsfolke and friends of those which were executed did euer after so much hate him, that they brought him into many difficulties and extremities; for it is a farre more safe course to pardon, and to vse moderate iustice, with clemency: then to extend the rigor and extremity of the laws. In the kingdom of *Naples* raigned LADISLAVS son to king CHARLES, although not without trouble by those which held for LEWES Duke of *Aniow* (sonne to that LEWES which died in that action as is before declared) who challenged the kingdom of *Naples*, and Queen IOANE's other dominions.

Summum ius, summa iniuria

IOHN GALEAS Viscount, sonne to GALEAS, in those daies made himselfe Lord of all *Lombardy*, by putting his Vncle BARNABY to death by treason, with whom he had in his fathers time diuided the Countrey, in this manner. BARNABY held *Placencia*, *Cremona*, *Parma*, *Lodi*, *Brescia*, *Bergamo* and other places thereto appertaining: and his Nephew IOHN held *Pauia*, *Vercelli*, *Nouarra*, *Tortona*, and the rest between that and the Alps; the City of *Milan* was for them both, conditionally that they should peaceably gouern the same. But as soueraignty can endure no company or equality: so IOHN GALEAS, to make himselfe Lord of the whole, found a meanes in a Castle to seize vpon his Vncle, and father in law, who trusted him as his own sonne, wherein either of poyson or other infirmity he died prisoner: and he made himself Lord of *Milan*, and the other cities, notwithstanding that BARNABY had one sonne called ASTROGIO, and another called CHARLES Viscount, who afterwards troubled his kinsman all that he might. But the ambition and power of IOHN GALEAS rested not here; for as at that time there were warres between ANTHONY *de la Scala* Lord of *Verona* and *Vicenza*, and FRANCIS CARRARA, Lord of *Padoa* and other towns; he in such manner fauored the party of FRANCIS CARRARA, that expelling ANTHONY *de la Scala*, GALEAS took those Townes to himselfe, and possessed the same: and after that he had subuerted the enemy, he bent his Armes against his friend, and besieged FRANCIS CARRARA in *Padoa*: and entring it by force, he took the poore old man prisoner; and so for that time made himselfe Lord of those Cities, and was the most mighty and redoubted man in all *Italie*: so as this was the right and title of the first Dukes of *Milan*: yet vntill that time they were not called Dukes, for this GALEAS was called Earle of *Vertues*, vntill that the Emperor WENCESLAVS gaue him the title of Duke, as hereafter we will declare.

The Lords which were thus deposed, left sonnes behinde them, with whom he afterwards had warres, and many accidents happened, which I must of force relate, for the better vnderstanding of my principall intent: but this for the present shall suffice, to bring that to light whereof we purpose to discourse, which is of the raigne of the Emperour WENCESLAVS, for that it concerneth the state of the Imperiall townes and lands of the Empire in *Germany*, and *Italy*, whereof the Emperour took not such care as he ought to haue done, and cared not to be crowned in *Rome*, neither to come into *Italy*. And as for *Germany*, hee gouerned it with so little order, that the warres betweene the cities of the Empire, and the Dukes of *Wittembergh* ceased not; sundrie Princes fauouring both the one and the other partie, and all the rest was out of order: whereupon they began to consult of deposing him from the Empire, which was afterwards effected; and the Bohemians, which were his owne subiects being much discontented with his gouernment, held him for the space of seuenteene weekes prisoner; and hee being afterwards vpon certaine conditions released, fell to his old manner of liuing; at the end whereof, *viz.* in the yeere of our Lord, one thousand, three hundred, eightie and nine, Pope VRBANE the Sixt died in *Rome*, hauing been so eleuen yeeres, and Cardinall PETER TONACELLOA Neapolitane, was by the Romane Cardinals chosen for his successor, and called BONIFACE the ninth: yet in *Auinion*, CLEMENT the seuenth was held and obeyed for Pope in all *France*.

This BONIFACE vsed such policy, that getting the absolute gouernment of *Rome*, he suppressed the power and liberty of the people; and making officers at his pleasure, fortified the Castle Saint *Angelo* with a garrison, which of long time had lien desert, an habitacle for Goates and other beasts: otherwise he was not greatly commended, for the contention between these two Popes opened the gate to Symony and many other abuses. And Pope BONIFACE afterwards sent a Cardinall Legate to crowne LADISLAVS, King of *Naples*, sonne to King CHARLES who was slaine in *Hungary*: and Pope CLEMENT in *Auinion* a little before gaue the same title to LEWES Duke of *Aniow*, son to the other LEWES his fathers riuall; so as many things passed between these two Princes, which I omit: but King LADIS-

LADISLAVS preuailing in the yeere following Pope BONIFACE his election, Pope CLEMENT died in *Auinion*: and the Cardinals which followed him, chose one PETER *de Luna* a Spanyard to be his successor, a very excellent learned man, if he could haue been restrained from the ambition to haue bin Pope, who was called BENEDICT the thirteenth.

IOHN GALEAS Viscount being of great power, sent the Archbishop of *Milan* for his Ambassadour, to entreate the Emperor to giue him the title of Duke of *Milan*, and to approoue his right thereto: which the Emperor without the consent of the Princes of the Empire graunted, more for the desire of the money, which was presented him, then for any right or reason that might induce him thereto: and all things happened to IOHN GALEAS so well according to his desire, that he came to be one of the most puissant and redoubted Princes in Christendome.

The schisme betweene the two Popes, and the warres in *Italy* and *Germany* in those daies, together with the Emperors basenes and insufficiencie, were the cause why the Emperour and Empire of *Constantinople* could not be relieued or succoured, which at that time were mightily oppressed by BAIAZETH the fourth King of the Turkes; who with a puissant Army comming into *Europe*, ouercame and slew in battaile MARKE DESPOTE of *Bulgaria*, and ouerranne all his countrey: and within three yeeres after, returning into the prouinces of *Grecia*, took and conquered cities and prouinces: and passing forwards marched through all *Walachia*, which in auntient time was called *Dacia*; and so came into *Hungary*, whence he returned with great spoyle, remaining Lord (besides what he held before) of the prouinces of *Macedonia*, of the greatest part of *Thracia*, of *Thessalia*, of the prouince of the auntient *Athens* and other countries; and comming victorious hee besieged the Impeiall citie of *Constantinople*: whereupon SIGISMVND King of *Hungary*, with the aide of his brother the Emperour (but with much more and farre better from sundrie other Christian Princes; chiefly from *England*, and *France*, whither he sent to sue for the same, and also from the Emperour of *Constantinople*) came to seeke the great Turke, with 100000. men, whereof twentie thousand were horsemen: whereof BAIAZETH being aduertised, raised his siege from before *Constantinople*, and with three hundred thousand men came to meete him; and the two Armies vpon Michaelmas day in the yeere of our Lord, one thousand, three hundred, ninety and seuen, fought a bloudy and cruell battaile; wherein the King of *Hungary*, and the other Princes and Nobles which were with him were ouerthrowne, and as it is written a very great slaughter was made of the Christians, through the fault of the French, which charged before their time; and the King of *Hungary*, and the Master of the Order of the Knights of the *Rhodes* escaping by flight, the greatest part of the French were either slain or taken prisoners. After this victory, BAIAZETH returned to the siege of *Constantinople*: at which time if the great TAMORLAN (who was one of the most mighty and most victorious Captains that euer was in the world) had not risen in *Asia*, he had taken the citie, and at that time had wholly subdued the Empire: wherefore hee leauing in *Europe* the best garrisons he could, went to the defense of *Asia*, wherein he was in a battell ouerthrowne and taken, and in TAMORLAN's power died prisoner; which (for that time) brought some rest to Christendome. King SIGISMVND, escaping from this infortunate battell, came vnto *Constantinople*; and from thence sailing vnto the Ile of *Rhodes*, hee came into *Dalmatia* or *Slauonia*.

Baiazeth king of the Turkes came into Europe.

A battaile betweene the King of Hungary and the Turke, wherein the Christians were ouerthrowne.

The great Turke ouerthrowne and taken by the mighty Tamorlan.

In the time of this his peregrination, many of his kingdome of *Hungary* publishing him to be either dead or taken prisoner, aduanced the Colours of LADISLAVS king of *Naples*, proclaiming him king by the right of his father CHARLES, of whom we made mention, and of his death being slaine after his comming into *Hungary*, for which purpose his son was now sent for: but SIGISMVND afterwards appearing, with the aid of the Archbishop of *Strigonium*, and other his friends, recouered his Kingdome; although that afterwards hee was againe imprisoned, and fell into great troubles; the occasion whereof was the malice and hatred which many of his Kingdome bare him, for the cruell execution done in the beginning of his raigne, as then was expressed.

These matters being past, and other which for that they concerne not the history of the Emperors, I ouerpasse; the Princes Electors of the Empire, and the rest, seeing the insufficiencie and little care the Emperour took to suppresse and pacifie the warres and controuersies betweene the cities amongst themselues, and among the Princes; and that he gaue himselfe to his pleasure and vaine delights, by reason whereof hee was little regarded; resolued to meete,

and to depose him, as dangerous, and vnprofitable for the Empire; and to chuse another Emperor; alleaging him to be altogether vnfit for the gouernment; that he desired not, neither sought to be crowned; that he had without reason, order, or equitie giuen the title of Duke to IOHN GALEAS the tyrant of *Milan*; that he had put many men of Sacerdotal order to death, and some prelates; that he was vicious, and no good Christian; that he tooke no care to resist the Turkes; and finally, that he was a man vnprofitable for the Christian Common-wealth; with many other matters which they laid to his charge; and putting their resolution in effect, they met for that purpose in the citie of *Franckford*, in the yeere of our Lord, one thousand, foure hundred, Pope BONIFACE being the chiefest author thereof, who published him for depriued and vnworthy of the Empire, in the 22. yeere of his raigne. During the raigne of this Emperor WENCESLAVS, they began to discusse against the vanitie of the Popes indulgences in the Vniuersity of *Prague* which then flourished. IOHN HVSS a Bohemian, who then was very famous for his learning and pietie, did much oppugne them, saying, that they were meer Impostures. He inueighed against the Popes tyrannie, as the cheef cause thereof, and blamed the auarice, luxurie and pride of the Clergie, reiecting their vowes, impure Celibate superstitions, fictions and all their monasticall life, and whatsoeuer did not agree with the Analogie of faith. These matters were formerly brought in question in *England* by WICKLIFFE about the yeere of our Lord 1372.

But the chiefest cause was for that he fauored the doctrine of Iohn Husse *and* Ierome of Prage, *which then began to take root in Bohemia.*

Here is some difference betweene the authors: for some write that ROBERT whom some call RVPERT, Count Palatine of *Rhine* and Duke of *Bauiere*, was chosen in his place; without making mention of IODOCVS Marques of *Morauia* cosin germane to the Emperor WENCESLAVS (being his fathers brothers sonne) who some say, was chosen before ROBERT, and liued but a little while after: others (which I rather beleeue) say that there was controuersie betweene the Electors; some chusing IODOCVS, and others ROBERT, and that IODOCVS dying, the contention ended. Howsoeuer it was, it is true that IODOCVS lined but six moneths after this election; and of him nothing is written worthie to be recited. So as (according to all writers) ROBERT by common consent, after the decease of IODOCVS, remained sole Emperor; and his election was ratified by Pope BONIFACE. CARION writes, that IODOCVS soone after his election to the Empire, went to visit WENCESLAVS King of *Bohemia*, his cosin germane; who bringing him into a priuate Chamber said vnto him: Although I know that it is not for my dignitie that the Electors haue degraded me, yet it is my comfort that our family hath not lost this honour. I willingly and gladly accept you for my successor. And when as IODOCVS amazed with these words kneeled vnto the King, desiring him not to impute any thing vnto him; Feare not saith he, for neither doe I vnwillingly leaue the Empire, neither would I violate the rights of bloud and consanguinity, if I had a desire to hold it. Be therefore of good cheere and enioy the Empire which is giuen thee; *Bohemia* is sufficient for me; make vse of the power, Armes and wealth of my Kingdome as thine owne, and so he dismist his cosin with ioy. CVSPINIAN in this place maketh mention of one FREDERICK Duke of *Brunswick*, who (as he saith) was also chosen before ROBERT, and was slaine before that he could be crownd, through the treason of a certaine Earle, by the counsell and procurement of the Archbishop of *Mentz*; and that ROBERT was chosen afterwards. I know not what authors he followed therein, for I finde it written by him onely. It sufficeth, that ROBERT, whom the Germanes call RVPERT (WENCESLAVS being deposed) remained Emperor: whereof WENCESLAVS made no great account, for in truth hee that took small care to preserue it, it is no maruell though it grieued him little to lose it; for he contented himselfe with his Kingdome of *Bohemia*, which he enioyed a long time after, and gouerned the same so retchlesly, that his brother SIGISMVND King of *Hungary*, by the consent of his subiects took him once, and another time, and they themselues apprehending him, deliuered him to the custody of ALBERT Duke of *Austria*, who held him for a space prisoner in *Vienna*: whence being afterwards released, he returned to his Kingdome, in possession wherof he afterwards liued nineteene yeeres, and died being of the age of seauen and fiftie (as writeth Pope PIVS QVINTVS, otherwise called ÆNEAS SYLVIVS) without leauing either son or daughter by two wiues to which he was married. And he raigning in *Bohemia*, the religion began to spring, whereof hereafter mention shall be made, which was the ground of that which at this day is professed in *Germany*, and in the greatest part of Christendome, which (as it seemeth) this King fauoured. This was the end of the Emperor WENCESLAVS his Empire.

The Emperor Wencelaus deposed from the Empire.

All this while IOHN PALEOLOGVS raigned in *Constantinople*, who was also called CALOIOANNES; yet BLONDVS is of opinion, that ANDRONICVS, the sonne of this CALOIOANNES, raigned at this time; wherein (as I coniecture) he is deceiued: for the authors which particularly write the liues of the Grecke Emperors, make no mention of ANDRONICVS in this place, but of IOHN CANTACVZENVS, with whom CALOIOANNES contended for the Empire. A little after the depriuing of WENCESLAVS, EMANVEL PALEOLOGVS succeeding his father CALOIOANNES, the Empire of *Constantinople* decayed & came to ruine; for BAIAZETH the great Turke took many prouinces and countries thereof, as we haue already declared: yet it had some rest in those daies, by reason of the calamitie brought vpon the Turkes by the great TAMORLAN; but it continued not long; for TAMORLAN being dead, CALAPIN the son of BAIAZETH, recouered and reformed the Kingdome and Empire of the Turkes, and againe molested and persecuted the Empire of *Greece*, and the Kings of *Hungary*.

THE LIFE OF ROBERT, ONELY OF THAT NAME, AND HVNDRETH AND TENTH ROMANE EMPEROVR.

THE ARGVMENT.

ROBERT, being in the time of Wenceslaus made Emperor, took speedy order to make it knowne to the world, that the dignity was not giuen him for nought, and therefore he caused himself to be crowned: and hauing suppressed the troubles of Germany, he went to be crowned in Italie, and to protect the Florentines against the Duke of Milan; but his coming was no lesse dishonourable than vnprofitable, neither were the Florentine warres, with the Duke of Milan ended, but through the death of the said Duke: for, the Emperor departing without hauing defended them, or without putting their aduersary in any fear, applied himself to the affairs of Germany, wherein he was much troubled about the schisme in the Church of Rome; and desiring to assemble a Councell, the Popes not consenting thereto, he was a long time in doubt: but in the end, resoluing to haue a Councell held in such a place whither both the Popes without suspicion might come, he fell sick and died, in the tenth yeer of his Raign.



THE Emperor WENCESLAVS being in such manner as I said deprined, ROBERT Duke of *Bauiere*, and Count Palatine, was chosen in his place. He was a man of a quick apprehension, little of stature, but of a great spirit, very careful and studious of the Maiesty of the Empire and of the publique affairs, famous for his integrity and iustice, and well practised in Arms. Coming to *Aix* to be crowned, they would not receiue him into the City, pretending that they were yet bound by their oath to WENCESLAVS: wherefore the new Emperor elect, accompanied by the Electors and some other Princes, went to the City of *Colen*, and there was crowned by the Archbishop thereof; and his election and coronation was confirmed and ratified by Pope BONIFACE: and so through all *Germany* he was held and obeyed for Emperor, but not with such obedience and reuerence as some of his Predecessors had been: for, the remisse behauiour and little worth of WENCESLAVS, and the

morgages and sales made by his father CHARLS, had giuen such liberty and exemptions in the territories of the Empire, that the Empire scarcely retained the authority and reputation in the Imperiall countries, and with the Princes of *Germany*, which ought to haue been giuen it. But as ROBERT was a wise and prudent Prince, and of himself very mighty and of great power, so in the tenne yeers which he raigned, he made a great reformation in all matters, and settled the best order that was possible, aswell in the controuersies and warres which were in *Germany*, as in the execution of iustice and good gouernment.

Italie was then on fier with warre and factions; in the kingdom of *Naples* LADISLAVS the sonne of CHARLES before named, with the aide of Pope BONIFACE, warred against those which held for LEVVES Duke of *Aniow*, soone to the other LEVVES who held some Cities and Townes in that kingdome, with the title which he inherited from his father, and from Queene IOANE, being inuested in that kingdome by CLEMENT 7. who in *Auinion* was called Pope: And LADISLAVS his power encreasing, hee in the end preuailed.

The most powerfull man in all the rest of *Italie*, was IOHN GALEAS Viscount Duke of *Milan*, who (as I said) was an haughty minded man; who not contented to be Duke and Lord of so great estates, and of so many Cities as he was, thought to haue been a King, yea an Emperour and Lord of all *Italie*; and at that time made cruell warre against the Florentines, who only durst and were able to make head against him, they being assisted by the sonnes of BARNABY who had been tyrant of *Milan*; and by the sonnes of those which had beene tyrannes or Gouernours of *Padoa*, whom hee had deposed, and others which hee had wronged and dispossessed; and by many others which did stand in feare to bee dealt withall in the like manner.

Matters standing in these tearmes, and the Election and Coronation of the Emperor ROBERT being published, the Florentines sent Ambassadors to entreate and to perswade him (for seeing he was Emperour he was bound thereto) to come into *Italie*, to free the Countrey from so cruell and pernicious a tyrant, as was Duke IOHN of *Milan* (who had vsurped so many townes of the Empire, and of the Church) and therewith offered to giue him towards his charges the summe of two hundred thousand Florines, whereof one hundred thousand presently in hand, and the rest the first day that he should enter into the Tyrant Dukes countrey with his Army; wherein they would assist him with the greatest power they were able to make both of foote and horse. These Ambassadors being arriued in *Germany*, they were very well entertained by the Emperor, who presently accepting their offer and seruice, promised to come into *Italie*, aswel for the enterprise of *Milan*, as to be crowned in *Rome*: and he therupon presently began to prouide all things necessary for his iourney.

The Duke of *Milan* hauing intelligence hereof, little regarded the deuices and policies which his predecessors had vsed with former Emperors, seeking by their Ambassadors to procure peace with them, and to obtain their grace and fauour, to beare themselues as their vassails and subiects; but he as a mighty absolute Lord, with great resolution mustered vp his men, and prouided armour and Artillery (which then was in vse) and all things else needefull for the warre: so that great preparation was made of both sides; and all *Italy* and *Germany* were very attentiue to see the euent of this great action. The Emperor stayed longer then he, of those which expected his comming, thought he would haue done: for hauing resolued to come in the beginning of the yeere 1401, he came to *Trent* (which is at the entry into *Italy*) in the end of haruest following, accompanied by the Duke of *Austria*, the Archbishop of *Colein*, and some other Princes, with many Captaines of *Germany* and *Italy*. And to performe the conditions made with the Florentines, he came with his Army within sight of *Brescia*, which held for the Duke of *Milan*: but the Duke had in that City, and the marches thereof, so many good men of warre to make head against him, that they feared not to offer him battaile; and the Dukes Cauallerie were such excellent good horse-men, that in all skirmishes and encounters whersoeuer they met, they had the aduantage of the Germanes, and slew many of them: and they one day comming to ioyne with their whole forces in a battaile, the Emperour and his Army were ouerthrown, neere to the Lake of *Benaco*, now called *Garda*: and being thus broken, hee retired to *Trent*, where he stood in great doubt and perplexity, to thinke whither he should returne into *Germany*, or reinforce his Army to returne into *Italie*; where the Duke of *Austria* and the Archbishop of *Colein* leauing him returned home, wherewith the Emperor was so grieued as he was ready to haue done the like; but perswaded by FRANCIS CARRARA, the sonne of CAR-

he Emperor obert ouer- rown in Italy the Duke of ilan.

RARA the tyrant of *Padoa*, and by other Italian Captaines: and thinking it a shame for him to returne without further tryall of his fortune, he went with his Army (which he had reinforced) as farre as *Trinigi*, and thence to *Padoa*; where by meanes of CARRARA he was receiued; whither came to him foure Ambassadours from the Florentins, being of the chiefe of the City: who also sent two Captaines with certain troupes of horse and foote; one of which (as saith BLONDVS) was SFORZA ATENDVLO, who afterwards was an excellent and very famous captain, and was father to that FRANCIS SFORZA which was one of the best captains in the world, and afterwards duke of *Milan*.

This SSORZA ATENDVLO was borne in a village called *Catiniola*, of meane parentage and very poore. With these Ambassadors ROBERT had long treaties, concluding that the Duke of *Milan* was of such power, that neither he nor they had forces sufficient to ruine him, or to expell him out of his estate: wherefore he held it best for him to return, and that they should seek new aid and relief: besides this he demanded so great a sum of money for the payment of his souldiers, that it seemed not to be raised.

The Florentines fearing their ruine if the Emperour should abandon them and returne, they left no meanes to detaine him: wherefore two of the Ambassadours returned in post to *Florence*, to conferre with their citizens about this matter; and the other two remained with the Emperour: who for that it was winter, and no fit time to make warre (hauing a great desire to see that citie) went to *Venice*, where he was most sumptuously entertained. The Florentines in the meane time hauing heard their Ambassadours, resoluing what answere they would make to the Emperour, determined to procure the friendship of the Venecians, and to make a league with them, and with the Pope, and to giue the Emperour great aide of men and money: herewith the Ambassadours returned to *Venice*, relating to him the resolution of their citizens. The Emperour complained of them to the Venecians, for that they had not giuen him that money which they had promised: and they excusing themselues, alleaged that he came not with such power as was requisite, neither had entred the territorie of *Milan*. Finally, many treaties and speeches passed, as well with the Emperor as the Duke of *Milans* Ambassadours, who came thither to defend their cause before the Venecians; the Florentines still insisting to stay the Emperour in *Italy*; who giuing them sometimes hope, and sometimes making the matter doubtfull, came from *Venice* to *Padoa*, where he lay all the rest of the winter: and the moneth of Aprill being come, in the yeere of our Lord 1402, in the third yeere of his raigne, he perceiuing that the Venecians would be but lookers on, and newters, and would not helpe the Florentines; and that LADISLAVS King of *Naples* had enough to doe with LEVVES of *Aniow*, and that Pope BONIFACE (notwithstanding that the Duke of *Milan* had taken many townes from him) durst not attempt ought against him; he resolued with himself to returne into *Germany*, and did so, although with losse of reputation: whereby it appeared that the Empire was not of such power as in former times; whereat the Florentines were much grieued, and vsed all possible meanes to haue staied him. And although I shall make some digression, yet I will declare what end the war betweene the Duke of *Milan* and the Florentines had, and how it was interrupted by the death of the said Duke.

The Emperour being departed out of *Italy*; the Duke of *Milan* resolued presently to effect his desires, and to make himselfe Lord of *Florence*; sending his Generall, called ALBERICO Earle of *Cuno*, with all the force which hee had leuied to make head against the Emperour, to assault *Bologna*, which was gouerned by IOHN BENTIVOGLIO, a friend and confederate with the Florentines. And with the Dukes Army went the Marquess of *Montoa*, his friend and confederate, and PANDOLPHO MALATESTA Lord of *Arimino*. The Florentines to the reliefe of BENTIVOGLIO, sent their best Captaines and men of warre, amongst which was FRANCIS CARRARA the son of FRANCIS CARRARA Lord of *Padoa*. BENTIVOGLIO herewith and with his owne forces tooke the field, with a resolution to fight with the Duke of *Milans* power, which refused not the same: wherein, IOHN BENTIVOGLIO and his partakers being ouerthrowne, he escaped by flight, and the CARRARI were taken prisoners: and ALBERICO presently besieging the citie of *Bologna*, and battering it in many parts, by one of which some of his men, by the permission of some within the citie began to enter; but BENTIVOGLIO resoluing to die honourably Lord of *Bologna*, charged those which were entred, and fought with such obstinacie, that being vnknowne hee was there slaine, and cut in pieces. Being knowne that he was dead, the citie without any more resistance was entred, and so the Duke of *Milan* had that citie.

Bologna taken by the Duke of Milan.

This

This victory ſtrake ſuch a feare into the Florentines, that they holding themſelues for loſt, would haue accepted any conditions of peace, had they been neuer ſo hard; and ſent to deſire the Venecians to purchaſe the ſame for them: but the Duke of *Milan*, which now aſſured himſelf to be Lord of *Florence*, refuſing to hear them, commanded his Army to march forwards: and being in the height of his greatnes, that God which onely is able, and vſeth to abate mens pride, meaſured his ambitious thoughts; for, hee was ſuddenly taken with a peſtilent Feuer, whereof within fewe daies after he died: and notwithſtanding that his death was kept ſecret, yet it was ſoon diſcouered, and the Florentines were freed from the great fear of the ſeruitude which they expected. I knowe well that I haue ſpent much time about this man: but I doo it for that it is a notable matter to ſee to what great power this Duke tyrannically, in deſpight of Kings and Emperors which were his aduerſaries, attained; and for as much as hee was a ſubject of the Empire, whereof this Hiſtory is, it may bee ſaid to be of the ſubſtance of the ſame Hiſtory.

This Prince IOHN GALEAS Viſcount, Duke of *Milan*, was tall of ſtature, of a faire and comely aſpect, indifferently well ſeen in the liberall Arts and Sciences, very well ſpoken, of a quick and ſharp wit, hardy and valiant in Arms, and therewith very politick and ſubtile in his actions: but he was ſo ambitious and deſirous to raign and command, that to attain thereto, he ſetting aſide the feare of God, made no queſtion to attempt any means, juſt or vniuſt whatſoeuer, ſo he might obtain his purpoſes; which were ſo many and ſuch, that I cannot deſcribe them. It is certain that he acquired much of what he deſired: for, before his death hee was Lord of nine and twenty Cities in *Italy*; which were, *Milan, Pauia, Monſrigal, Nouarra, Bercelli, Alba, Aqui, Alexandria, Tortona, Drobio, Placencia, Parma, Rezzo, Bologna, Piſa, Siena, Maſſa, Groſſeto, Cluſio, Perugia, Aſti, Nocera, Lodi, Feltro, Vicenza, Verona, Breſcia, Bergamo, Como, Cremona* and *Crema*, beſides the Towns and Caſtles ſubiect and appertaining to theſe Cities, which were very many. He died in the month of Nouember, in the yeer of our Lord one thouſand, foure hundred and two.

Cities ſubiect to the Duke of Milan.

The death of Iohn Galeas Viſcount, duke of Milan.

This mighty Duke left two ſonnes behinde him, the eldeſt of which was called IOHN MARIA Viſcount; and the other, PHILIP MARIA Viſcount: to the elder he left by his Teſtament the title of Duke, and the City of *Milan*, with all the Towns and Cities within the iuriſdiction thereof; and out of it the Cities of *Bologna, Siena, Perugia* and *Aſti*. To his ſecond ſon PHILIP he left the Cities of *Pauia, Verona, Vicenza*, and other places: and to a baſtard ſonne, whoſe name was GABRIEL, he left the City of *Piſa*. Which diuiſion made to his ſons was imputed vnto him for a great ouerſight, and was after very preiudiciall to that eſtate: for, the two brothers diſagreeing, it came to decay and ruine; for they were ſo yong, that the eldeſt of them was but fifteen yeers old; ſo as there preſently beganne factions and partakings between them and the widow Ducheſſe their mother-in-law, and their kinred and fauourites, about the gouernment and command. Finally (for that it would bee long to relate) the matter grew to that iſſue, that as ſoon as the diſcord was knowne to be between the heads, all the members became ſo out of order, as the greateſt part of the Cities roſe and rebelled againſt the Duke; ſome with thoſe which firſt held them, and others with the new Captains and Tyrants: ſo as what in the time of the Duke was held for the greateſt euill (which was, To bee ſubiect to one) ſeemed afterwards to be the leaſt, by reaſon of the multitude of Tyrants, and the warre and great diſcord which enſued: for, in *Cremona* aroſe VGOLINO CAVALCABO, and PANDVLPHO MALATESTA with *Breſcia* and *Berga*; PHILIP ARCELLANO in *Placencia*; PAVLO GVITTIGI with *Luca*; FACINO CANE with *Vercelli*, *Alexandria*, and other places; the SVARDI in *Bergamo*; FOGLIANO RISCONE in *Como*; GIANINO VENATESE in *Lodi*; GEORGE BENZONE in *Crema*; OTHO VITALE in *Parma*: and others ſought to do the like in other places; as, the CARRARESI & thoſe of *Scala* ſought to make themſelues Lords of *Verona* and *Padoa*: in ſuch ſort, that the ſtate of IOHN MARIA, the new Duke of *Milan*, was in great combuſtion and danger; and what did moſt hurt, was his owne tyrannicall condition: for he (as a proud cruell boy) beheaded ſundry of the chief men of that Country. He alſo apprehended his mother, and committed many other inſolencies, which in the end coſt him his life: whereof being reprehended by a ſeruant and fauourite of his, which told him that he was vnlike to his Anceſtors, he yeelded a reaſon anſwerable to his actions, willing him to let him alone; for, that houſe or family could not be accounted excellent or famous which produced not men of all conditions. Thus, what the father had gotten by his valour and policy, the ſonne loſt by his weaknes and cruelty: for, beſides the aboue-named Townes which

which were vſurped by other Lords, the Pope recouered *Bolonia, Aſſiſia* and *Perugia*: the Florentines bought *Piſa*. They of *Sienna* hauing ſlaine CORREGIO their Gouernour, recouered their liberty, being ſubiect to cruell ſeditions. Neither did the Venecians forget themſelues in theſe combuſtions; but extended their power as farre as *Friuli* and *Iſtria*. NOVVEL CARARIVS the ſon of FRANCIS who had fled into *Bauaria* when his father was taken, hauing now recouered *Padoua* with the aſſiſtance of the Venecians; being vnmindfull of their fauours, he ſought to ſupplant them: and hauing perſwaded WILLIAM SCALIGER to ſeize vpon *Verona*, being his familiar friend, and one who had aſſiſted him both with counſell and Armes, he poiſoned him to get *Verona*, and afterwards cauſed his ſons ANTHONY and BRVNO to be trecherouſly murthered. He alſo attempted *Vincentia*: but they hating his tyrannie craued protection from the Venecians, who imbracing this occaſion, tooke Armes againſt him, beſieged him in *Padoua*, and in the end forced him to yeeld; ſo as he with two of his ſons were ſtrangled by the Venecians. By this victory they got *Padoua, Verona, Vincentia*, with other Townes.

But PHILIP, his ſucceſſor, reuenged his brothers death and expelled ſome of the tyrants, he recouered *Bergamo* and *Breſcia*; hauing chaſed away MALATESTA, and *Lodi*, by the taking and hanging of VENATESE. He got *Placentia* and ſlew ſome of the ARCELANI and baniſhed the reſt. He caſt FRANCHINO RVSCA out of *Como*: with a promiſe of reward, he got *Cremona* hauing taken GAB. FVNDVLI, neglecting thoſe which lay farther off. Let this ſuffice for his eſtate, and now to our purpoſe.

The Emperour ROBERT going into *Germany* (as is before ſaid) applied himſelf to the pacifying thereof: for beſides the antient controuerſies betweene the cities (as before is ſpecified) in thoſe daies many great men in *Hungary* through the old harred which they long before had conceiued againſt SIGISMVND their King, for the cruell execution which he cauſed to be done in the beginning of his raigne, rebelled againſt him, and they apprehending him committed him in a Caſtle to the cuſtodie of a widow and her two ſonnes, whoſe father he had put to death. SIGISMVND being thus priſoner, they ſent to LADISLAVS King of *Naples* to come and take poſſeſſion of that Kingdome, to whom it belonged: who although hee was not throughly confirmed in the Kingdome of *Naples*, yet moued with an ambitious deſire to raigne and to commaund, he made the greateſt haſte thither that he could; and leauing *Naples* he came into *Slauonia*, where, in a citie ſubiect to the Kingdome of *Hungary*, he was crowned and proclaimed King: but in the meane time SIGISMVND vſed ſuch meanes with the widow and her ſonnes, that they releaſed him out of priſon; and being at liberty, with the aide of his friends and many others which he reduced to his ſeruice, he recouered his Kingdom: and LADISLAVS being thereof aduertiſed, without proceeding any further (his hope and purpoſe failing him) returned to his Kingdome of *Naples*: but before his departure, in requitall of his good entertainment, he ſold to the Venecians that citie wherein he was harboured. For all theſe matters (as it appeareth by the hiſtories) his brother WENCESLAVS King of *Bohemia* and depoſed Emperour, took little care; for he had enough to doe to hold himſelfe in his Kingdome; and as little is written of what the Emperour ROBERT did herein, or in the cruell warres betweene the Swiſſers and the Duke of *Auſtria*, the originall and iſſue whereof were long to be related. It ſeems he was otherwiſe buſied in the Empires affairs; whereof, ſeeing it was in peace, no notable matter is written; and matters of ſmall importance are not worth reading: for certainely although it be the bleſſing of God to liue in peaceable times, and vnder the rule of good kings and princes for the time preſent, yet the hiſtories of them after their death are nothing delightful: and commonly men take more pleaſure in reading of battailes, alterations of kingdoms, the falles of Kings and their eſtates, then in hiſtories of peace, iuſtice, and quiet times: and this is the reaſon why bookes of lies and fables are read with ſuch delight, for that they are full of ſuch fained accidents and aduentures. True it is that thoſe times were not without matters worthie to be related: but foraſmuch as they concerne not the Emperour, I am not to write them in this hiſtory.

The Emperour ROBERT raigning in peace in *Germany*, in the fift yeere of his raigne Pope BONIFACE died in *Rome*, in the yeere of our Lord 1404: and he being dead the Cardinall of S. *Croſs* was choſen & called INNOCENT the Seuenth, who before was called COSMO; BENEDICT the Thirteenth liuing ſtill in *Auinion*. Before that INNOCENT was choſen, all the Cardinals ſware and promiſed, that whether ſoeuer of them ſhould happen to be made Pope, he ſhould doe his beſt endeuour to end the ſchiſme in the Church; and this INNOCENTIVS ſware the ſame: but after that he was Pope, he vſed no ſuch care therein as was expected.

The

The Emperor ROBERT, for that he was otherwiſe buſied in *Germanie*, or elſe through want of men or money, or both, could not or would not come into *Italy* at that time: whereto if he had had means, occaſion was offred him to haue recouered to the Empire the Cities which the Duke of *Milan* and others had vſurped, by reaſon of the warres and great troubles which were among them in thoſe daies: but (as I haue already ſaid) the power and authority of the Emperors (for the cauſes before mentioned) was ſo much weakned, that they could not prouide for all parts; but the Venecians, taking the benefit of the time, made themſelues Lords of *Padoa*, *Verona* and *Vicenza*, with their confines; who before that time held not any City of importance in the main Land of *Italy*: and ſo they wholly extinguiſhed the houſes and eſtates of the CARRARI and of *Scala*, which of long time had been Lords of *Padoa*, *Verona*, and other Townes. The Florentines at this time bought the City of *Piſa*, of GABRIEL the baſe ſonne of Duke GALEAS of *Milan*; who, after that he had been Lord thereof the ſpace of three yeers, being vnable to hould it, ſould the ſame: and the Piſans to defend their liberty, and for the hatred which they bare to the Florentines, reſolued (although in vain) to ſhake off the yoke of ſubiection. Whereupon, the Florentines beſieging them, through famine, and by the treaſon of one IOHN SHORTLEG, took the City, which in former time had been of very great power, and was now made a ſlaue and ſubiect to the Florentines, as it is at this day: ſuch is the weaknes and inſtability of the power and eſtates of this world.

Piſa taken by the Florentines.

Pope INNOCENT the Seuenth being dead, all the Cardinals, before the election of a new Pope, made a ſolemn vow, that he which ſhould be choſen ſhould endeauour to cauſe BENEDICT the Thirteenth, who was in *Auinion*, to renounce the Papacy; and that BENEDICT doing ſo, he that was choſen ſhould do the like, to the end that the ſchiſm in the Church might ceaſe, and that another ſhould be choſen: this was held the fitteſt mean to end the ſchiſm. After this ſolemn oath, one ANGELO CORARIA, Cardinall of Saint MARK, a Venecian, was choſen, and called GREGORY the Twelfth; who, as ſoon as he was choſen, confirmed the oath which he before had made: whereupon a meeting was procured to bee had between theſe two Popes, to the end that they both together ſhould haue renounced the Papacy, and that another might be choſen; and many Letters & meſſengers were ſent, and they both made ſhew to be willing thereto. But they could not agree vpon the place of meeting: yet in the end *Sauona* was appointed; and one Pope came from *Rome* to *Luca*, and the other from *Auinion* to *Genoa*: but they alleaging many friuolous reaſons, neither of them came to *Sauona*; whereby it plainely appeared that they had no meaning by their reconciliation to end the ſchiſme. The Cardinals of either ſide lying neere together, and perceiuing that neither of theſe two Popes had any meaning to renounce the Papacie, or to performe what they both had ſworne, by Letters and meſſages paſſing betweene them agreed to meete together, to call a general Councell, to denie obedience to them both, and to chuſe a new Pope.

The affairs of the Church being in this confuſion, the power and authoritiy of both Popes decreaſed, eſpecially of BENEDICT the Antipope, *France* denying him obedience; who, finding no ſafety in *Auignon*, went into *Arragon*, where he was obeyed: and afterwards he retired himſelf vnto *Buiſcaie*, where he continued in his hardnes of heart vntill he died; GREGORY alſo going from *Rome*, and the Cardinals repairing to the Councell. LADISLAVS king of *Naples* had an intent during this diſcord to make himſelf Lord of *Rome*; and with ſuch forces as he could draw together, he went thither and ſeiſed thereon, with the help and fauour of the Colonneſi; the which he held certain daies: during the which there were skirmiſhes and murders; but the Vrſini being in the end the ſtronger, he retired into his Kingdome.

A councell held at Piſa.

27 Cardinals meeting altogether in *Piſa*, after many diſputations a Councel was aſſembled, wherein met three Patriarches and 180. Archbiſhops and Biſhops: the concluſion was, that the two Popes were cited to come to this Councell: whereto BENEDICT who was in *Auinion*, anſwered, that the queſtion was between him and Pope GREGORY, whether of them two ſhould be Pope: wherefore they could not, neither did it appertaine to them to determine the cauſe; and that he marueiled at their preſumption in attempting the ſame. Pope GREGORY alſo ſent them word that they well knew him to be right Pope and canonically choſen; and therefore they neither could nor ought to call a Councell without his authority, for it appertained vnto him, and that he would not haue it held in *Piſa*, but in ſome other place; and that they were bound to go to that place which he ſhould appoint, which was to *Aquileia*, whither hee went. About this controuerſie the Emperor ROBERT ſummoned a Diet to be held in *Frankford*; whither came a Cardinall from Pope GREGORY, and another from the Councel held in

in *Piſa*, each defending his cauſe; and Pope GREGORIE deſired that ſome other place might be appointed, but not *Piſa*. Finally, after many conteſtations, the Emperour yeelding to the opinion of many learned men, and holding with Pope GREGORY, affirmed that he onely had authoritie to call the Councell, and to appoint the place: But notwithſtanding the Emperours opinion, the Councell of *Piſa*, holding neither GREGORY nor BENEDICT for Popes, choſe a Franciſcan Frier called PETER, Cardinal and Archbiſhop of *Milan*, who took to name ALEXANDER the Fift. This being done, thither came LEWES Duke of *Aniow* and Earle of *Prouence* (riuall and competitor with LADISLAVS King of *Naples*) who acknowledging ALEXANDER for Pope, was by him inueſted: and ALEXANDER gaue him the title to the Kingdom of *Naples* againſt LADISLAVS, who took Pope GREGORIE's part. The ſchiſme for all this ceaſed not, but encreaſed: for in lieu of two Popes now there were three, and each of them held his court apart, and had Cardinals, and many followers; but the new choſen Pope had the greateſt and ſtrongeſt partie: and Pope GREGORY wandring vp and downe remained for a ſpace in *Gaeta*, (for LADISLAVS King of *Naples* was his friend) but in the end he came to *Arimino*, where CHARLES MALATESTA Lord of that citie harboured him; he there continuing vntill the Councell of *Conſtance*. Pope ALEXANDER went to *Bologna*; but within eight moneths after his election he died in the ſame citie; and the Cardinals which were with him aſſembling in their Conclaue in the ſame citie, choſe BALTHASAR COSSA, a Neapolitane and Cardinall of S. *Euſtace*, who was called IOHN the 24. which Election was by ſome held for violent and forced; for this BALTHASAR being a Captaine in the warres, and Gouernour of *Bologna*, had the commaund of men of warre and was of great power: but yet in the end he was by the greateſt part of *Italy* held for Pope; and ſo were GREGORY and BENEDICT alſo in the places where they liued; by reaſon whereof all Chriſtendome was diuided into three factions. The Emperour ROBERT being herewith diſcontent, and deſiring a redreſſe, procured that a generall Councell might be held by the conſent and authoritie of all thoſe three which were called Popes; which afterwards in the time of his ſucceſſor SIGISMVND was accompliſhed. But he hauing begun this worke was within few daies after ſurpriſed by death, in the tenth yeere of his raigne, in the yeere of our Lord 1410, leauing the ſchiſme and diuiſion in the Church as before. This Emperour had ſix ſonnes, the eldeſt of which, ROBERT and FREDERICK died before their father, ſo as when he died there remained IOHN, LEWES, STEPHEN, and OTHO, which had diuers titles, and poſſeſſed ſundrie eſtates.

The death of the Emperor Robert.

EMANVEL held the Empire of *Conſtantinople* in little proſperitie, aſwell by meanes of the warres with the Turkes, as other troubles and diſorders in that Empire. In his time MAHVMET ſonne of CALAPIN was king of the Turkes: who in the beginning, and before that EMANVEL was Emperor, came into *Europe* and warred in *Walachia*; but the reſt of his time he ſpent in *Aſia* in recouering that which TAMORLAN had taken from his grandfather BAIAZETH.

In his time IOHN HVSSE began to be of ſuch credit and reputation in *Bohemia*, that hee drawing many to be of his opinion, threw down the Images in Churches, denied Purgatorie, the ſacrament of Confeſſion, the Popes power, his Indulgences and pardons, Dirges and praying for the dead; praying to our Lady and to Saints; and held many other opinions which at this day are maintained in the greateſt part of Chriſtendome.



THE LIFE OF SIGISMVND, ONELY OF THAT NAME, AND HVNDRETH AND ELEVENTH ROMAN EMPEROR.

(*,*)

THE ARGVMENT.

Sigismund *King of Hungary, after the decease of the Emperour* Robert, *was chosen Emperour, whose election was very gratefull, for that he was a man of great expectation. He being confirmed, procured a Councell to be held in Constance, to cease the Schisme which had continued many yeeres: but it behoued him to deferre it for a time, by reason of the warres betweene the Pope and the King of Naples, who had taken Rome. But* Ladislaus *being dead, the Councell was assembled, whither the Emperour himselfe came in person: in which Councell* Iohn Husse *and* Jerome *of* Prague *were condemned and burned. The two Popes* Gregory *and* Iohn *renounced the Papacie, but the third (which was* Benedict*) would not, so as the Emperour going in person to procure him to renounce it, could not prevaile; for* Benedict *was resolued to dye with that title, notwithstanding that hee was deprived by the Councell; and that all the Princes Christian, together with his best friend the King of* Arragon *(seeing his obstinacie) reiected him. The Councell being dissolued, the Emperour went to pacifie the troubles in Bohemia, and to suppresse the followers of* Iohn Husse; *but he neither by peace nor war could effect the same: and the Papists being (as all times memorably ouerthrowne, the Bohemians could neuer be subdued by force of Armes. But in the end* Sigismund *was receiued as King of Bohemia: and the Councell of Basil hauing decreed, concerning the opinions of the Bohemians, the Emperour vpon the way going into Hungarie died in Zenopa; when he had raigned 37. yeeres.*

THe Emperour Robert being dead and buried, the Princes Electors (according to their custome) met to chuse a new Emperor in the citie of *Franckford:* which being made knowne to Pope Iohn, he (with a desire to shew the authoritie of a Pope, to corie fauour, and to get aide against king Ladislavs, who would haue made himselfe Lord of *Rome*) sent his Legate to entreate them to make choise of Sigismvnd king of *Hungary*: truly his request was reasonable, for he was a prince in that time, for his wisdome and valour besides his other gifts of nature much esteemed: for he was tall of stature, very well proportioned, of a milde aspect, very discreet and aduised, of a pleasing conuersation, and aboue all most bountifull: and in conclusion such a one as was needfull for the present time. The Ambassadours from Iohn who was called Pope, were ioyfully heard by the Electors; and all *Germany* fixed their eyes vpon Sigismvnd, as well for his merits, as for that he was a mighty King, and son to the Emperour Charles the Fourth; so as by common consent he was chosen Emperour; and comming from *Hungary* to *Aken*, he was there crowned with the accustomed solemnity: and his raigne was afterwards very long, and so shall I be in writing his historie.

Sigismund *chosen Emperour.*

When

When Pope Gregory *in Arimino*, and Pope Iohn *in Bologna* were aduertised of his Election, they sent him their Ambassages and approbations, either of them attributing the authority to himselfe: but Sigismvnd by reason of particular former friendship, seeming to incline to Pope Iohn more then to any of the others, presently began by messengers to treate with him concerning the calling of a generall Councell, for the suppressing of the Schisme: touching the appointing of the place, there was some question, but the Emperor appointed the city of *Constance*, whither (as all men thought) all those which were called Popes, were bound to goe, there to make their renunciations. And for as much as the most of the Townes and Cities in *Italy* held Iohn for Pope; and also for that Ladislavs King of *Naples* sought to haue vsurped *Rome*, and all the Church lands and goods, and in effect, though not in name, vnder colour of taking Pope Gregories part, to make himselfe Emperor; Pope Iohn departing from *Rome*, sent against him Levves Duke of *Anion*, called king of *Naples*, Pavl Vrsim, Sforza, and other Captains and souldiers, with the aide of the Florentines which were his friends. These joyning in battaile with Ladislavs, ouerthrew him: but they following not the victory, Ladislavs gathered his men together, and leuied so many others, that Pope Iohn (being then in *Rome*) was glad to make peace with him; and Ladislavs sent to yeeld him obedience: but as it appeareth fainedly, for within few daies after he came vnder color of other occasions with an Army into the territory of *Rome*, and entred the City by force; and Pope Iohn hauing no power to make head against him, fled to *Florence*; so as the King was lodged in *Rome* with as great state as if he had been Lord thereof, which strake a great feare into the Florentines and their confederats. To Pope Iohn being then in Florence, the Emperor sent another Ambassage about the generall Councell; and the Pope sent two Cardinals Legats to the Emperor, concluding the Councel should be held in *Constance*, and begin the first of November, *An.* 1402: which for some occasion was deferred, but yet the Emperor neuer left to procure the same.

The State of *Milan* and *Lombardy* was not in peace in those daies, for there were great wars between the tyrants which were therein, of which I haue named some; but Facino Cane was of greatest power, for hee held *Alexandria*, *Bercelli*, *Tortona*, and *Nouarra*, and found the meanes vnder the title and name of Gouernor to Philip Viscount brother to the Duke of *Milan*, to get into *Pauia*; and being possessed of that City, he kept yong Philip in poore estate in the Forresse: vnder the same pretext he afterwards made cruell warres against the other tyrants and cities which were his aduersaries. At the same time the Emperour Sigismvnd sent a Captain with a good number of souldiers to make warre vpon the Venecians, wherein (as saith Sabellicvs) hapned many notable aduentures: but for as much as he sheweth not the cause of this warre, I hold it fit to come to matters of greater importance, concerning the Emperors comming into *Italie*; before which, in the yeer 1412, Facino Cane dying, he left neither son nor daughter to succeede him but his wife, who was his heire. At that time, Iohn Maria Duke of *Milan*, by reason of his cruelties and bad conditions was slaine by his own seruants and familiars: and those which slew him taking the City, made Astrogio Viscount, son to Barnaby Viscount, whom the mighty Iohn Galeas father of this Iohn Maria, to haue the dominion of *Milan*, put to death by treason (being his Vncle) as is before declared: which the other brother Philip (who was in *Pauia*, and now of age and of power to execute any great attempt) vnderstanding, he by the counsell of his friends tooke the widow of Facino Cane to wife, notwithstanding that she was much older then himself: by which marriage, besides *Pauia* which was his own, he made himselfe Lord of those Towns which Facino Cane had possessed. His power and courage herewith encreasing, he resolued to see if he could get *Milan* and the rest, which his father and his brother had enioyed, and thereupon went presently thither; Astrogio not hauing yet gotten the Forresse, for it defended it selfe against him: so as hauing intelligence with some within the City, and assisted by certain captains which had serued Facino Cane, he entred *Milan*, and expelling Astrogio, suddenly made himselfe Duke; and in processe of time hauing good successe was a great and very redoubted prince, of whom we will sometimes make mention.

John Maria Duke of Milan slaine.

These matters before spoken of, together with the tyranny & power of king Ladislavs of *Naples* (*Italy* being out of order) were the causes why the Councell appointed to be held in *Constance* took not such effect as the Emperor Sigismvnd desired: for Pope Iohn, who had appointed the same, durst not goe out of *Italie*, leauing his competitor Gregorie and the King of *Naples* with such power behind him: wherfore the Emperor resolued to come

thither, to make some conclusion with Pope IOHN concerning the Councell, and to assist him against the king of *Naples*, to the end that the Councel might be the more commodiously held, which he presently put in execution: and as the countrie was diuided into factions and partialities, some were glad of his comming, and some were sorie. The Pope being certified thereof came from *Florence* to *Bologna*, and thence to *Placentia*, whither came the Emperour, where they two met and staied a moneth. But what forces the Emperour brought with him, in what manner they were receiued into those cities, or what happened in peace or war, is not distinctly written, but that he was in *Lodi* and in *Cremona*, and afterwards in *Manton*; where the Marques gaue him most sumptuous entertainement. In these places they treated of the recouerie of the citie of *Rome*, and other places which were vsurped by the King of *Naples*; which seemed very expedient to be done, to the end the Councell might be held: and on the other side it seemed that the matter ought to be deferred, *considering the Kings great power, with whom* the Florentines at that time (more for feare then for any good will) had made peace, and (to the end that he should draw his forces out of their frontiers) were to giue him a great summe of money: for which Pope IOHN was very sorie, for this made his warre more doubtfull. But that feare was soone ouer-past: for LADISLAVS feeling himselfe sick, went to *Naples*, and there died Lord of *Rome* and of all the territorie thereof, besides his kingdome of *Naples*. When he died, he left neither son nor daughter, and but one sister whose name was IOANE, which presently succeeded him in his Kingdome: in whose little time, and after her death in that kingdome, were great wars and combustions about the succession. LADISLAVS being dead, the citizens of *Rome*, crying Libertie, submitted themselues to Pope IOHN, and so did the most part of the other townes; and he sent his Legates to them; for Pope GREGORY although he had a better title, yet he had not so great power to doe it: for hee with his Cardinals liued poorely in *Arimino*: yet some Princes and people acknowledged him.

A parle betwixt the Pope and the Emperor.

Pope IOHN, hauing taken the best order for his busines that he could in *Italy*, resolued to go to the Councell in *Germany*, whither the Emperour to make prouision of all things necessary (hauing already proclaimed the Councel in all parts of Christendome) was already gone: so as after the comming of Pope IOHN and the Bishops, Prelates, and Ambassadours from Christian Princes, into *Germany*, the generall Councell (according to the appointment) began in *Constance*, vpon the first day of Nouember in the yere 1414. Yet in the beginning of the Councell there came no Ambassadours from IOHN King of *Castile* nor from FERDINAND king of *Arragon*, for that they obeyed BENEDICT, who was gone from *Auignon* into *Arragon*: yet afterwards they sent their Ambassadors. The first Session thereof was vpon the sixteenth day of Nouember the same yeere: and so began this Councell, which continued three yeeres, and was one of the greatest and most solemne, and wherein were the greatest number of Princes, Ambassadours and Prelates, that euer was held by the Church of *Rome*: for writers affirme that with the Emperor, and with the other Princes, Prelates, and Ambassadours, there came 40000. persons. What matters passed, and what was decreed and done in that Councel, plainly appeareth in an Instrument which at this day is extant; the summe of that (which is to our purpose) is this;

The Councell of Constance.

That vpon Christmas euen ensuing after the Councell began, the Emperor accompanied by the Dukes of *Saxony* and of *Wittembergh*, and other Princes, came to *Constance*, where he was solemnly receiued; and afterwards in Imperial pompe and habit was present at the Sessions of the Councell. After New-yeeres day came the Duke of *Bauiere*, and then the Countie Palatine of *Rhine*, and the Duke of *Silesia*. Thither also came Cardinals Ambassadors from Pope GREGORY the 12. *Arimino*, who with authority from him approued the Councel: but BENEDICT who was in *Arragon*, would neither come nor send. The Councell being solemnised and ordained in this manner, Pope IOHN in the second Session, which was the second of March the same yeere, promised and solemnly sware to renounce the Papacie, in case that GREGORY and BENEDICT would doe the like: this he did to purchase grace and fauour with the Emperour, to the end that he might continue Pope still; whereof (as all writers affirme) he was vnworthy, for his great vices and Insolencies, which were made manifest to the whole Councell. And he standing in feare of what after ensued (his owne conscience accusing him) fled in disguised attire into the Duke of *Austria*'s Country who fauoured him & took his part. Whereupon many Ambassadours were sent from the Emperour and the Councell to Pope IOHN, and from him to them. The Emperour and the Councell proceeded against the Duke of *Austria*, for that hee was of counsell with the Popes flight, and had (notwithstanding their

their prohibitions and warnings to the contrary) harbored and protected him: and the Emperour confisking his goods, the Swissers took certaine places from him. Whereupon the same Duke which had assisted him, now perswaded Pope IOHN to depart and to returne to the Councel; where after many Citations made and signified vnto him, he submitting himselfe to the Councell, and approouing what by them was or should be determined, as it appeareth in the twelfth Session, was by their Sentence pronoūced *non Pontifex*: and the Duke conducted him to *Constance*: where he voluntarily renouncing the Papacie, was apprehended, and committed to the Count Palatine, in whose custodie he liued miserably the space of three yeeres; what befell him afterwards you shall vnderstand.

After this, CHARLES MALATESTA Lord of *Arimino*, where Pope GREGORY lay, came to the Councell with sufficient authority from him to renounce his right to the Papacie: by vertue whereof he publikely renounced the same in the 14. Session, saying, that Pope GREGORY in the commission which he gaue him said, that for the vnion and vniuersall reformation of the Church, and for redresse of the schisme, it was requisite and expedient that he and the rest which pretended to be Popes, should renounce the Popedome, and that the Councel there assembled should chuse such a one as might be for the good of the Christian common-wealth: and notwithstanding that he was the right Pope and canonically chosen, yet he now, as he euer before had offered to doe, did renounce and there resigne the Papacie into the hands of the Councell, approuing what therein by them should be done, or what they had done already. Pope GREGORIE's renunciation was highly esteemed, and he therefore much commended: whereupon the Councell holding the Papall seate for voide, made him a Legate and gouernot of the *Marca de Ancona*; which office he enioyed but a little while, for he shortly after died, as some say of sorrow, to see himself deposed from his pontificall seate; and the Councell admitted and receiued those Cardinals which had serued him, and were made by him, and had confirmed to them the reuenues which he had giuen them. What appertained to Pope IOHN and Pope GREGORY being ended, it yet rested to deale with BENEDICT who was in *Arragon*, to whom many ambassages and admonitions had been sent, that he should either come or send to the Councell, for that no Pope should be chosen vntill the schisme were throughly ended: what was done therein we will presently declare. But first I will shew you that amongst other matters which in this Councel were decreed and determined, a famous Bohemian whose name was IOHN HVSSE, was therein for certaine opinions which he held, condemned and burnt by the decree and Sentence of the Councel; and after him IEROME of *Prague*, who was a follower of his. Sentence being giuen against IOHN HVSSE, being depriued of his priestly Orders, he was deliuered to the Ciuill Magistrate to be burnt, and was brought to the place of execution with a Bishops mitre of paper on his head, whereon were diuells painted with this Inscription, *This is an Arch-heretik*. It is sayd, that before his death hee did presage, with a prophetical spirit, the declyning of the Popes Kingdome, saying that there would a goose rise out of his ashes which they should not be able to burne, for in the Bohemian tongue HVSSE signifies a goose. He also vttered these words, *After a hundred yeeres you shall make answere to God and to me.* And the euent afterwards did verifie and make good the truth of that his prophecie.

The burning of John Husse and Ierome of Prague.

This being past, the Councell sent to BENEDICT in *Arragon* and to the King thereof, to treate with them, to the end that BENEDICT should renounce the Papacie; and besides this, to treate of a meeting to be had at *Nizza* betweene the Emperour and the King, where they might conferre of the matter: in the end, in the sixteenth and seuententh Session it was concluded that the Emperour in person should with the Ambassadours, from the Councell, take the paines to goe to Pope BENEDICT, to the end to procure him to renounce the Papacie.

Whereupon he resoluing to put their determination in effect, departed from *Constance* in the moneth of Iuly, in the yeere of our Lord, one thousand, foure hundred, and fifteene. And forasmuch as at that time there were very great warres betweene the kings of *England* and of *France*, the Emperour going in person to each of them, sought to haue reconciled them: but he failing of his purpose, concluded with them, to request and require Pope BENEDICT in *Arragon* to renounce the Papacie; which if he refused to doe, that then through all their dominions they should command that none of their Subiects should obey him. And passing forwards (for that the King of *Arragon*, by reason of his infirmitie, could not goe out of his Kingdom to meet him in *Nizza*, or in *Narbone*) he was content to goe to *Perpinian*, whi-

ther the King of *Arragon* and Pope BENEDICT were already come, where he and the Ambassadors which came from the Councell were by the King very honorably receiued: and after that the Emperor had visited the King and conferred with him about the matter, he went to see Pope BENEDICT, whom with the best speeches and reasons he could deuise, he perswaded to yeeld to the Councels determination.

To the first, BENEDICT gaue very good words, but generall without any conclusion, and did the like to what the Councels Ambassadors propounded. Afterwards there were other meetings between these Princes and this Pope about the same matter, but to no effect; for BENEDICT notwithstanding the King of *Arragons* entreaty, and the Ambassadors from the King of *France*, for the same purpose deferring the conclusion with delaies, departing from *Perpinian*, went to *Colibre*: where imbarking himselfe in a Galley, without any stay (notwithstanding that the King and the Emperor by their Letters desired the contrary) he went thence by Sea to *Pemiscola*, which is a little Towne (but very strong) in the countrey of *Valencia* in *Spaine*, vpon the Sea coast; whither both the Emperor and king of *Arragon* sent vnto him: but he persisting obstinate, the king vpon the fift of Ianuary, in the yeer of our Lord, 1416, reiecting him, denyed him to bee Pope.

This being published, the Emperor and the Ambassadors took their way towards *Constance*: and in his returne (as I guesse) was his iourney to the Kings of *England* and of *France*, concerning Pope BENEDICT: for by the Histories it appereth not when it was, but it seemeth to be at his returne, for he came not to *Constance* vntill the beginning of the yeere of our Lord, one thousand foure hundred and seuenteene, hauing spent one whole yeer vpon the way betweene *Spaine* and *Constance*; being one yeer and a halfe after his departure from the Councell to goe this iourney. Those which write that he spent three yeers therein are to be excused, for he took part of all three yeers, to wit, 1415, 1416, and 1417. The Emperor and the Ambassadors being returned, and the Councell hauing at large heard their relation, they resolued to proceede against Pope BENEDICT, as against a rebell, and one whom they neuer had held for Pope; and his accusation was signified vnto him, with a new charge to renounce: but he (persisting in his obstinacy) was denounced for no Pope, but an Heretick, a schismatick, and a scandalous perturber of the vnity and vniuersall peace of the Christian Church and Common-wealth: And the Kingdoms of *Castile*, *Nauarre*, and *Portugall*, which vntill then had been at his deuotion, reiected him.

The Councell (by reason of the renunciations made by IOHN and GREGORY, and BENEDICT being deprived) holding the Papacy for voide, determined to chuse a new Pope: and appointing fiue Prelates of fiue seuerall nations, to wit, French, English, Spanish, Italian and Dutch, to these, together with the Patriarch of *Constaninople*, and to the Cardinals which had chosen the other Popes, the Councell gaue order to choose a Pope; all which agreeing together, chose Cardinall OTHO *de Colunna*, and he was called MARTIN the fift. This MARTIN being chosen (to auoide all occasion of scruple) ordayned that euery tenth yeer a Councell should be held, and that the first should begin at the end of fiue yeers, and that all the benefices giuen by the three Popes before that IOHN and GREGORY renounced, and BENEDICT was deprived, should be confirmed. After this, in the fiue and fortith Session, in the moneth of Aprill, in the yeere of our Lord, one thousand foure hundred and eighteene, three yeeres and a halfe after the beginning of this Councell, it was dissolued, and the Pope tooke his way towards *Rome*, and all the rest towards their Countries. At this time the Emperour made the Earles of *Cleues* and of *Sauoy*, Dukes, and so haue their successors continued euer since.

The Emperor hauing newly redeemed the Marquisate of *Brandenburgh*, from WILLIAM Lantzgraue of *Turinge*; to whom IODOCVS, Marquesse of *Moravia*, his cosen germane, had pawned it when he aspired to the Empire, the same with the Electorall dignity he sold to FREDERICK Burgraue of *Norembergh*, a Prince of knowne wisdome, magnanimity, loyaltie and authority, hauing deserued well both of the Emperor and Common-wealth, for foure hundred thousand Crowns; with this condition, that if the Emperor should haue a sonne, it should then be lawfull for him to redeem it. And yet in this sale the price was not so much regarded, as the reward of FREDERICK's vertues and merits, who had done SIGISMVND great services, and vndergone many dangers for him. There is one memorable thing written of this FREDERICK; who, making his Will, called his foure sonnes vnto him, speaking to IOHN the eldest after this manner: I first got this septentrionall dignity when I was familiar with the Emperor SIGISMVND; and now that I am cald out of this life, my care is, that such an honor should not grow contemptible in our family; Thou I see art wholly inclined to a quiet and contemplative course of life: In this Septentrionall charge thou shalt finde nothing but cares and continuall toyle; wherefore if I might, with your liking, I would giue this charge by my will to FREDERICK your second brother, who seemes to be more fit for action: To whom IOHN answered, I did alwaies thinke that FREDERICK had been more deere vnto you then my selfe, which did somewhat grieue me; but now deere father, I will change my opinion, and will honor and loue you, who by your last will bequeath rest to me and cares to him. A notable example in old FREDERICK, not of fatherly affection, but of wisedome, prouiding for the publike: and of modesty in IOHN the sonne, yeelding to his fathers iudgement touching the succession, without any froward opposition.

This being ended, the Emperor went to pacifie the troubles in *Bohemia*, where the followers of IOHN HVSSE and IEROM of *Prague* which were burnt at the Councell of *Constance*, were of such power that they pulled down some Churches and Monasteries, which did more abound in *Bohemia* then in any kingdome in all Christendom; the King hauing little meanes to redresse the same. I say King, for WENCESLAVS who had been Emperor, liued vntill this time, who holding not himselfe to be in safety in the City of *Prague*, retired himselfe to a most strong Castle, about fiue miles from thence, and being there the Hussites rose and committed many insolencies: Which King WENCESLAVS perceiuing, he sent to his brother the Emperor (as at other times he had done) for aide, about the time that the Councell brake vp at *Constance*: but he was so resolued to go to the warres against the Turkes which annoyed him in *Hungary*, or peraduenture in hope to be reuenged for the battaile which he lost against them before that he was Emperor, which I write not for that it maketh nothing to my purpose: the which he did contrary to his duty, and therein had ill successe, and in *Bohemia* worse, for presently after this, King WENCESLAVS dying without leauing any successor but his wife the Queene, the Emperour was sent for to take possession of that Kingdom: but desirous to renew the warre against the Turks, wherein most commonly he had ill successe, hee would not come; thinking to entertaine the matter by Gouernors which he sent thither: wherein he erred, for that occasion being lost, the troubles encreased; and there arose one IOHN CISCA, a man of a noble house and very expert in the warres, whom the Hussites made their Captaine, to whom out of *Prague* and other parts thereto adjoyning, came 40000 of the Hussites; who not content with the subuerting of Monasteries and pulling down of Images, possessed themselues of the fortresses of that City, and being masters of the field, took the towne of *Relezzina*, and other towns and castles.

Cisca Captaine of the Hussites in Bohemia.

CISCA before the comming of the Emperors Gouernors, was grown so mighty, that they were constrained to make peace with him and with the Hussites, to the end that they should giue vp *Prague* and other Castles, which they desired to haue vntill the Emperours comming, which was shortly after; wherwith far greater accidents ensued, when peace and quietnes was hoped for; as we will declare after that we haue made some relation of the state of the Empire in *Italie*, wherein they now knew no Emperor but in name only; and likewise of the comming, and successe of the new Pope.

The Councell being dissolued, Pope MARTIN notwithstanding that he was diuersly counselled, (by some, that he should continue in *Germany*, and by others, in *Ffrance*) remained firme in his resolution to goe into *Italy* and to *Rome*, alleaging that he which gouerneth the ship, ought to sit at the Helme, and not in the Prow, neither in the mid-ship. In conclusion, he departed from *Germany* the same yeer that he was chosen, and came directly to *Milan*; for Duke PHILIP (who by his policy and valour was grown very mighty) was his friend. At that time PHILIP was busied in the warres against PANDVLPH MALATESTA, who withheld *Bergamo* and *Brescia* from him, and against GABRINO FONDVLO, who held *Cremona*; and against other Lords which held other places which had been his fathers, the mighty IOHN GALEAS; and were lost in the time of his brother IOHN MARIA; in which warres PHILIP had so good successe, that he recouered all those estates, and was afterwardes one of the most puissant princes of the world, and was Lord also of *Genoa*. He possessed the state of *Milan* vntill he died, which were two and thirty yeers, in which time he had great wars with the Venecians and Florentines, and with other Princes; wherfore of necessity we must sometimes make mention of him.

From *Milan* the Pope came to *Florence*, but could not goe to *Rome*, for that one BRACCIO

MONTONIO (an excellent Captain, and of very great power) in the time of *Sede vacante*, and of the Councell, had taken the City of *Perugia*, and the Territory thereof, and many other Towns in the iurisdiction of *Rome*: and many others of his condition ioyned with him; so as there was no safe passage for the Pope to *Rome*, wherein the said BRACCIO MONTONIO had a strong party. But at the intercession of the Florentines, which were mediators between them, BRACCIO MONTONIO afterwards submitted himself to the Pope, and rendered some Towns which he had taken; and the Pope made him his Generall against *Bologna* which rebelled: which by him, and by GABRIEL Cardinall of Saint CLEMENT, was reduced to the Popes obedience.

In those daies (but somewhat before this time) BALTHASAR COSSA, which had been Pope IOHN (who renounced his Papacy in the Councell of *Constance*, of whom Pope MARTIN stood in no small fear that he would haue attempted some alteration by taking vpon him as Pope, and would haue renewed the schism) came into *Italy*, and finding fauor and entertainment among some of his friends, would not intermeddle in any matter; but of his owne accord without any safe conduct or other agreement, at such time as no man thought thereof, came voluntarily to *Florence* where the Pope lay; and comming into his Palace, kist his foot, and acknowledged him for Pope, Saint PETER's Successor, and CHRIST's Vicar; whereupon, Pope MARTIN made him a Bishop and a Cardinall: but he, within few months after dying, was in *Florence* most solemnly buried, by the procurement (principally) of COSMO *de Medicis*, a rich and noble Citizen therof, and chief of the house and family of the *Medici*'s, whose beginning (as it is written) was through the treasure and riches which hee inherited from this BALTHASAR COSSA, otherwise called Pope IOHN.

Pope MARTIN, knowing what troubles were in the Kingdome of *Bohemia*, sought by his Buls to haue pacified the matter: but seeing it was comn to blowes, the friendship betwixt him and the Emperor SIGISMVND was soon after broken. In those daies came to *Rome* LEWES, Duke of *Aniow* and Earl of *Prouence*, son to the other LEWES deceased, to receiue from the Pope the title and inuestiture of the Kingdome of *Naples*, against Queen IOAN, sister and heir to King LADISLAVS; being called thither by the Pope for the same purpose, through her ill gouernment and tyranny, but chiefly for that she ioyned with BRACCIO MONTONIO, and made warre vpon him, and for other matters too long to relate. The Pope proceeding against her, and holding her vnworthy to enioy the feudatory lands of the Church, sent for Duke LEWES, offering him the Kingdome of *Naples*: but Queen IOAN, being thereof aduertised, adopted ALONZO King of *Arragon* (who was also King of *Sicilia*) whom shee called to her aid, and to the succession in that Kingdome; who came accordingly. The Queen afterwards (according to her naturall condition) falling at oddes with him, and reuoking the adoption which she had made of ALONZO, adopted the same LEWES whom the Pope had called. Heerof grew the wars betwen LEWES and ALONZO for the Kingdome of *Naples*; and, after the decease of LEWES, with his brother RENE, which wars continued many yeers: but in the end, ALONZO hauing the victory, obtained the soueraignty of that Kingdome.

Warres for the Kingdom of Naples.

These things passed in *Italy*, where the Emperors were now of small power: and in *Germany*, the warres which the Turk made in *Hungary* being assiwaged, the Emperor resolued (though late) to come into *Bohemia*, to take possession of that Kingdome; whither if hee had presently comn, it is very likely that the troubles there had been pacified: for, at his comming to *Bruna*, which is in *Morauia*, Ambassadors came to him from *Prague* to submit themselues, and to sue for pardon; which he entertained and heard; and proponing certain tolerable conditions, granted them a generall pardon: the newes whereof were very ioyfull to the Inhabitants of that City and Kingdome; to the Hussites, to see themselues pardoned of their offences; and to the rest, in hope to liue in peace. But all this was croft, for that the King came not presently to take possession of that City which is the head of that Kingdome, where they peaceably attended his coming; but he would first go to *Vratislaue*, the chief City of *Silesia*, a prouince to the East of *Bohemia*. There, as well as in *Prague* (in time of the insurrection of the people) the Gouernours which were left there by WENCESLAVS were slain; and the Emperour, to punish the offence, did iustice vpon the principall heads of that rebellion.

As the newes thereof was published in *Prague*, and as their offenses were equall or greater, this vnseasonable punishment strake such a terror into the people, that they fearing the like rigour, without any further consideration rose vp in Arms; and resoluing to refuse him for their King, wrote

wrote their Letters, thereby inciting the rest through all the kingdom to doe the like; publishing that he had resolued to commit great cruelty amongst them. This tooke such effect, that in the greatest and best part of the kingdom, the people took Armes: and as the greatest part of those of *Prague* were Hussites (the rest ioyning with them) they altogether sent for a Captaine of the Hussites, a man of great power, whose name was CISCA, whom they put into *Prague* for defence thereof against the Emperor, who was comming against it. Hee of ensued in that City and Kingdome many encounters, skirmishes, battailes and bloodshed by fire and sword, such as neuer was seen or heard of, and such as I am not able to relate: the most effectual wherof may be seen in the third book of ÆNEAS SYLVIVS, afterwards cald PIVS QVINTVS, in his History of *Bohemia*: for my part I will rest satisfied, briefly mentioning the most notable accidents which happened. The Emperor accompanied by the Duke of *Saxony*, the Marquesse of *Brandenburgh*, and the Duke of *Austria*, with many other souldiers both of Foote and Horse, came neere to the City of *Prague*: Whereof the Fortresse called *Vicengrade* was at his deuotion.

CISCA and his people very resolutely battered the same, but their chiefest hope was to take it by famine. The Emperor comming thither relieued the Fortresse, and entring it, was therein crowned King of *Bohemia*: the Fortresse being victualled and garrisoned, he presently besieged the City; which siege continued six weekes; in which time in all the skirmishes and encounters which happened, it pleased God that CISCA and his followers had still the better: the like issue befell in a manner in all parts of the kingdome, betweene the Hussites and the Imperialists. Whereupon the Emperor raising his siege from before *Prague*, came to *Cutna*: and CISSA leauing the City, ioyned with the Taborites, so called after the name of a City founded by them and so called: And being victorious and not contented to make defensiue warres only, taking the field, he likewise tooke some Townes and Castles from his aduersaries.

The Emperor making warre Against the Hussites, besiegd the City of Prage

Many other conflicts after this ensued, which I omit: and the matter came to this issue, that the Emperor with his whole power came to a strong Monastery which held for CISCA, with a resolution to batter and to take it; and if CISCA came to the relefe thereof, to fight with him: for his army was such, that he doubted nothing of the victory. But there befell a strange accident: which was, that CISCA resoluing to come to the relefe of that Castle, and so to fight with the Emperor, and being come to the point to haue ioyned, the Emperors troups but at sight of their enemies, making no resistance, or shewing the mindes or courage of men, so dainely ranne away, and the Emperor was driuen to do the like, not daring to stay in any part of all *Bohemia*: So as CISCA and his people being masters of the field, besieged many strong holds and Castles, which he took by force. At the assault of one of which, as he had but one eye, that one was shot out with an arrow; but his credit and reputation was so great, that he continued in the gouernment and command of the Army, which was led by a blinde Christian: a thing neuer seen nor read in any History; for notwithstanding that he was blinde, yet he still prosecuted the wars.

The Emp. coming to fight with the Hussites at the sight of them, his people fled without blow striken.

The Emperor (notwithstanding these disasters) was not dismaid: but leuying his whole power he sent for the Princes of the Empire, whom he appointed to enter *Bohemia* by the West; and he with his Hungars would enter it by the East. Thither came with great troups the Duke of *Saxony*, the Count Palatine of *Rhine*, the Marquesse of *Brandenburgh*, the Archbishoppe of *Mentz*, and some other Princes and Prelates, who began the warre, and besieged and tooke some townes. The Emperor stayed longer then he had appointed, but comming with his Army, he began on his side, and notwithstanding that CISCA was blinde yet he took the field against him; and comming to ioyne in battaile, the Emperors men were strken with such feare of CISCA and of the Hussites, that they were presently ouerthrown, and many principall men of them were slaine; and the Emperor in fortunate in the warres, being driuen to flie, CISCA followed the execution of the victory.

The Emp. ouerthrown the 2 time by the Hussites, and their blinde Captaine Cisca.

Matters standing in this estate, the Nobles and principals of *Prague* and of all *Bohemia* desiring to haue a King, that might oppose himselfe against SIGISMVND, were resolued themselues and their kingdom to VITOLD Duke of *Lituania*; for which CISCA was sorry. The Duke desirous to be a King, accepting their offer, sent a Captain called TOKYNA with his power, who being gladly receiued into the City, began to shew the power of a new King, and to batter such castles and Fortresses as were his aduersaries. But this Duke within short space after, at the entreaty of the King of *Poland*, comming to a composition with the Emperor, gaue ouer his

his enterprise and title to the Crown of *Bohemia*. It followed, that the Emperor gaue the Prouince of *Morauia* to ALBERT his son-in-law, one of the Dukes of *Austria*, to the end that hee should defend the same: and he returning to the war against the Hussites, there hapned betwixt CISCA and the Imperialists another great battell; wherin CISCA hauing the victory, nine thousand of the Imperialists were slain.

A third battell wherin the emperor was ouerthowne, and 9000 of his people slain by the Hussites.

The Emperor, seeing the power of CISCA to bee so great, that without his good will hee could not be King of *Bohemia*, sought to be at peace with him; and to that end made him many large promises and offers: at the time of the parley, being at a point to haue made a conclusion, CISCA died of the plague; after whose death the Hussites were diuided into seueral factions, of which some were called Hussites, and some Taborites; so as they were at variance and contention amongst themselues: but warring against the Imperialists, they euer ioyned and were friends.

After many other accidents, Pope MARTIN sending his Legate into *Germany*, commanded the Emperor to renew the warre against the Bohemians: and the Duke of *Saxony* entering the Countrey vpon the one side, and the Marquesse of *Brandenburgh* vpon another side, and at another place the Archbishop of *Treuier*, either of them with the greatest power they were able to leuie; all which, meeting together in *Bohemia*, and beginning the war, and knowing that the Hussites came to fight with them (a matter seeming incredible, yet true although strange and shamefull) they were stricken with such fear, that without seeing or hearing any enemie, both Captains and Souldiers setting all shame apart, abandoning the field, ranne away in such manner, that neither entreaty nor authority was able to stay them; and the Hussites, pursuing them, took all their baggage and artillery; and not content therewith, salying forth of their Kingdome, warred in other parts; out of which, in consideration of a great summe of money, they returned home again.

At a fourth inuasion the Imperialists ranne before they saw any enemy.

The Pope, vnderstanding in what estate the affairs of *Bohemia* stood, resolued to giue a Croisade, and to send a new Legate against the Bohemians, notwithstanding that in *Italy* there was as little quietnes, but great wars, as well in the Kingdome of *Naples*, as in *Lombardy* and in other parts. And to that effect he sent IVLIAN, Cardinall of S. *Angelo*, to be his Legate against the Hussites, and that (the time being expired) he might sit in his place in the Councell appointed to be held in *Basill*. This Cardinall coming to the Emperor, it was decreed, that a new Armie, and new forces, to a greater number than before, should be leuied against the Hussites; whither came FREDERICK, Marquesse of *Brandenburgh* (who was chosen Generall) and the Dukes of *Bauier* and of *Saxony*, the Archbishops of *Mentz*, *Treuier* and *Colen*, and many Bishops, Prelates and Princes, together with the companies of the Cities, and so many others, that they amounted to the number of forty thousand horse, but not so many foot (for, it seems they were not so requisite for that war); who with this power entred the Kingdome of *Bohemia*, the Cardinall Legate going with the Army. But the Hussites were so accustomed to the bearing of Armes, and were therewith so courageous, that they drew themselues to one head, with a resolution to fight with the Imperialists: and the one Army beeing opposite to the other, so as no man doubted but that the Imperialists (considering their multitude, and the goodnes of their Captains and Souldiers) would haue had the victory; there hapned the strangest accident that euer was seen, whether through treason or practice in the Army, or through some vain & cowardly fear or imagination, or through the secret iudgement of God who was not pleased that the matter should be decided by Arms, there fell a sudden fear in the Camp, and a rumor that they were not to stay there: whereupon they all beganne presently to march, leauing behinde them all they brought; and many, their Armes and furnitures; and the whole Army (no admonitions, threatning or intreaty, made by the Princes and Commanders, being able to preuaile with them) fled; and they did the like, without seeing or fighting with any enemy: and so they fleeing out of the Countrey, the Hussites made great booty of what their enemies left, and could not carry with them.

A wonderfull discomfiture.

So great an Army being so shamefully ouerthrowne, the Emperor intended not (for that time) to raise any other: but the time being expired that the Councell should begin, the Cardinall Legate went to *Basil*; and the Emperor, by reason of the aid and assistance promised him by PHILIP Duke of *Milan*, resolued to go into *Italy* to be crowned in *Rome*. At this time died Pope MARTIN, and after his decease, a Cardinall called GABRIEL CONDYLMERO, a Gentleman of *Venice*, was in March in the yeer 1431 chosen, and called EVGENIVS the Fourth: in the beginning of whose Papacy many insolencies (as saith PLATINA and other Writers) were committed in *Rome* between the Pope and the Colonnois. EVGENIVS, approuing the Councell appointed by Pope MARTIN, commanded it to be begunne in *Basil*; where, the Cardinall of Saint *Angelo* being President, the first Session was held vpon Friday, the seuenth of December: whereof before that we make any relation, which shall be but little (notwithstanding that it continued long, and that therein was much controuersie and contention with the Pope) we wil describe the iourney SIGISMVND made to his coronation, which was in this manner:

Vpon assurance of the promises and offers made by the Duke of *Milan*, SIGISMVND with small troops of Germans and Hungars came into *Italie*; and coming to *Milan*, the Duke being not there, he was by the Dukes commandement very honourably receiued by a Captain of his called NICHOLAS PICHININO, and other principall men, and there according to the custome was crowned with the Crown of Iron: but the Duke came not to see him; yet hee afterwards by Letters and delaies temporized with him many daies in *Parma* and in *Placencia*, yet not furnishing him with such things as he had promised against the Florentines; who, as enemies to the Duke, stopped his passage to *Rome*, and to that effect maintained an Armie in field: and moreouer they perswaded the Pope to prohibit his coming to *Rome*, assuring him, that by the instigation of Duke PHILIP he came against him. The Emperor, without speaking with the Duke, in the best manner that he could came to *Luca*; and notwithstanding that the Pope and the Florentines sought to stay him, yet he, after some accidents which hapned between the souldiers of the one and other side, came to *Siena*, where he staied six moneths: in which time he came to a composition with the Pope, many ambassages passing between them in the mean season; so as he peaceably departing towards *Rome*, was therein solemnly receiued, and with great solemnity crowned by the hands of the Pope, vpon the last day of May in the yeer of our Lord 1432; and after some treaties he took his leaue to return into *Germany*. By the way he was entertained in *Ferrara* and *Mantoa*, by their Lords and Dukes (the warres continuing in *Italy*, as before) wherein passed many great matters: the principals were the Florentines and Venecians which made war against the Duke of *Milan*, who now was becom Lord of *Genoa*, the which hee tooke by meanes of the dissension and discord that grew betweene the Inhabitants.

The Emperour Sigismund crowned in Rome by the Pope.

Whil'st the Emperor was in *Italy*, in the Councell at *Basil* many matters were treated of, but had not yet taken such effect as they desired: for, the Hussites persisting constant in their opinions, the Councell sent thither certain learned men, such as well knew the Country, who by flattery and fair means sought to haue seduced the Bohemians; in whom they somtimes found hope of peace, and at other times signes of warre: and so the case continuing as doubtfull as before, it pleased God that by secret means vnknowne to man, there grew some suspicion & iealousie between the Nobility of that Kingdome (whereof one MENANDER was the chiefe) and the Taborites and the Hussites (notwithstanding that some of the Nobles were Hussites); but in the end it grieued them all to be gouerned by PROCOPIVS, a man of base parentage, who being Generall of the Taborites, commanded all; and by another PROCOPIVS call'd the yonger, Captain of the Hussites. After that they had long murmured at the matter, they summoned a Parliament to be held by all the estates of the Realm, vnder pretext to set some order in the gouernment: for they were discontented with the violences and insolencies daily committed. Finally, the Parliament was assembled, and a Noble-man and nobly descended, although of mean estate, whose name was ALCION, was nominated and made their Gouernor, and he presently vndertook the gouernment. And although he had the title and outward shew, yet all was done by the order and direction of MENANDER the chief of the Nobility. Heerwith the Hussites and the Procopii were so much discontent, that the matter came to blowes. I cannot describe all that passed; for there were many notable accidents: but I wil tell you the euent thereof.

When the Emperor, coming out of *Italy* into *Germany*, was vpon his way towards *Basil*, hee vnderstood that between the Pope and the Councell there was great discord: for, the Pope perceiuing that the Councell began to treat of many matters against his authority and dignity, commanded it to be dissolued, and to be transferred to *Bologna*; and the Councell, reiecting his commandements, would not accomplish what he required, but made other acts and statutes to his disgrace. Whereupon many matters passed, and the Emperor came to the Councell, and there hearing the matter debated, made a reconciliation between them: and the Pope against ratified the Councell; yet they afterwards fell further at variance, as you shall hear: for, those of

Dissension betwixt the Pope and the Councell of Basil.

of the Councell, refusing to make an end, *continued the Councell a long time in despite of the* Pope: but the Emperor by his authority in the best manner that he could took vp the matter; and vnderstanding of the warres between the Nobility and the Hussites in *Bohemia*, holding the same for the most assured *meanes* for him to recouer that Kingdom, went from *Basil* to *Vlm*, where he was aduertised of a battell fought between them, wherein the Lords had the victory; and therein were both the Procopii (Captaines of the Hussites and Taborites) slaine, with many thousands of others; and a great number were taken prisoners: and they found the meanes afterwards to kill or burn all those which were taken, or escaped from the battell. The Emperor, vnderstanding heerof, sent his Ambassadors into *Bohemia*, to perswade the Nobility to obey and receiue him for their King, for that of right it appertained to him, as to the sonne and brother to the Kings of *Bohemia*. And *it pleased God to work such an alteration in the hearts of the* Bohemians, that they sent their Ambassadors to *Ratisbone*, whither the Emperor was gon from *Vlme*, to whom they gaue order to receiue him for their King and soueraign Lord: and they agreed with him concerning his coming into *Bohemia*; and he there ratified the conditions concluded by those of the Councell with the Bohemians, concerning points of religion; which in summe was, that that the Bohemians wholly submitted themselues to the Church of *Rome*, and that they, beleeuing as it did, forsook all matters in question, except communicating vnder both kindes of bread and wine; which was granted them vpon this condition, that the matter should be referred to the determination of the Councell: and all other matters concerning Church-rents and goods, and other ecclesiasticall benefices, were concluded and agreed vpon.

These matters being ended, the Emperor within fewe daies after peaceably entring *Bohemia*, was with feasting and great solemnity, vpon the fourth day of August, in the yeer of our Lord 1436, receiued into the City of *Prague*: he had been there but a fewe daies space, but ther was so great an alteration, that it seemed a new world, and another kinde of people: for, notwithstanding that there remained some of the sect of the Hussites, yet the greatest and most common were Papists. The Temples which had been spoiled and ruinated were new built, and those which were defaced were repaired, and the Altars were decked with Images and Reliques, and the Monks and Friers returned to their Couents and Cloisters: finally, all was restored to the former order. Of the pretended Hereticks, which would not be conuerted, some fled for feare of imprisonment, and to others a time was limited wherin they should recant; and against such as persisted constant, the Emperor proceeded: for his successe heerin, Pope EVGENIVS sent him a Rose of gold, who at that time commanded the Councell at *Basil* to bee dissolued, and a generall Councell to be held at *Ferrara*; where they expected the Emperour of *Constantinople*: but the Councell of *Basil*, holding themselues to be aboue the Pope, would not obey him, neither be dissolued.

The Emperor being now threescore and ten yeers old, and tired with warres and troubles both before and after he was Emperor (which were more than I haue written) began to wax feeble and sickly; and perceiuing death to approach, he was aduertised that his wife (considering that he was old, and could not liue long, and that he had but one daughter which was married to ALBERT of *Austria*) sought, as soon as he should be dead, to marry with the King of *Poland*; and that the Bohemians should take him and her for King and Queen. For redresse heerof, and being somewhat iealous of the Bohemians for matters past, he sent for the Noble-men of *Hungary* which came with him into *Bohemia*; to whom in secret (aduertising them of what passed) he recommended his daughter and son-in-law, and made them to promise to take them for their King and Queen after his decease. And notwithstanding that he was very sick, yet hee *caused himself to be carried out of Prague towards Hungary*, where he desired to die: but being vnable to reach thither, he was carried to his daughter and son-in-law in *Morauia*, who by his gift, possessed that Prouince, which came to meet him in the City of *Zenomia*; whither also came his wife the Empresse, who there by his commandement was apprehended. The Emperor within fewe daies after, in the 37 yeer of his Raign, vpon the day of the conception of our Lady, in the yeer of our Lord 1437, died. And so ended this Prince both his life and troubles; who although he had vnfortunate successe, especially in Arms and warres, yet he failed in nothing that belonged to a wise and valiant Knight. This Emperor might well be paralleld with the antient OTHOES and CHARLES, for the excellency of his wit, piety, wisedome, greatnes of minde, industry, dexterity of counsell, and patience in labor, if fortune had been answerable to his wise resolutions and commendable attempts, and that God had not denyed successe to his iust and necessary Arms against the Turk. He returned no more to these Turkish wars.

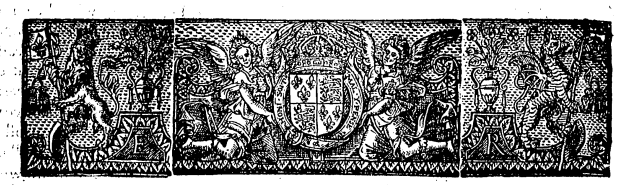
The death of the Emperor Sigismund.

wars, being hindred with intestine combustions, and terrified (as I conceiue) with the remembrance of two ouerthrowes: and although he desired to be reuenged of these cruell and barbarous enemies, yet he durst not make triall of a third battell. He delighted much in the reading of Histories. He had alwaies this Saying in his mouth, He knowes not how to raign, that cannot dissemble; meaning, that he must not do all things according to his owne will. He hated a flatterer as the plague: but when as a slander by did blame the Emperor, saying that hee was gouerned by flatterers; he answered, So it fals out in Courts: those whom wee hate most and seek to shun, we are forced to obey. Speaking of gouernment, he was wont to say, that all men refused to practise any Art which they had not learnd; but no man refused to command, which is the most difficult of all Arts. Blessed were Kings on earth, if hauing excluded proud men from all gouernment, they drew into their Courts such as are milde and graue. And when as his Courtiers did blame the railing of the German multitude, who commonly spake ill of their Princes; smiling he answered, Do you think it strange that they speak ill, when as we doo ill? In his youth he was vindicatiue; but age and experience tempered this heat: wherefore one expostulating with him, that he not onely pardoned his enemies, but also fauoured and aduanced them; Thou, said he, thinkest it a benefit to kill an enemy, for that there is not any danger in a dead man: but I kill an enemie when I spare him; and I make him my friend when I aduance him. He was twice married, first to MARY daughter to the King of *Hungary*, by whom he had that Kingdome; the second time with BARBARA, daughter to the Earle of *Cilia*, by whom he had his daughter ISABEL which was his heir, and married to ALBERT one of the Dukes of *Austria*, who then was Lord and Marquesse of *Morauia*. His wife after his death was set at liberty: but spending her daies infamously, in the end she died of the plague.

The state of *Italy* when SIGISMVND died was so confused and out of order, that except I should relate the whole, I cannot expresse the same in such sort as it may be vnderstood. Duke PHILIP of *Milan*, being an enemy to Pope EVGENIVS, fauoured the Councell of *Basil*: and the Florentines and Venecians supported the Pope against him. There were other warres among them; wherein the most famous Captains were, FRANCIS SFORCE before named, and NICHOLAS PICHININO. ALONSO King of *Arragon* (Queen IOANE and LEWES being dead) contended with RENE, LEWES his brother, about the Kingdom of *Naples*. A little before that LEWES died, K. ALONSO and his brother the King of *Nauarre* being taken in a battell by sea, and with them many other Lords by the fleet of the Genoais, were carried prisoners to Duke PHILIP of *Milan*, who then was Lord of *Genoa*; who, shewing his magnificence, released them, and set them at liberty: which the Genoais took in so ill part, that they reuolting made themselues free from the Duke.

In those daies were cruell wars between the Kings of *England* and *France*; and amongst the French was a woman which bare Arms like a souldier, and afterwards (as a Captain) wrought wonders, and defended and recouered many Castles for the French: this woman was called IEANNE *la Pucelle*.

After the decease of EMANVEL Emperor of *Constantinople*, his son IOHN PALEOLOGVS raigned, who was already vpon the way to come to the Councell in *Italy*.



THE LIFE OF ALBERT, SECOND OF THAT NAME, AND HVNDRETH AND TWELFTH ROmane Emperour; And of *Iohn Paleologus* in CONSTANTINOPLE.

(***)

THE ARGVMENT.

SIgismund being dead, his son-in law Albert *was peaceably chosen; who was in some doubt to accept the Empire, by reason of the Kingdome of Hungary: which being past, he accepted the gouernment. For that he liued not long, he could not effect so great matters as he proiected. Hee had warres with some rebels, which hee luckily ended. But he could not make any peace or vnion between the Councels which were held in his time, one in Basil without the Pope, the other in Ferrara where the Pope was in person; which Councell was afterwards ended in Florence. He took Armes against* Amurath *King of the Turks, in the behalf of the Dispote of Seruia: but, being in a little village vpon his way, he died of Dysenteria, hauing raigned but a small time. His death was much lamented, by reason of the great hope conceiued of his vertue.*



THE same day that the Emperor SIGISMVND died, his sonne-in-law ALBERT Duke of *Austria* was by all the principall Lords of both those Kingdomes which were there with him, together with his wife SIGISMVND'S daughter, to whom in right those Kingdoms appertained, hailed King of *Hungary* and *Bohemia*; who from that City of *Zenomia* which is in *Morauia*, sent Ambassadors into *Bohemia*, with SIGISMVND'S Will and Testament, and by his authority to take possession of that Kingdome: and he with his wife, carrying with them the dead body of the Emperor, and the widow Empresse prisoner, departed towards *Hungary*; where they were without any contradiction receiued and obeyed, and afterwards with great solemnity, vpon the first day of Ianuary, in the yeer of our Lord 1438, crowned; hauing first performed the Imperiall funerals and obsequies.

In the meantime, his Ambassadors which were in *Bohemia*, assembling the principall Lords of that Realm in the City of *Prague*, shewed the Testament of the deceased Emperor and their King; and alleaging many effectuall reasons, perswaded them to chuse ALBERT, as well for that he had married the onely daughter and heir of their King, as also for that hee was of the house of *Austria*; between which and *Bohemia* there was an antient couenant, that whensoeuer there failed an heir in any one of these houses, one should be chosen out of the other. Finally, the Ambassadors vsed so good means, that the Assembly concluded, that ALBERT and his wife should be their King and Queen; and so in their absence they were sworn vnto, and receiued for such, notwithstauding that some of the principall Barons were against the same: among which many were the Empresse kinsmen; of which the chiefest were TASCON and ALCIOSTERREMBERGH, which were consenting to the practice which we spake of when the Emperor died. These men, requiring certain conditions which might not bee granted, departed from ALBERT'S seruice and obedience: which, calling and inuiting others to ioyne with them

them, chose for their King, CASIMIRE brother to the King of *Poland*; and they sending for *him to come and take possession of the Kingdome*, offred him their aid and seruice in the action.

In this mean time, the Electors of the Empire being certified of the death of the Emperour SIGISMVND, met in *Francfort* to chuse a new Emperor; where ALBERT, King of *Hungary* and *Bohemia*, and Duke of *Austria*, was vpon the twentith day of March, in the yeer 1438, chosen; and being by the same Princes aduertised of his election, very gladly gaue eare to their Ambassage, but yet could not presently accept the gouernment, for that when he was sworn in *Hungary*, he promised the Hungars, notwithstanding he were chosen, hee would not accept the Empire, because it was not held expedient for that Kingdome, that the King thereof should be Lord of any other Countries, but should make his abode in *Hungary* onely; producing the Emperor SIGISMVND for example, whose absence was the occasion of many inconueniences in that Country. But notwithstanding all this, new Ambassages daily arriuing, hee caused the principall Lords and the Burgesses of Cities in *Hungary* to meet in the City of *Viena* in *Austria*, wherein he found some contradiction: but in the end the Humors being intreated and perswaded by FREDERICK, Duke also of *Austria*, they consented to his election, and ALBERT accepted thereof; and presently went to be crowned at *Aken*, which was acceptable to all *Germany*: for, he was held for a wise and valorous Prince, and shewed the same in the small time that he enioyed the Empire.

Albert Duke of Austria chosen Emperor.

Albert crowned Emperor in Aken.

ALBERT, knowing that CASIMIRE brother to the King of *Poland* had accepted the Kingdome of *Bohemia*, and that with the aid of his brother he leuied forces for that enterprise, sent his Ambassadors to the King, desiring him, that si h he well knew him to be the right King of *Bohemia*, he would not suffer their iust friendship for any vniust cause to be broken: whereto the King of *Poland* answered, that he could not let his brother to accept that Kingdome which by the naturall subiects thereof was offred him, together with other excuses such as he thought good. Within fewe daies after, the Emperor entred *Bohemia*, notwithstanding that TASCON and the rest of his faction sent (with certain protestations) to require him that he should not do it: but he, holding on his iourney, was in the month of May, in the yeer 1438, crowned in the City of *Prague*. And TASCON, and such others as took CASIMIRE'S part, ioyning themselues with the men of warre which came out of *Poland*, raised an Army; and taking the field, and fortifying such Towns as were at their deuotion, warred vpon the rest: and the Emperour with the Troops which he brought with him, and others which came to his aid, did the like. And notwithstanding that others were expected to come to him out of *Austria* and from other parts, yet he would not stay, but went to seek his enemies and to fight with them: but TASCON and the Polacres not daring to giue him battell, retiring, encamped themselues neer to the City of *Tabor*, which was inhabited by pretended Hereticks; whither the Emperor pursuing them, had in his Army CHRISTOPER Duke of *Bauiere*, FREDERICK Duke of *Saxony*, and ALBERT Marquesse of *Brandenburgh*: which there pitching their Tents, daily skirmishes passed between them; wherein the Polacres and Bohemians were so hardly bested, that they disbanding, part of them put themselues into *Tabor*, which is a most strong impregnable Town; and ALBERT, knowing it to be such, returned to *Prague*: and the Polacres (fewer in number than they came into that Countrey) returned to their houses; so as the Emperour, finding no resistance, discharged his souldiers which were strangers: and some Princes which came to his aid, returned to their Countries; yet between the one and the other Kingdomes some roads and incursions continued: but shortly after a truce was taken between them. And forasmuch as there came tidings of the coming of AMVRATH the great Turk with a great power into *Hungary*, ALBERT was constrained to leaue Gouerners in *Bohemia*, and to take his way thitherward, with a determination to leuie forces and to fight with the Turks, notwithstanding that he was counselled by many to the contrary, being feared with the infortunate battell fought by the Emperor SIGISMVND. But notwithstanding all their admonitions and perswasions, nothing could diuert the Emperor, so great a desire had he to fight: and that which more increased his resolution, was, that the Dispote of *Seruia*, fleeing from AMVRATH, came into *Hungary* to implore aid and succor to relieue and vnset his sonne which was besieged in the City of *Sinderouia*, situate vpon the side of the riuer *Danubius*, which the Turk held besieged, and put it to great distresse: wherefore the Emperor resolued to raise his forces for that iourney, which was in the yeer of our Lord 1439.

At this time the discord and contention between the Councell of *Basil* and the Pope grew more violent: for, notwithstanding the Popes commandements to dissolue (it hauing now con-

continued eight or nine yeeres since it first began) they held, and refusing to be dissolued, cited the Pope to make his personall appearance before them. In this Councell they disputed long of the authority and power of the Pope: and in the end they decreed that the authority of the Councell was aboue the Pope, and that they might displace the Pope; and that not onely Bishops, but other learned and godly men should haue their voices. Hereupon EVGENIVS finding that this Decree would shake the Popes authority, and that the Councell would arrogate more liberty then he thought fit, he resolued to dissolue it.

The Pope hereupon summoned a generall Councell to be held in *Ferrara*, which was the yeere before (by his commandement) begun by the Cardinall S. *Croſſe*, whither the Pope himself came in person. Here was that which had neuer beene seene (a schisme of Councels) for those of *Basil* would not giue ouer, yet many which had been there came to *Ferrara*. In the Councel of *Basil* were many disputations and arguments concerning this matter. To the Councell of *Ferrara* came IOHN PALEOLOGVS, Emperor of *Constantinople*, with a great number of Greeke Prelates, notwithstanding that those of *Basil* sought to haue induced him to come thither: but a great plague falling amongst them at *Ferrara*, the Pope remoued the Councell to *Florence*; where the Greeks and their Emperour submitted themselues to the Latines, touching the proceeding of the Holy Ghost, the third person of the Trinitie, which they held to haue proceeded but from the Father onely: and other matters were there handled, which ANTONINVS Archbishop of *Florence* in his histories, and PLATINA and others write at large. But this notwithstanding, those of *Basil* proceeded in their Councel against the Pope; and although the Emperour sought to bring them to vnity, yet his other affaires were so great (considering the small time he ragined) that he could not effect it; and now worst of all, for he had raised his whole power, and was marching with his Army against the Turk, to free the citie of *Sinderonia*.

Being past *Buda*, and encamped betweene the riuers *Ticius* and *Danubius*, he was certified that the Turk had taken the said citie & had put out the DISPOTE'S sons eyes: and AMVRATH being aduertised of his comming, retiring with his Army towards *Thessalonica*, a famous citie in *Macedonia*, took afterwards many cities in *Epire* and *Thessalia*. The Emperor seeing that he could not recouer the citie, and that the Turke was retired, returned to *Buda*, where he discharged his Army: and being come thither, what with the scorching of the Sunne, and with the heate of Summer (and as some say, by eating of more Cucumers then did him good) he was taken with a flux; wherewith growing very weake, departing from *Buda* with a desire to go to *Vienna*, he died by the way, in a little village called *Langstraet*, vpon the 27. day of October, in the yeere of our Lord 1439, before that two yeeres were fully expired, since that he was first chosen Emperor: his death was much lamented for the great hope conceiued of him, that he would haue proued a good Prince. The Emperour ALBERT left two daughters, one of which was married to the Duke of *Saxony*, and the other afterwards to the king of *Poland*; and his wife the Empresse he left great with childe of a son, which in time came to be king of *Hungary*, and of *Bohemia*: but first there ensued much discord betweene the two kingdomes, as hereafter shal be declared.

The death of the Emperor Albert the second.

The schisme & contention betweene the Pope and the Councel of *Basil* grew to be so great, at what time the Emperour ALBERT died, that they chose for Pope AMADEVS, whom many called BASILISKE, for that he was chosen at *Basil*, who was now called FELIX: he had been Duke of *Sauoy*, and married and had children, he took religious orders (as many write) to the end to be made Pope: he was father in law to PHILIP Duke of *Milan*, to whom was imputed the principall cause of his election: for he being the Popes enemy, procured that the Councell in *Basil* should make choise of him, and he himselfe made cruell warre against the Pope, against the Florentines, and the Venecians, PICHININO being General of his Army. And FRANCIS SFORCE (PICHININO's competitor) was General for them, so as there was a greater diuision in the Church of *Rome* then euer had been seeene before, for there were now two Popes, and two Councels; and some Princes fauoured the one, and others the other: amongst which ALONSO King of *Arragon* being an enemie to EVGENIVS, fauored Pope FELIX: but as it seemed that EVGENIVS had the better title, Pope FELIX his credit daily impaired, yet hee held the name of Pope the space of nine yeeres; and afterward Pope EVGENIVS being dead, in the time of Pope NICHOLAS he renounced the Papacie.

In *Constantinople* raigned IOHN PALEOLOGVS, who in those times came to the Councell at *Florence*; who hauing ended such matters as he came for, concerning the vnion of the Greeke and Latin Churches, returned to *Constantinople*; where, within a little after he died, and CONSTANTINE succeeded him in the Empire.

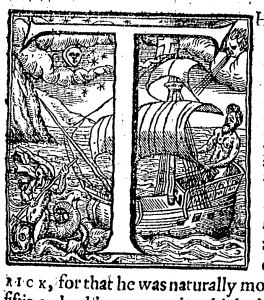
THE



THE LIFE OF FREDERICK, THE THIRD OF THAT NAME, AND HVNDRETH AND THIRTEENTH ROMAN EMPEROR.

THE ARGVMENT.

ALL the Electors ioyntly agreeing in the election of Frederick Duke of Austria, a young man of the age of fiue and twentie yeeres, he accepted the Empire; and comming to be crowned in Aken, was confirmed by the Pope. He was a louer of peace, and a faithfull obseruer thereof in all his actions. He supplanted the schisme, and shewed himselfe a perfect friend to the Pope; and comming into Italy was crowned in Rome, to the great contentment of all the Countries: Wh reinwere made most sumptuous feasts by al the cities which receiued him. He afterwards returning into Germany, was much troubled with the combustions he found there, by reason of the King of Bohemia; which could not be pacified but by the restitution of the King to the Bohemians. In time of this Emperor, Constantinople to the great shame and dishonor of all Christendome was lost, and greater hermes were threatned by the Turke: but a Croysade being made, the Turke had a very great ouerthrow, so as he was constrained to ceese his resolution. This Emperour had some controuersie with his brother about the Duchie of Austria, but in the end the title rested in the Emperor: who, to his sonne Maximilian gaue the title of Archduke of Austria, and made him King of the Romanes. He euer sought to maintaine peace, by reason whereof he was called the peaceable Emperor. And being now old, and his sonne Maximilian swaying the gouernment, it pleased God to take him out of this world, when he had ruled the Empire three and fifte yeeres.



THose which haue trauelled a long iourney, and being come neer to their iourneis end; through the desire they haue to attaine thereto, and to rest their wearie bones, make commonly greater haste then before: so I desiring to do the like, and to make a quicke dispatch in writing the history of the Emperors remaining yet behinde; being tired with the long iourney which I haue trauelled, and to obtaine rest, after so long watching and so much paines taken in that which is past; in the end of my iourney the Emperor FREDERICK presenteth himselfe, and after him his sonne MAXIMILIAN; whose liues were such and so long, that all the time and paper which I haue spent might haue bin employed in writing the liues of them two: of FREDERICK, for that he was naturally more enclined to peace, and procured the same, and raigned fiftie and odde yeeres; in which time so many accidents passed, that they require a long discourse: and of MAXIMILIAN, for that his acts were so great, and so many accidents happened in his time, that if they all should be written, this volume would hardly containe his history. Whereof (when I had well considered) it did put me in a great perplexitie, fearing to be tired or foundred before I should attaine to the end of my iourney: but setting all feare apart I will proceede, and thus it was:

As soone as the death of the Emperour ALBERT was published, the Princes Electors of the Empire assembling in the citie of *Franckford*; about two or three daies before the new yere 1440. chose for Emperour FREDERICK Duke of *Austria*, a young man of the age of fiue

and twenty yeeres, who a little before came from *Ierusalem* where he had been in Pilgrimage. This FREDERICK was the son of Duke ERNESTVS of *Austria*, descended in line masculine from the Emperour ARNVLPH, aboue named. When as he vnderstood of his election, accepting the same, he prepared himselfe to go to *Aken* to be crowned; before which I hold it expedient to relate in few words what happened in the Kingdomes of *Hungary* and *Bohemia*, after the death of the Emperour ALBERT; since they were prouinces of the Empire: and forasmuch as they serue for our purpose, for the cleering and better vnderstanding of that which followeth.

Frederick Duke of Austrich chosen Emperor.

The widow Empresse (as before is said) at the time of her husbands decease was with childe: and as soone as he was dead, the Lords of *Hungary* assembling together consulted about the choosing of a new King: for sith the Empresse before had already two daughters, they thought not that she now would haue had a son: whereupon after many doubts they choosing VLADISLAVS King of *Poland* for their King (yet some say it was the Kings brother) sent to aduertise him thereof. In the meane time that the Ambassadours were vpon their way, the Empresse was deliuered of a son, who was named LADISLAVS; which when they saw, they then wished they had not sent to the King of *Poland*: yet they held it more expedient for the good of the Kingdom to haue him for their King, for that he was of age and power to protect their countrie, and to gouerne the same, which would be wanting in the infant; and they in like manner were of opinion that the Bohemians would haue made him their King also.

The King of Poland chosen King of Hungarie.

Standing in this doubt, the King of *Poland* (to take benefit of the time) in the greatest haste he could, came into *Hungary*, and was in *Buda* by those which desired to haue him so receiued for their King. In the meane time, the widow Queene with her new borne son, together with the Earle of *Cilia* and great part of the nobilitie, went to *Alba Regalis*, where vpon Whitsonday the young child was crowned King by the Archbishop of *Strigonium*.

This solemnity being ended, and fealtie sworn to him by those which were present, as to their Lord and King, the Queene with her son fearing the inconstancie of the Hungars, by the counsell of some her friends presently took her way towards *Viena*, and committing him to the protection of his Vncle the new Emperour, together with the crowne of that Kingdome, which she had in her power (which is there held for the best right to haue the possession thereof) she returned into *Hungary*, to see if she might haue the gouernment therof, during her sons minoritie. Some say that she sent the young King to the Emperor: but howsoeuer it was, the Emperour as his Vncle had the wardship of the childe, for to him appertained the protection of the house of *Austria*. In *Hungary* was great contention who should be King: but those which took part with VLADISLAVS King of *Poland* being assisted by IOHN HVNIADES VAIVODA (a very famous Captaine for the great victories which hee had obtained against the Turkes) for that time preuailed: and the young LADISLAVS, although crowned, remained a long time dispossessed in the Emperors keeping. In the Kingdome of *Bohemia* was no lesse combustions: for the Emperour ALBERT being dead, they in like manner treated of the chusing a new King; and they hauing appointed a day for that purpose, before the time came, the widow Empresse was deliuered of her son LADISLAVS, and she presently vpon her deliuerie sent into *Bohemia*, to enforme the Bohemians of the equitie of her cause, and to put them in minde that she was the daughter of the Emperour SIGISMVND, King of *Bohemia*; and that she and her husband ALBERT had enioyed the same, wherefore they should not now depriue her sonne of his right.

The Ambassadours doing what in them lay, found fauour and assistants; but TASCON and the rest which had been ALBERT'T enemies, were of such authority, that notwithstanding they confessed that the child LADISLAVS had right to the Crowne, yet they alleaged that he ought not to be King before he was foure and twentie yeeres of age: and their sentence preuailing, they chose ALBERT Duke of *Bauiere* for their King, who shewing the greatnes of his minde, would not accept it: a rare example of magnanimitie, and seldome seene. The Bohemians meeting againe agreed to send to entreate the Emperour FREDERICK; that seeing he had charged himself with the protection of the person of the young King, that he would also be pleased to take vpon him the gouernment of the kingdome of *Bohemia*: and TASCON who was one of the Ambassadors, counselled him to haue made himself King thereof, which was a matter easie to effect.

This Ambassage was deliuered to the Emperor at such time as he was going towards *Aken* to be crowned (for he was but newly chosen) his answere he referred vntill his returne; which

which then was, that whereas they had offered him the kingdom of *Bohemia*, he would not shew himselfe so vniust a tutor, as to bereaue the pupill of his right: and that he could as ill take vpon him the gouernement of the countrie, for hee had otherwise enough to answere for before GOD, for that which he held, and for that cause he would vndertake no other charge: Wherefore amongst themselues they might finde men sufficient to haue the Rule and Gouernment.

Those which came with this Ambassage being returned, the Lords of *Bohemia* appointed a new meeting; and chose for Gouernors vntill that LADISLAVS should come to age, TASCON and MENANDER; who were heads and leaders of the contrary faction: TO TASCON repaired all the reputed hereticks of time past. Within a little while after, TASCON dying GEORGE POGIABRACCIO succeeded him, who after the decease of MENANDER, had the sole gouernment; and many other matters befell in the time that LADISLAVS, by reason of his nonage was in the Emperor FREDERICK's protection: And the Hungars and Bohemians oftentimes sought to haue the keeping of him vntill he came to full age. This for the present may suffice, to vnderstand the succesle of the kingdoms of *Hungary* and *Bohemia*.

The Emperor FREDERICK spent the time from Ianuary vntill Iuly, in prouiding for the affaires of *Hungary* and *Bohemia*, and to make prouision for his Coronation, which should be solemnized in the moneth of August, in the City of *Aken*, at which time Cardinall LEVVES being sent by the Councell at *Basil*, came thither to approue and authorise his Election. About whose comming, there were great alterations; for the Bishop of *Liege* who was an enemy to the Councell of *Basil*, and to Pope FELIX, holding with EVGENIVS, put him out of the towne but THEODORICVS Archbishop of *Colen* (who held with those of *Basil*) made him to be receiued in againe, whereupon Pope EVGENIVS deposed him from his Prelacy, vntill that afterwards he was through the Emperors entreaty by his Ambassadors restored. The Coronation being ended, the Emperor returned into *Austria* where he was at great controuersy with his brother ALBERT about the diuision of the estates thereof; with whom FREDERICK seeking to come to an agreement, procured peace and concord through all *Germany*, for he was euer enclined to peace and a louer thereof. Whilest the Emperor applied himselfe hereto, in *Italie* in those daies (or a little before) after great warre and infinite combustions, a peace was concluded between Duke PHILIP of *Milan* of the one side, and the Venecians and the Florentines of the other. And FRANCIS SFORZA who was Generall of their Army marrying the Duke of *Milanes* base daughter, had *Cremona* and other places with her for her dowry: this peace was made in the yeere 1442. A little before this, in the same yeere, ALONSO king of *Arragon* wholly expelling his competitor RENE out of the kingdome of *Naples*, remained in full possession thereof. About this time, VLADISLAVS King of *Poland* (who was also in possession of *Hungary*) after many aduentures past in the warres against the Turkes fighting a battaile with them, was therein vnfortunately slaine; hauing beene King of *Hungarie* but foure yeeres.

The Emperor Frederick crowned in Aken.

King VLADISLAVS being slaine in this manner, the Noble-men and Burgesses of Cities assembling, chose the childe LADISLAVS their right Soueraigne, for their King; who (as I said) at the age of foure moneths was crowned in *Alba Regalis*; and they hauing proclaimed him for their King, sent a solemn Ambassage to entreate the Emperor to permit them to haue the custody of him, to the end that they might crowne him: whereto the Emperor (commending their doings) answered, that there needed no election, sith he was their naturall Lord; neither was there any neede to crowne him, sith he was already crowned. And seeing that he was but an infant, and wanted a tutor, vntill that he should come to age, he willed them to chose them Gouernors; and he would take care for his person vntill he should be of yeers fit to gouern. With this answere the Hungars being greatly discontented, resolued to haue that by force which by faire meanes they could not obtaine: And IOHN HVNIADES being chosen for their Gouernor, came into *Austria* to warre vpon the Emperor, for that he gaue them not their King; but finding sufficient resistance, mist of his purpose. About the same time, the Bohemians in like manner did sue to haue him; to whom the Emperour gaue the selfe same or the like reasons and excuses as hee had done to the Hungares, and so he dispatched them for that time.

Whilest these matters passed, after most cruell warres, between *England* and *France*, a truce for a time was taken between them, and the Daulphin of *France* whose name was LEVVES, in

the time of this truce, without any reason or occasion that might moue him thereto, leuied a very mighty Army, and entring *Germany*, besieged and tooke the City and state of *Wittembergh*, and other Towns of lesse quality, no man knowing the cause: yet Historians set down sundry. Somesay, that he came by the Emperors procurement against the Swissers, who at that time were enemies to the house of *Austria*. NAVCLERVS writeth, that hee published, that hee came to recouer those lands which in antient time appertained to the house of *France*. PLATINA and other Italians write, that the Dolphin's coming was by the Popes instigation, to ouerthrowe the Councell at *Basil*; which in my opinion is most likely to bee true: for, hee presently marched against *Basil*, and the Swissers (who were in league with that City) sent 4000 chosen men to the relief thereof; but they could not enter it without meeting with the Dolphin, who within sight of the City fighting with his whole Army, were all slain, not one escaping: but they sould their liues very dear; for, they fighting in a manner a whole day from the morning till night, were not broken vntill they had slain twice so many of their enemies as they were. After this battell the Emperor sent to require the Dolphin to make no wars in the Territories of the Empire, and began to prouide for the defense thereof. Some report it after this manner, and others after another: the conclusion was, that the Dolphin hauing done much harm in many places, returned to his fathers Kingdom.

A memorable battel fought by the Swissers against the French neer to Basil.

The death of John Paleologus, *Emperor of Constantinople.*

At this time died IOHN PALEOLOGVS Emperor of *Constantinople*; and for that he had no sonne, his brother CONSTANTINE PALEOLOGVS succeeded him. Many matters passed in those daies in *Italy*, which I haue not time to relate. King ALONSO of *Arragon*, possessing the Kingdome of *Naples*, and defending the cause of Pope EVGENIVS (with whom he was in great grace) was by him inuested, and confirmed in his Kingdome.

The death of Pope Eugenius, *whom* Nicholas *the First succeeded.*

Pope EVGENIVS being dead, Cardinall THOMAS SARZANO (who lately was Legate in *Germany*) was chosen, and called NICHOLAS the Fift; to whom (as soon as hee was consecrated) the Emperor sent to acknowledge obedience, and he sought to haue established a generall peace through all *Italy*: but the treaty of peace and the conclusion therof was interrupted by the death of the great and puissant PHILIP, Duke of *Milan*; who might iustly be called great: for, he was great of minde, of body, of power, of estate, and of farre greater wit and vnderstanding than any of his Ancestors: which PHILIP died the thirteenth day of August, in the yeer of our Lord 1447, in the two and fiftith of his age, and the two & thirtith of his raign. When he died he left neuer a son, and but one base daughter called BLANCH, who (as I said) was maried to FRANCIS SFORCE.

The death of the mighty Philip, Duke of Milan.

Titles to the duchie of Milan.

The Duke being dead, the City of *Milan*, crying Liberty and Empire, made choice of twelue men to gouern it; but there was a sudden alteration; for, many sought to haue been Lords therof. The Milanois (as I said) desired their liberty; and King ALONSO of *Naples* and *Arragon* pretended a title of inheritance: for, Duke PHILIP by his Will and Testament made him heir to all his dominions. The Emperor with better right pretended that estate to appertain to the Empire (for default of heirs) and therefore it was to return to the Empire: but hee had not time to come into *Italy*, by reason of the great fear and danger of the coming of the Turks into *Hungary*; which, as Emperor, and Tutor to the young King, hee was to defend. FRANCIS SFORCE, hauing married the base daughter of Duke PHILIP, pretended title to the duchie of *Milan* by the right of his wife. CHARLES Duke of *Orleans* would haue it, for that hee was the sonne of VALENTINA, sister to Duke PHILIP's father; which VALENTINA was married to LEWES Duke of *Orleans*, brother to CHARLES the sixt King of *France*: wherefore CHARLES pretended that Duchy to appertain vnto him. The Venecians, taking for their right the occasion which was offred, presently seised sundry Towns into their hands; as, *Cremona*, *Placencia* and *Lodi*. All those which pretended title to the Duchy of *Milan*, sent their Ambassadors to the Milanois; not that they all did absolutely make claim thereunto, but with certain complements and offers to assist them against the Venecians which took their Townes. The Milanois would accept no Soueraign but the Emperor: whom they intreated to permit them to enioy their liberty, vpon condition whereof they would yeerly giue him a cup of gold in token of their vassallage and subiection; and to that effect they dispatched their Ambassadors vnto him: but God in his secret iudgement had reserued that estate for FRANCIS SFORCE; which hapned after this manner.

FRANCIS SFORCE being certified of the death of his father in law PHILIP, and that the Venecians made themselues Lords of the countrie, hasted him to *Cremona*, which was his owne towne, giuen him for his wiues dowrie, and fortifying, garrisoning, and furnishing the

the same with all things needefull, he went to *Pauia*, whither being called by the inhabitants, he became Lord thereof. The Milanois made him Generall of their Army against the Venecians, and he accepting the charge, hauing good successe, ouerthrew them in battaile: and being victorious (imitating OCTAVIVS CÆSAR) made peace with them, which they gladly accepted, and in their agreement they bound themselues to assist him with certain troupes of men of warre: and he resoluing to put in execution what he had intended (which was to make himselfe Lord of *Milan*) bent his forces against the Townes and Cities of *Lombardy*; some of which he tooke by force, and other by faire meanes, and in the end besieged the city of *Milan* it selfe: and after many accidents, was receiued into it; and so with the title and by right of Armes, was called Duke of *Milan*; and afterwards coming to be Lord of the whole estate, was a mighty and a valiant Prince, and liued many yeers Lord thereof.

At the same time when these matters passed in *Milan* and *Italy*, the Emperor FREDERICK, after the dissolution of the Councell of *Basil*, sought by all means to root out the schism betwixt the Popes, for FELIX was still called Pope and obeyed by the Sauoisins: but the Emperors Counsell and Authority so much preuailed with him, as he was forced to come to obedience, and renouncing the Papacy, was by Pope NICHOLAS made a Cardinall, and his Legate in *Sauoy*, and in certaine other Prouinces. Shortly after ensued great warres in *Germany*, between many of the Imperiall cities, and the Marquesse of *Brandenburgh*, who was assisted by the Earle of *Wittembergh*: the warre was such, as in the space of two yeers that it lasted, they fought nine seuerall times, and fortune fauoring sometime one, and sometime the other; much harme was done before that the Emperour could pacifie the same: vntill at length, by his intercession and commandement, a peace was concluded between these Princes and the cities. And he hauing settled this concord, resolued to come into *Italy*, for the great desire hee had to be crowned, wherein ALONSO King of *Naples* and *Arragon* was his allie and great friend; the Venecians were also his friends, for as he loued peace, so he euer sought to maintaine the same. He hauing resolued to goe his iourney, and agreed to marry with the Lady ELENOR daughter to the King of *Portugall*, it was decreed that shee (he being there) should come into *Italie* by Sea, and that the nuptials should there be solemnized. Whereupon he leuied an indifferent Army of foote and horse, and prouided all things necessary for his iourney: and departing from *Germany*, carried with him LADISLAVS the young king of *Hungary* and *Bohemia*, not without griefe to both those kingdoms, who very instantly desired to haue had the guard of him: by reason whereof, a great number of the Nobles of both those Kingdoms, together with many Lords of *Sueuia* and *Austria* accompanied him: with which (although in warlike manner) in the beginning of January in the yeere of our Lord one thousand foure hundred fifty two, he entred *Italie*: and comming into the countries subiect to the Venecians, Ambassadors with shew of singular loue and affection came to entertaine him, who freely furnished his whole Army with victuals whilst he was in their iurisdiction.

The Emperor going into Italy

Keeping on his way by *Treuigi* and by *Padoa* to *Ferrara*, he was there by BORSIO their Duke sumptuously feasted; and in all parts was entertained with great loue and good will: from *Ferrara* he came to *Bologna* (notwithstanding that FRANCIS SFORCE inuited him to come to *Milan*, there to be crowned with the crowne of Iron) and following his way towards *Rome*, accompanied with the Cardinall which came to receiue him there) he went to *Florence*, and was there most sumptuously entertained, and had the like in *Siena*, whither he presently went: at his being there, he was certified that the King of *Portugals* daughter, to whom he was to be married, being but sixteen yeers old, was arriued by Sea in the city of *Pisa*, and he staying for her there, she, with many gallants in her traine was brought to *Siena*; whdre the Emperour, accompanied with the King of *Bohemia* and other Princes and men of account, went to meete her.

The Emperor was already by his deputy betrothed to her; but he deferred the Nuptials vntill he might receiue her at the hands of the Pope. The Emperor being come to *Rome*, was sumptuously entertained and feasted by Pope NICHOLAS, who vpon the steps comming into Saint PETERS Church clad in his pontificalibus, attending his comming, receiued him; the Empresse and the King of *Bohemia*, kissing his foote, he gaue them his hand: comming into the Church, and hauing made their prayers, and other ceremonies accustomed, they went to their lodgings; and vpon the fifteenth day of March in the yeer one thousand foure hundred fifty two, the Emperour was married to the Empresse, and was the same day with the Iron crowne, which should haue been done in *Milan*, crowned king of *Lombardy*: And three dayes after

Henricus Mulcius lib. 29.

The Emperor Frederick crowned and married in Rome by Pope Nicholas.

after in the same Church, with the ceremonies and solemnities accustomed, was crowned Emperour of *Rome*, and the Empresse in like manner. The feasts at the coronation being ended, the Emperour leauing King LADISLAVS in *Rome* went to *Naples*, whither afterwards came his wife the Empresse, to see King ALONSO who was her vncle, where they were continually for the space of fifteene daies sumptuously feasted. From *Naples* the Emperour by sea, and vp the riuer *Tiber*, returned to *Rome*, thence to take his iourney towards *Germany*; where he was aduertised, that the Hungars and Bohemians had caused some alterations for that the Emperor detained their King from them; the chief motors were VLRICH Earle of *Cilia*, and another VLRICH a man of great power.

The Empresse tarrying 8. daies longer in *Naples* then the Emperour, went by land to *Manfredonia*, and from thence by sea to *Venice*, for she knew that the Emperour would go to see that citie before his returne into *Germany*. The Emperour in his iourney took *Ferrara* in his way, where in reward of the seruice done him by BORSIO Duke of *Ferrara* at his comming and going, he made him Duke of *Modena* and *Reggio*, and gaue him the title and soueraignetie of those cities: and being there, GALEAS SFORCE Viscount, son to FRANCIS SFORCE Duke of *Milan* came to see him, and brought him gifts and presents from his father. The Emperour friendly entertaining him dubbed him Knight, for the good conceit he had of his person. And from *Ferrara* the Emperour sending his people by land, went downe the riuer of *Po* to the citie of *Venice*, where he was receiued with infinite sorts of triumphs, whither the Empresse was already com, and was receiued with no lesse solemnitie: in such feasting and pastimes he spent there other ten dayes: and then departed, accompanied with the Duke and Senate of *Venice* to the sea side, who sent Pouruoiers before with order, that in all their dominion, his whole court should be furnished with al things necessary *gratis*. And so this peaceable Prince passed through *Italy* in peace, and with euery mans loue and applause, which he could not haue done if he had been ambitious and desirous of warre: and if he could haue done it, it would haue bin to the greater losse of his people and expence of money, and with the peril of his life and burthen to his conscience, as by the histories of other Emperours which came into *Italy* to other intents, it may appeare.

Warres betweene the States of Italy.

The Emperor being departed out of *Italy*, it seemed that peace and quietnes went away with him: for the warres presently began betweene those which formerly had bin enemies, who as long as he was there were in some sort pacified. The Venecians being in league with King ALONSO, with the Duke of *Sauoy*, and with the Marquesse of *Monferrato*, against FRANCIS SFORCE Duke of *Milan*, made cruell warre against him, whom the Florentines and LEWIS GONZAGA Marquesse of *Montoa* assisted and aided. And King ALONSO, enemie to the Florentines, sent his son FERDINAND with 8000 horse as some write and 4000 foote to make warre in *Tuscane*. The King of *France* dealt with RENE Earle of *Prouence*, to passe into *Italy* with 2000 horse, in the behalfe of the Duke of *Milan* and the Florentines, in hope of the enterprise of *Naples*. So as there was most cruell war through all *Italy*, the issue whereof I haue no time to declare. The Pope vsing all meanes to haue pacified the same, desired they al should haue ioyned together, to haue holpen the Emperour of *Constantinople* against the great Turk, knowing that he purposed to besiege the citie of *Constantinople*: but he could not then effect the same, and so *Constantinople* was not relieued, when it stood in most need.

The Emperour FREDERICK comming into *Germany*, found it in no better quiet, then at his departure he left *Italy*; for a great part of his countrie of *Austria* was in Armes against him, and had thrust out the Gouernours which he had set there: all which was done for that he had not left the young King of *Hungary* and *Bohemia* at liberty, moued thereto by the Earle of *Cilia* and by VLRICH a great man in *Bohemia*; who perswaded them to take LADISLAVS, the son of ALBERT Duke of *Austria* for their Lord, to whom that countrie did more properly appertaine; and the Emperour vnderstanding of their rebellion, came with part of his Army to a towne called *Nieustat*, where those of *Austria* came against him; and notwithstanding that the Emperour had good forces, yet they fought with him, and the fight continued foure houres: but so many charged the Imperialists, that they were constrained to retire to *Nieustat*, before which those of *Austria* encamping themselues with great furie, in the name of *Hungary* and *Bohemia* requiring their King, battered the same. When it was knowne that the Emperour was besieged, great preparation was made through all *Germany* by sundrie Princes which resolued to free him; and the like was made by the Hungars and Bohemians, which to the contrary required to haue their King.

The

The Emperour foreseeing the great miseries likely to ensue, gaue care to a parley, wherein it was agreed that he should deliuer the young King LADISLVVS who was not yet fully 14 yeers old) into the hands of the Earle of *Cilia*, who should haue the keeping of him vntill November then next comming, in the yeere one thousand foure hundred fifty two: And that the Proctors and deputies of *Hungary* and *Bohemia* should meete in the City of *Viena*, there to conclude who should haue the gouernment of those kingdomes; with many other promises which were neuer performed.

Herewith the siege was raised from before the city, and the Earle of *Cilia*, carried the yong king to *Viena*, where he was receiued with as great ioy, as if he had been the naturall Lord thereof: and so presently without any other treaty, he gaue offices and dignities as lord of the countrie, and was also called Duke of *Austria*, by the Title before specified. To him came presently many great men of both the kingdoms, and amongst them IOHN HVNIADES VAIVODA, who had been gouernor of *Hungary*; and GEORGE POGIOBRACCIO Gouernour of *Bohemia*.

The time appointed being expired, thither resorted many Princes of *Germany*, and Ambassadors from the Emperour: but the yong vnexperienced King would accomplish no part of what was couenanted; and being ruled and led by fauorites, in the small time that he liued many disorders were committed in his house and Court, which ÆNEAS SYLVIVS hath most excellently written in his History of *Bohemia*. *Viena*, and the other Cities which held for LADISLAVS being supported by *Hungary* and *Bohemia*, perseuered in their rebellion, and so continued as long as LADISLAVS liued.

Whilest the Emperor FREDERICK was pestered with these troubles, and the other Princes had warres amongst themselues, MAHOMET the great Turke in the beginning of the yeere one thousand foure hundred fifty three, with an huge Army besieged the Imperiall City of *Constantinople*, the head of all the Greeke and Orientall Empire (CONSTANTINE the last Emperor thereof being within it) which he besieged the space of more then fifty daies; in which time (for that it was not relieued) vpon the nine and twentith day of May in the same yeere, the City was by force taken and entred, and the Emperor, to the shame and dishonour of all Christendome was therein slaine: and in that City were such cruelties committed, as the like thereof had neuer been seene or heard of. For the losse of *Constantinople* all the Princes in Christendome were very sory, but much more when they vnderstood how great cruelties and murthers the Turke had afterwards committed; and that he had taken other Townes and Prouinces thereto adioyning, and that he therewith threatned *Italie* and *Germany*: Whereupon they began to consult of defence and resistance to be made against him: but the Ambition and dissension which raigned amongst them, gaue no place to the conclusion or performance of any good exploite; as in our daies the like hath been seen in the like necessity. Yet the next yeere a peace was concluded in *Italie* between the King of *Naples* and the Venecians, the Duke of *Milan*, and the Florentines, and those of their league: which being concluded, the Pope rigged vp a great fleete of Gallies to make head against the Turkes; but they write that he was euer so sorrowfull after the losse of *Constantinople* that he neuer enioyed good day, but falling sick died, vpon the twenty fift day of March in the yeere one thousand foure hundred fifty fiue, in the fifteenth yeere of the raigne of the Emperour FREDERICK, and the eighth of his Papacy.

Constantinople besieged and taken by the great Turke.

After his decease, Cardinall ALFONSO BORGIA a Spaniard was chosen Pope, and called CALIXTVS the Third. The first thing he vndertooke was to procure warre against the Turke, and to that effect sent out his Buls, and a generall Croisaide, and therewith sent his Legates into all parts of Christendome, especially into *Germany*; where the Emperour hauing the like care, had summoned a Diet or Parliament vpon that occasion. And notwithstanding that many Princes gaue in their names, and offered to serue in this warre, yet the icalousie and dissension amongst them was such, that they put nothing in execution: but the Pope neuertheless sent Cardinall IOHN CARAIAVAL for his Legate into *Germany*; who for that it was certainly known that the Turke was comming into *Hungary*, with the Emperours aide and fauor leuied men and money: presently hereupon came news that the Turke was come, and that he had in his Army (they which say least) one hundred and fifty thousand men, and that he went to besiege *Belgrado* otherwise called *Alba Graca*, and more anciently, *Taurinum*; and that he purposed in few daies (taking that City) to march forwards. King LADISLAVS giuing the charge of that warre, with the defence of that City and Kingdome to IOHN HVNIADES

The great Turke entred Hungary.

NIADES, retired to *Viena*: for in truth he was neither of age, neither had power sufficient to fight with the Turke.

The Popes Legate with the greatest number of men that he could get came to *Buda*, and from thence before the Turks comming put himselfe therewith into the City of *Belgrade*: amongst those which came with him, was one IOHN CAPISTRANO, a Franciscane Frier, who with his sermons and exhortations gathered together and brought with him a great number of men, which for their deuice ware the signe of the Crosse. The Turke comming with his power, and besieging the city, these men wrought wonders in the defence thereof, being furiously battered. To the reliefe thereof, with the power which the Emperor sent, and such others as he could raise in *Hungary*, which were forty thousand Foote, and fiue thousand Horse, came IOHN HVNIADES.

The Turks besieged Belgrade.

To be briefe, it pleased God, that the succors being arriued, and comm to blowes, they had so good fortune that the Turke was ouerthrowne and wounded, and a great number of his men slaine: Whereupon he raising his siege and flying, left his Artillery and baggage behinde him. This happened vpon Saint MARY MAGDALENS day, in the yeere one thousand foure hundred fifty six. All Christendome reioyced, and made bonfiers for this so notable a victory: And *Italie* and *Germany* by this meanes were deliuered from the feare which they conceiued, by reason of the late losse of *Constantinople*: For, considering the great power of the enemy, they all feared to haue been lost. Within few daies after this victory, died that excellent Captaine IOHN HVNIADES: and the Turke by reason of this ouerthrow, suffering *Hungary* and *Italie* to rest in Peace, made warres in the Ilands of the Sea called *Archipelagus*, and in other countries bordering vpon them.

The great Turke ouerthrown before the citie of Belgrade in Hungary.

The Emperor FREDERIDKS raigne was so long, and so many accidents hapned therein, that I shall be enforced to be briefer in writing what followeth, then I haue been in what is past. After this victory obtained by IOHN HVNIADES, the Emperour FREDERICK applyed himselfe to the establishing of peace in *Germany*, to the end he might be able to preuent what might befall: and being busie herein, the yong King of *Bohemia* and *Hungary* being of the age of eighteene yeeres died (not without suspect of poyson) in the City of *Prague*, where he attended the comming of the French Kings daughter, to whom he should haue been married. The realmes of *Hungary* and *Bohemia*, and that also which he held in *Austria*, by reason of his death without issue and heires, were voide; which caused much strife in those countries and kingdoms, about the succession and election, diuers Princes pretending to haue right to them. In the end the Bohemians took GEORGE POGIOBRACCIO (who was Gouernor thereof in the time of LADISLAVS) for their King, a man of a Noble house and of great valour. The Hungars for their King chose MATTHEVV the sonne of that excellent warriour IOHN HVNIADES, as well for the loue which they bare to his father, as for the good hope they had of his person, being a yong man of nineteen yeers old, and then prisoner in *Bohemia* for the death of the Earle of *Cilia*, which grew vpon this occasion, the yong King LADISLAVS was wholly gouerned by the Earle of *Cilia*, who had enuied the vertues and glory of IOHN HVNIADES; and after his death continued his hatred against his sonnes LADISLAVS and MATTHEVV, seeking their ruines: LADISLAVS comming to expostulate the matter with the Earle, they fell to wordes, so as in the end the Earle strooke him, and LADISLAVS slue the Earle.

The King of Hungary being informed of the fact, promised LADISLAVS pardon & gaue him a purple roabe imbroydred with Gold: yet being newly incensed, he seised vpon both the brethren, and put LADISLAVS to death, and finding that the Noble-men of Hungary hated him for this fact, and that he could not stay there without danger, he returned into *Bohemia*, carrying MATHIAS the yonger brother with him, where soon after the yong king died, leauing him a prisoner; whom POGIOBRACCIO the new King of *Bohemia* setting at liberty, married him to his daughter; and he afterwards being King of *Hungary*, proued an excellent and a most valiant Prince.

In the house of *Austria* (the gouernment whereof in right appertained to the Emperour) his brother ALBERT pretended, that for as much as his brother was Emperour, he ought to enioy the same; the like did his cosine SIGISMVND. About this controuersie those of *Austria* assembling maintained the Emperor to be their principall Lord; and that he according to the custome of *Germany* was to haue regard to the maintenance of his brothers and cosin-germanes estate: Wherefore and for the better preseruation of the peace, certain Lands and reuenues

uenues were assigned vnto them. The Emperor vpon this agreement came to *Viena*, and was there receiued and obeyed: but his brother and cosin, persseuering in their purposes, caused some alterations in the Country; and there were some sharp bickerings about this matter: but, by the mediation of LEVVES Duke of *Bauiere*, a composition was made between him and them, yet they were neuer without iealousies and contentions till the death of ALBERT: at which time the Emperor without any contradiction took possession of that estate. After this, in the yeer 1458, died ALONSO, King of *Arragon* and *Naples*, whom his brother IOHN King of *Nauarre* succeeded in the Kingdomes of *Arragon* and *Sicilia*; and in the Kingdom of *Naples* succeeded his base son FERNANDO, who contended with IOHN the son of RENE, with whom his father was at variance about that Kingdome. And in the month of August following, died Pope CALIXTVS; and in his place was chosen ÆNEAS SILVIVS, a Cardinall and Citizen of *Siena*, and was called PIVS the Second; who was so excellently learned, and endued with so many graces, that I cannot expresse what is written in commendation of him: besides this, the books which he wrote bear record of his wisdome and learning; who accordingly first took care for the defense of Christendome, and for the wars against the Turk, and to that effect wrote to the Emperor and the other Princes.

The next yeer after his election, he summoned a generall Councell to be held in the City of *Mantua*, to treat more effectually of the matter; where many Noble-men and Princes Ambassadors met, and many matters were deuised and ordained, which were neuer put in execution, by reason of the wars and troubles in *Italie*, and between the most part of the Princes in Christendome. Particularly in *Germany*, in the yeer 1460, beganne great debate and strife between VDALRICVS Earl of *Wittembergh*, and FREDERICK Count Palatine of *Rhine*, about a dowry and some such matter; for which they came to fight sundry times, and many were slain of either side, vntill that an agreement was made by the Emperors commandement and authority.

After this another warre ensued, of longer continuance and more dangerous; which was for the Archbishoprick of *Mentz*: for which, DIETERVS of *Isenburgh*, and ADVLPH of *Nassaw* contended. DIETERVS, who was in possession of the greatest part of the Bishoprick, being for his contumacy, intrusion, simony, and such other matters, by the Sentence of Pope PIVS deposed, ADVLPH by the Emperors consent was by the Pope created; so as the one to get possession, and the other to defend the same, troubled all *Germany*, which the Emperor could not remedy: for, their rage grew to that height, that his commandements beeing contemned, some Princes taking part with the one, and some with the other, all imploied their whole force therein; and there followed many battels and encounters, and many great Personages were slain of either party.

CARION writes, that Pope PIVS the Second, of the house of the Puolomini, who had been Secretary to the Emperor FREDERICK, relying vpon his priuate loue, and his respect to the Sea of *Rome*, deposed DIETERY from the Archbishoprick of *Mentz*, and aduanced ADVLPH of *Nassaw*. The chief reasons they say were, for that he opposed himself stoutly against the Popes vniust exactions, wherewith the Prouinces were oppresst vnder colour of the Turkish warre; and that Pope PIVS required an oath, whereby his successors should also bee bound, that he should not call the Electors together for the chusing of a new Emperor, or to determine of any other thing concerning the Empire, before they had acquainted the Pope therewith, and knowne his pleasure, which he refused to doo. This quarell drew most of the Princes and chiefest Lords of *Germany* into Armes and combustions; as you haue formerly heard.

This warre continued long: but yet in the end, by the Emperors order and authority, the matter was taken vp; but the harms which were done before that time, could not be repaired as he would haue had them. For, he was so ill obeyed by his subiects in *Austria*, that those of *Viena* ioyning one day with his brother ALBERT, in the yeer of our Lord 1463, took Armes and besieged the Emperor in the Fortresse of that City; and, battring the same, would haue taken him prisoner.

The King of *Bohemia*, who was his next neighbour, desiring to win his grace and fauour, came to his aid; and rescuing him, in such manner pacified the rebellion, that the Emperor if it had so pleased him might haue apprehended his brother ALBERT, but hee of purpose let him go: and it pleased God that a while after Duke ALBERT died, when as without his death there was no mean of peace in the state of *Austria*. He being dead, the Austrians together with Duke

SIGISMVND wholly submiting themselues, became subiect to the Emperour.

The death of Æneas Syluius, otherwise Pope Pius 2.

In the yeere 1464, in the 24 yeer of the raigne of the Emperor FREDERICK, died that excellently learned Pope, PIVS the Second, otherwise called ÆNEAS SYLVIVS, after whom was choſen Cardinal BARBO a Venecian, and was called PAVL the Second, who conſidering that the Turkes daily conquered the Chriſtian countries, applied himſelfe to procure a remedy: but the ſame reaſon which hindred others, preuented him alſo, ſo as he could not bring it to paſſe. Yet the Venecians entred into league with MATTHIAS King of *Hungary*, whoſe fame and reputation was then very great; and they giuing him a certain ſumme of money, reſiſtance was made in diuers parts. About this time died FRANCIS SFORCE Duke of *Milan*, whom his eldeſt ſon GALEAS MARIA SFORCE ſucceeded in that Dukedome. About this time alſo died PHILIP Duke of *Burgundy*, and Earle of *Flanders*, whom ſucceeded the moſt valiant and renowned Captaine Duke CHARLES, called CHARLES the Hardy.

In the ſecond yeer after Pope PAVLS election, the Emperour FREDERICK came to *Rome*, where by the Pope he was moſt honorably receiued: the cauſe of his comming, ſome ſay was to performe a vow which he had made; others ſay that it was to conferre with the Pope concerning warres againſt the Turke: but howſoeuer it was, he came and returned quietly into *Germany*, where through his meanes peace continued long after; at the laſt there was no great warre, eyther in *Germany* or in *Italy*. In thoſe daies notwithſtanding that theſe countries were in peace and quiet, yet Duke CHARLES of *Burgundy* had cruell warres with *France*, and with the Swiſſers, and with other Princes. Pope PAVL being dead, SIXTVS the 4 ſucceeded him, who although he was but a Franciſcane Frier, yet they write that he was ſo warlike, that the moſt part of the time that he was Pope he warred in *Italie*. The next yeer after his election which was in the yeer 1472, and the 32 of the Emperors raign, Duke CHARLES of *Burgundy* (of whoſe power and aſpiring minde and of his warres, and the battails which he fought, wonders are written) procured leaue to ſee, and to ſpeake with the Emperor: and they meeting in *Luxzemburgh*, the Duke requeſted many matters at the Emperors hands; amongſt which, this was one, that the Emperor ſhould giue him the title of King of *Naples*, and make him his Vicar or Lieutenant in *Italie*, for he purpoſed to haue made a conqueſt thereof.

The Emperor diſliking the ambition of this Prince, temporizing in the beſt manner hee could, anſwered him in generall tearmes without concluding any thing, and in a night without bidding him farewell, departed the City; wherewith the Duke was very much diſcontented, and the next yeer following he leuied a very great Army, and marching towards *Colen* beſieged the City of *Nuis*: which he did to the end (as he ſaid) to reſtore *Colen* to ROBERT of *Bauaria* the Archbiſhop thereof, who was his kinſman and good friend. The Emperour vnderſtanding that the Dukes meaning was (if he could) to take *Colen*; required him to raiſe his ſiege; which taking no effect he leuied a very great Army, and therewith marched directly againſt the Duke: but as he was ſlack in his buſineſſe, ſo he needed (conſidering the Dukes power) to haue ſpeedily brought a great Army: but as he came not with ſuch expedition as the cauſe required; ſo the beſieged, and the countrey thereabout endured great extremity, and the ſiege continued many moneths: but he comming at length (though late firſt) and the one Army encamping neere to the other (with the Emperor came the Duke of *Saxony*, the Marqueſſe of *Brandenburgh*, the Archbiſhoppes of *Mentz* and *Treuiere*) and being at the point to haue giuen battaile (which as it was thought would haue been very cruell) a treaty of peace was propounded betweene them, whereto the Emperour neuer refuſed to giue eare, in ſo much that hee was therefore called The peaceable Prince. What the conditions of the peace were, I finde not written by thoſe Authors which I haue read: but the effect of what enſued, was that the Duke raiſing his ſiege from before the Town, returned with his Army into his Countrey; and ſo the war ended betwixt the Emperor and him.

Some write, that by this peace it was concluded that MAXIMILIAN the Emperours ſonne ſhould marry with the only daughter of CHARLES, and enioy all his Prouinces, if he died without iſſue male. Out of this peace were excepted by CHARLES, LEVVES the French King, SIGISMVND of *Auſtria* the Emperors coſin-germane, RENE Duke of *Lorraine*, and the Swiſſers, who had made an irruption into *Burgundy* by the procurement of LEVVES: and hee was incenſed againſt SIGISMVND, for the redeeming of certaine Towns which had beene pawned to him. But the Duke had other warres, for hee euer deſired and procured the ſame, and thereby enlarged his Countries and Dominions vntill that

The death of Charles the Hardy, Duke of Burgundy.

that in the yeere one thouſand foure hundred ſixty ſix, in a cruell battaile which he fought with the Duke of *Lorraine*, he was ouerthrown and ſlain. His death was the cauſe that the Emperor and his ſon MAXIMILIAM warred with the French King, the reliques and ſeed whereof continued long, and hapned in this manner:

The warlike Duke CHARLES dying in ſuch manner, as I ſaid, left no heire but one only daughter; whoſe eſtate contained the two *Burgundies*, the eſtates of *Flanders*, *Brabant*, *Guelders*, *Holland*, *Zealand*, *Artoys*, and many other Towns, beſides thoſe which he had taken in *Lorraine*, in *Picardy*, and from the Swiſſers; for his minde and valour was ſo great, that he durſt hold all the world for his enemy, and made no reckoning to take their townes. But this ſmoake (for ſo it may well be called) being by his death ouerblowne; euen as he had done by all others, ſo all men dealt with his. The Duke of *Lorraine*, and his confederats the Swiſſers, recouered what he had taken from them. LEVVES the French King, ſpeedily leuying an Army, recouered *Picardy*, took the Cities of *Peronne*, *Mountdidier*, *Turnay* and other Townes. The Flemmings and Burgonians with thoſe of their party, in the name of their Soueraign Lady, MARY daughter of the deceaſed Duke, for their defence put themſelues in Armes. The French King alleaged that *Burgundy* for want of heires males, was to returne to the houſe of *France*: the Duke of *Lorraine* by his commandement entring *Burgundy*, took the greateſt part thereof; and the King ſent to require the Ducheſſe MARY to come into *France* in perſon to doe him homage for the Earledome of *Flanders*, and her other eſtates ſubiect to the Crown of *France*: but ſhe vnderſtanding his meaning, refuſing to come ſtood vpon her guard. Hereabout were many treaties and parleys, and many Towns were taken, too long to be recited.

The Flemmings ſending to the Emperour for aide, offered their Ducheſſe MARY in marriage to his ſonne MAXIMILIAN, who was then one and twenty yeeres old, a yong man of a great ſpirit, valiant, a comely perſonage, of a very good conſtitution, and apt for any attempt. The Emperor being very glad of this proffer, granted their requeſts, notwithſtanding that hee ſaw he vndertook a warre againſt *France*, and that he already had warres with MATTHIAS King of *Hungary*, who (like the Duke of *Burgundy*) was never content with what he had, but thought all too little; and incenſing the Auſtrians againſt the Emperor, took ſome towns from him in *Auſtria* and warred vpon him.

The French King hauing intelligence of this treaty of marriage, ſent to the Emperour and his ſonne MAXIMILIAN perſwading them to deſiſt. This notwithſtanding, MAXIMILIAN who was now called Arch-duke of *Auſtria*, with many good men of warre, in Iuly, in the yeere 1467, went into *Flanders*, and marrying this Lady MARY had with her all her dominions: the warres on the Flemmings ſide againſt the French through his comming, were well reinforced: and he therein fighting oftentimes in his owne perſon, ſhewing the greatneſſe of his minde, obtained ſome victories, eſpecially one memorable battaile betweene *Turnay* and *Arras*, wherein he alighting from his horſe, put himſelfe into a ſquadron of foote. Afterwards ſome treaties of peace being motioned, a truce was taken for a time; whereein the French King rendring ſome Towns, continued in poſſeſſion of what he had taken in *Burgundy*, and ſo for a ſeaſon the warre ceaſed. This peace (ſo farre as I can coniecture) was made by the Emperors procurement, by reaſon of warres made againſt him by MATTHIAS King of *Hungary*: for which, being otherwiſe troubled with other occaſions of the Empire, he could make no ſufficient prouiſion, and alſo for that the peace with *Frunce* (as preſently ſhall be ſaid) continued but a ſmall time.

The battaile of Guinegaſt.

The reaſon of the warre, betwixt the Emperor and MATTHEVV CORVINVS King of *Hungary*, was, for that the Pope hauing by his Buls giuen the kingdome of *Bohemia* to CORVINVS, from GEORGE BOIEBRAC, who conſtantly defended and maintayned the doctrine of IOHN HVSSE, which was hatefull to the Court of *Rome*, the Emperor refuſed to inueſt him in the ſaid kingdome. But this quarrell grew violent after the death of GEORGE, when as the Noble-men of *Bohemia*, and the Emperor neglecting CORVINVS, made choice of LADISLAVS the ſonne of CASIMIRE King of *Poland*, the Emperor hauing firſt refuſed to come vnto the ſaid kingdome; eyther terrified with the mutinies of the Bohemians, or elſe that he fled from toyle and danger, wherein he knew he ſhould be engaged againſt ſo powerfull and valiant a Competitor. In this warre the Emperour was in very great daunger to haue loſt *Auſtria*, if ALBERT Duke of *Saxony* had not valiantly and fortunately made head againſt MATTHIAS, forcing him in the end to accept of conditions of peace. MATTHIAS *did ſo honour* ALBERT *for the euent of this warre, as hee gaue him onely*

the prayse, to be one of the greateſt and moſt valiant Captaines among all the Princes of Chriſtendome.

At the ſame time GALEAS MARIA hauing been nine yeers Duke of *Milan*, certaine his ſubiects and fauorites, for his licentiouſneſſe, and inſatiable Luxury, conſpiring againſt him, ſlew him as he was in S. STEPHENS Church at Maſſe, he being then of the age of three and thirty yeeres. He left for his ſucceſſor a ſonne of the age of nine yeers, whoſe name was IOHN GALEAS, who by reaſon of his nonage was vnder the tutele of his mother BONA: through whoſe negligence and vnchaſte life, his vncle LEWYS OF LODOVVICK, called the Moore (a man blinded with ambition and deſire of command) ſeized vpon the perſon of the young Duke, whom he conſumed away with a ſlow poiſon, and vſurped the gouernment, getting into his hands all the ſtrong holds, or whatſoeuer elſe did belong to that ſtate, whereby he came to be abſolute Lord of the whole Duchie: and his Nephew (languiſhing two and twenty yeers) had onely the title of Duke; and LODOVVICK the authority and poſſeſſion: where many matters happened, which for that they concern not my Hiſtory I omit. The truce between MAXIMILIAN and *France* continued little more then one yeere, at the end whereof the French King and he renewed the warre, which laſted a certaine ſpace, and ſome Townes were taken both of the one ſide and of the other; vntill at length through the procurement of the Emperour FREDERICK, a peace betweene them was concluded for ſeuen yeers.

At the ſame time when theſe matters paſſed, the great and mighty Turke MAHOMET, hauing done much harme in the Chriſtian countries, held *Rhodes* beſieged little leſſe then three moneths; but it pleaſed God that he could not then take it: this happened in the yeere of our Lord 1480. After this in the ſame yeere, he ſent a mighty Army by Sea, which landing in *Puglia* and in the kingdom of *Naples*, took ſome Townes, and amongſt others *Otranto*, which they held more then one yeere after: and if through the goodneſſe of God the great Turke had not died, all *Italie* was in danger to haue been loſt: but through the death of this mighty Tyrant (who in *Gracia*, beſides *Conſtantinople* and *Thracia*) had taken and ſubdued many Prouinces, and an infinite number of Cities and Towns) thoſe townes in *Italie* were recouered, and Chriſtendome was freed from the oppreſſion which it endured: and the rather for that his ſonne and heire BAIAZETH in the beginning of his raigne, was troubled with domeſticall warre and diſſenſion. At this time died RENE Earle of *Prouence* and Duke of *Aniow*, an antient challenger of the crown of *Naples*.

The death of Mahomet the great Turke.

In *Italie* was great war at that time, which beginning between the Venecians, and the Duke of *Ferrara*, ſpread it ſelf ouer all *Italie*: Which the Emperour FREDERICK perceiuing, and conſidering how great danger all Chriſtendome was in, hee procured the Princes of *Germany* to ſettle ſome perpetuall peace and concord, thereby to bee able to reſiſt the Turkes: the like he practiſed with the French King, and with his own ſon the Archduke of *Auſtria*, and Duke of *Burgundy*. Whil'ſt he was thus buſie, the Ducheſſe MARY, daughter to the braue Duke CHARLS, with whom MAXIMILIAN had ſo many prouinces, came vnfortunately to her end: for ſhe (as of cuſtome ſhe vſed to doo) riding ahunting, fell from her horſe; and, as ſome ſay, the horſe trode vpon her, or kickt her, whereof ſhee died: others ſay, that with the fall ſhe was ſo bruiſed, that ſhe died thereof the eleuenth day after, which was vpon the ſeuenteenth day of March, in the yeer of our Lord 1482, when ſhee had been Lady of thoſe Countries little more than fiue yeers. She left at her deceaſe one ſonne and one daughter which were PHILIP, who afterward was King of *Spain*, and father to the Emperor CHARLS the Fift; and MARGARET, which afterwards was a Princeſſe in *Spain*. When this Ducheſſe MARY died, LEWES the French King was very ſick, and lying vpon his death-bed, deſired peace; wherewith the Emperour being well pleaſed; they agreed, that MARGARET (which was a childe of two yeers old) when ſhe ſhould be of age, ſhould bee married to his ſonne CHARLES, who afterwards was King and then twelue yeers old: and that their fathers and they ſhould keepe perpetuall peace: with this condition, that eyther of them ſhould continue in poſſeſſion of what they held in *Burgundy*. This being concluded, the young MARGARET with great pompe was brought to *Paris*, where her wedding feaſt was held, although it afterwards took no effect, as ſhall be ſaid.

The death of Lewes kyng of France.

Within fewe daies after this ſolemnity King LEWES died, leauing his ſon CHARLES of the age almoſt of thirteene yeers, to ſucceede him. At the ſame time a peace was coucluded in *Italy*, and about the ſame time the Emperour aſſembled the Princes Electors and other Princes

Princes of *Germany* in the City of *Franckford*, where he deſired and obtained of them to make his ſonne MAXIMILIAN King of the Romans, which was effected in the ſeuen and fortith yeere of his raigne, vpon the ſixteenth day of February, in the yeer of our Lord one thouſand foure hundred eighty ſix: and departing thence with a very great court of Princes and Lords, they went to the City of *Aken*, where he was with great ſolemnity crowned with the crowne which ſometime was of CHARLES the Great; brought for that purpoſe from *Norembergh*, where it was kept with great reſpect. The ſame day, by the conſent of all the Princes, he made a Law: Whereby hee ordained vnder great penalties that peace ſhould bee kept through all *Germany*; which was obeyed, and in the greateſt part of *Germany* obſerued a long time after.

After this, the new king of the Romans came into the Lowe countries, whereof his ſon PHILIP was now lord, whoſe tutor he was, where at firſt he had great oppoſitions, ADOLPH D. of *Guelders* being head of a faction, who (conſpiring with the French) was ſlaine at Tourney, whereupon the Dutchie of Guelders yeelded vnto him; he being aſſiſted by the counſell and fortune of that valiant warriour ALBERT Duke of *Saxony*: the Belgians factiouſly mutyning, and inſolently reiecting the command of their new Prince PHILIP of *Rauenſe* in being head of the faction, he ſo daunted them with incounters and ſieges, during the ſpace of eight yeers, as hauing taken ſome Townes by force and others by compoſition, he ſo terrified the reſt, as they willingly ſubmitted themſelues, and craued pardon.

After which ALBERT of *Saxony* tranſported the warres into *Friſland*, the which (in reward of his great ſeruice, and recompence of his charges) MAXIMILIAN (with the conſent of the Princes of the Empire) gaue vnto him and to his heires for euer, whereof although he ſubdued a great part, yet being preuented by death, he left the victory imperfect to his ſons. But the euent of this *Friſland* was, that although that GEORGE and HENRY brethren, Dukes of *Saxony*, had ſubdued the greateſt part of the countrey, yet afterwards they fell into a new rebellion, not able to endure a ſtrangers yoake: wherewith the brethren of *Saxony* being tyred, this Prouince lying farre from their hereditary poſſeſſions, the enioying whereof would be more chargeable then beneficiall, they afterwards paſt it ouer by tranſaction, to the Emperor CHARLES the Fift, for a certain ſum of money.

MAXIMILIAN being in the City of *Bruges*, in the yeere one thouſand foure hundred eighty ſeuen, vpon certain diſcontentments the Burghers roſe againſt him, and in this tumult apprehending his perſon, with certain of his traine, they held him priſoner the ſpace of foure moneths: whereof when his father had intelligence, leuying the beſt forces that he could, he haſted to him, and notwithſtanding that his ſonne before his comming was at liberty, yet he ſeuerely puniſhed the Burghers of *Bruges* and of *Gaunt*, and ſo the king of the Romans peaceably enioyed the gouernment of the Prouinces of the Low Countries, and of that which he held in *Burgundy*, and his father the Emperor being now old and tyred, returned into *Germany*, to maintaine peace and iuſtice, and to prouide for defence to be made againſt the Turks. For the preſeruation whereof, notwithſtanding that MATTHIAS King of *Hungary* had taken *Viena* and other townes in *Auſtria*, he endured it, and attempted not by force to recouer the ſame: but within ſhort ſpace after King MATTHIAS died, without any heires, when he had raigned ſeuen and thirty yeers. His death being made knowne to MAXIMILIAN King of the Romanes, he with great ſpeede departed from *Flanders*; and through his fathers aide, leuying a puiſſant Army, in ſhort ſpace recouered *Viena*, and all the reſt which King MATTHIAS had vſurped.

Whileſt theſe matters were in handling, LADISLAVS ſonne to CASIMIR King of *Poland* wholly recouered the kingdom of *Bohemia*, for which both he and his father CASIMIR had warred with king MATTHIAS, from the time that GEORGE POGIOBRACCIO died. After this, both he and MAXIMILIAN pretending to be King of *Hungary*, each of them ſought to marry the Queene widdow, the Lady BEATRIX of *Arragon*, daughter to FERDINAND King of *Naples*, who was of great authority in that Kingdome. MAXIMILIAN being ſomwhat ſlow in the matter deferred the time; but LADISLAVS making more haſte, married her and was receiued for King of *Hungary*, and crowned in *Alba Regalis*, and preſently between him, the Emperor and MAXIMILIAN a peace was concluded, wherin it was ordained by the conſent of thoſe of the kingdom, that if LADISLAVS died without lawfull iſſue male, then MAXIM. and his heirs ſhould inherit the kingdom. But LADISLAVS raigned 22 yeers after, and his ſonne LEWES ſucceeded him, who married MARY ſiſter to the Emperor

CHARLES the Fift: and FERDINAND brother to the Emperour CHARLES, married his ſiſter ANNE: by which marriage (King LEWES being in the yeere of our Lord 1526. ouerthrowne and ſlaine by SOLIMAN the great Turk) this FERDINAND ſucceeded in the kingdomes of *Hungary* and *Bohemia*: and ſo the couenant by meanes neuer thought of, came to take effect betweene LADISLAVS and MAXIMILIAN; which paſſed in the yere 1490.

Lewes king of Hungary ouerthrowne and ſlaine by the Turke, anno Dom. 1526.

Returning to our hiſtory, after this agreement, MAXIMILIAN comming to *Norimbergh*, by the conſent of his father he treated of a marriage betweene him and the Ducheſſe of *Britaine*, who after her fathers deceaſe without heires males, ſucceeded in that Dukedome: and CHARLES the French King in like manner ſought to haue her, notwithſtanding that he was alreadie betrothed to MARGARET of *Burgundy*, which was but a child, and whom he had in his power, as hath been declared.

The French writers excuſe him herein, and yeelde reaſons for what he did; whereof thoſe Kings are neuer to ſeeke which haue not the feare of God before their eyes. They alleaged that the Kings contract with the young Lady MARGARET was of no force, for that ſhe was vnder age; and alſo for that King CHARLES neuer conſented thereto: and notwithſtanding that he had conſented, yet he was likewiſe vnder age, and afterwards reuoked the ſame; And that the contract of the Ducheſſe of *Britanie* with MAXIMILIAN was of no effect: for the Ducheſſe gaue thereto no ſufficient authoritie, for none of the Ambaſſadours being foure in number, had any authority in *ſolidum* to make any contract; neither had the Ducheſſe any meaning to do it: and that which ſhe did was but to temporize with the Britaines, to the end they ſhould not yeeld themſelues to King CHARLES of *France*. And admitting that the contract had been made by men hauing ſufficient authority, not being confirmed it was of no force, for that the conditions and couenants were not afterwards performed. Finally, by theſe and other reaſons they excuſe him, holding their arguments for true and ſufficient in their opinion. And the French King going into *Britaine*, the Princeſſe MARGARET (who was nothing ſorie for it) returned: for (they ſay) ſhe neuer liked of the match, yet yeelded thereto by the perſwaſion of the Flemmings: and ſo a very furious and cruell warre began betweene the Emperor, his ſon MAXIMILIAN, and the French King. And foraſmuch as his father was now old, MAXIMILIAN had the ſole gouernment, and had already vndertaken the charge: but after ſome bickerings, a *fained peace was made betweene them*; whereto MAXIMILIAN by reaſon of the great and exceſſiue charges of the warr, and for ſome other reſpects, was conſtrained to condeſcend; but principally for that at the ſame time, which was in the yeere 1492, the men of warre which had ſerued the valiant MATTHIAS King of *Hungary*, which kept ſtill together (& for that they wore mourning colours for their King, were cald the black Regiment) through want of pay, or ſome other inſolence, making war in *Auſtria*, had the ſpoile of ſome townes: for the reliefe whereof, MAXIMILIAN leuying forces, went into thoſe parts, and without any great trouble brake and ſcattered the mutiners, and for example to others ſeuerely puniſhed them.

Warres betweene the Emperour and the French King.

This yeere was much noted aboue others for three ſpeciall things: the firſt was, for that therein died Pope INNOCENT the 8, in the eighth yeere of his Papacie; whom RODRIGO *de Boria* a Spaniard, borne in *Valencia* in *Spaine* ſucceeding, was called ALEXANDER the Sixt: GVICCHARDIN writing of his election ſaith, that hee came to be Pope by briberie, hauing corrupted ſome of the Cardinals with money, and poiſoned the reſt with promiſes of offices and great preferments; which made him hatefull to the world; and drew vpon him the vengeance of God. But his election was not ſo diſtaſtefull, but his conditions were more odious: who although he were ſharpe witted, excellent in counſell, a good Orator to perſwade and of great Iudgement in the greateſt affaires, yet theſe vertues were wonderfully blemiſhed by his vices: for his manners were diſhoneſt, in his actions was no ſinceritie, there was no modeſtie in his countenance, ſmall truth in his words, little faith in his heart, and leſſe religion in his ſoule. Al his actions were ſtained with inſatiable couetouſnes, immoderate ambition, barbarous cruelty, and a burning deſire to aduance his children (by what meanes ſoeuer) being many in number, among the which there was one no leſſe deteſtable then the father, to whoſe curſed counſels he became a wicked inſtrument. The ſecond was, for that the great citie of *Granada* in *Spaine*, was in the beginning of that yeere, by FERDINAND and ISABEL King and Queene of *Caſtile* taken from the Moores: the third was, for that in the ſame yeere, by the commandement of the ſame Princes, the *Weſt Indies* were diſcouered in the Ocean ſea.

This being paſt, and the yeer 1493 being comi; *Germany* and *Italie* beeing, through the Emperors

perors wiſdome and good gouernment, in peace, and himſelf at peace with all Princes, in quiet poſſeſſion of the Duchie of *Auſtria*, and his ſonne MAXIMILIAN beeing King of the Romans, and Gouernor of the ſtates and prouinces of the Lowe Countries and of part of *Burgundy*, in the behalf of his ſonne PHILIP; when he had raigned 53 yeers and foure months Emperor (wherein no Emperor but AVGVSTVS CÆSAR, who raigned three yeers longer, could be compared with him: but yet FREDERICK did far exceed him in age) at this time it pleaſed God to take him out of the world. This Prince is reported to haue had many vertues: for, beſides that he was courteous, deſirous of peace, temperate in his diet, and very deuout, he was in all his life time neuer heard to ſwear but twice, which he could not auoid; once was, when he was crownd in *Aken*; the other time in *Rome*. He had great care for the preſeruation of the lands of the Empire: and to the end not to hazard the ſame, or to bring them in queſtion, he ſometimes made peace with the loſſe of his owne eſtate; neither would he euer inueſt FRANCIS SFORCE nor his ſon GALEAS MARIA in the Duchie of *Milan*, notwithſtanding that they were in quiet poſſeſſion thereof: which when FRANCIS SFOSCE ſaw it would not be gotten without much money, hee gaue ouer the purſuit, nothing fearing the Emperors force, who was diuerted without other war. He had by his wife ELENOR (who died long before him) three ſons and two daughters: his firſt ſonnes name was CHRISTOPHER, who died a childe: his ſecond ſonne was MAXIMILIAN, who was afterwards Emperor: the third was IOHN, who alſo died a childe. Of his two daughters, the one, called HELEN, died in her infancy; and the other, called HVGRADA, was maried to ALBERT, Duke of *Bauiere*, and was afterwards mother to the Dukes, WILLIAM, LEWES and ERNESTVS.

The death of the Emperor Frederick the third



THE LIFE OF MAXIMILIAN, THE FIRST OF THAT NAME, AND HVNDRETH AND FOVRTEENTH ROMAN EMPEROR.

(***)

THE ARGVMENT.

FRederick *being dead, his ſonne* Maximilian, *who in his fathers life time had the gouernment of the Empire, was without any contradiction made Emperor. In the beginning of his Raign, hee diſpoſing himſelf to go to the warrez againſt the Turke, who had kept a great ſtirre in Hungary, made him to flee. Hee took to wife* Blanch, *daughter to the Duke of Milan, and made great warrez againſt the Swiſſers. In this Emperors time the Piſans in Germany made an inſurrection, which was one of the greateſt tumults that had been ſeen: but they being ſoon ſuppreſſed, he ſubdued many other Rebels. Then became to growe the cauſes of the diſſenſion between Spain and France for the Duchie of Milan. This Emperor made warre againſt the Venetians: then*

then followed the terrible battailes of Rauenna and Marinian, with diuers accidents of warre, which ended in a fained (yet for a time durable) peace. When the Emperour Maximilian *departed out of this life, he had raigned 25 yeeres.*



After the peaceable FREDERICK, followed his son, the warlike and victorious MAXIMILIAN, who in his fathers life time was crowned King of the Romanes. The same yeere that his father the Emperour FREDERICK, died, the Turkes made an incursion into the countrie of *Croacia*, a prouince of *Hungary*, which bordereth vpon *Dalmatia*: and the new Emperour desiring to preuent the danger, speedily raising his forces, went to fight with them, but they hauing intelligence of his comming, retired: whereupon he dissolued his Army. The Emperour MAXIMILIAN hauing bin a good space a widower; when as his father was dead, he contracted himself to the Lady BLANCH, the daughter of GALEAS, and Niece to LEVVES SFORCE Duke of *Milan*; who being Vncle and gouernor to his Nephew IOHN GALEAS (who in right was Duke) vsurped and held his estate. This BLANCH being the faireſt woman of her time was wooed by many Princes, yet to her was the Emperour married. To whom LODOVVICK promised in dowrie 400 thousand duckets, to be paied within a certaine time and 40 thousand in iewels and other ornaments: and MAXIMILIAN (regarding money more then the alliance) tyed himselfe to inueſt LODOVVICK *in the Duchie of Milan (to the preiudice of* IOHN GALEAS his new brother in-law) to hold it for him and his succeſſors, as if the estate had been without a Duke since the death of PHILIP MARIA visconti. At the same time, which was in the yeere of our Lord 1494. the French king CHARLES the Eight made preparation to come into *Italy*, who a little before had giuen out in speeches that he meant to make a conqueſt of the kingdome of *Naples*, which he pretended to belong to him, by the last will and succeſſion of RENE Lord of *Prouence*, and his ancestors Dukes of *Anjow*: whereto he was chiefly induced by LEVVES Duke of *Milan* Vncle to the right Duke IOHN: For FERDINAND King of *Naples*, and his sonne ALONSO, had required him to leaue the gouernment of *Milan*, to Duke IOHN GALEAS, who was married to King FERDINANDS Niece, and vpon this quarrell they determined to make warre vpon him: by reason whereof he by all meanes possible perswaded the French King to come against him into *Italy*, and to that effect furnished him with a great summe of money. And to the end that the Emperor MAXIMILIAN should not be his enemy in this case, LEVVES SFORCE procured this marriage of his Niece with the Emperour. In the time wherein his comming was most bruited, died FERDINAND King of *Naples*, when he had raigned seuen and thirty yeeres, and his son ALONSO Duke of *Calabria* succeeded him.

Charles the eighth, King of France, came into Italy.

At this time was the new Empresse BLANCH carried into *Germany*, and there was married to MAXIMILIAN; *Germany* being in peace and quiet, and the Emperor taking care for the warres, and resistance to be made against the Turkes. But the King of *France* neuertheleſſe took his way towards *Italy*: and to the end he might passe in more safety, he gaue to King FERDINAND the Earledome of *Rossillion*, and the Ile of *Sardinia*, which IOHN, father to FERDINAND had morgaged to LEVVES the French King, father to this CHARLES. Of the comming of this King CHARLES, although it concerneth not this history, yet I will briefly write the summe: for it was a matter very famous, and much feared by the Pope, and by all the Princes and Potentates of *Italy*: and also for that it will serue for the better vnderstanding of what we shal speak of hereafter,

King CHARLES then with 50000. men of foote and horse, in the moneth of September in the same yeere came into *Lombardy*, where he was by Duke LEVVES receiued with great honor, and his Army was by him furnished with all things necessarie. Being there he went to visit the right Duke, IOHN GALEAS, who lay sicke in *Pauia*, and within few daies after died, leauing a young son called FRANCIS: He was his cosin germane: for the King and GALEAS came of two Sisters, daughters to LEVVES the Second, Duke of *Sauoy*. The words he vsed to him were in generall, for that LODOVVICK was present, onely expressing how much he was grieued for his sicknes, perswading him to hope of recouerie, but in his minde the King and all that were with him had great compaſſion on him, beleeuing confidently that the young gentleman had not long to liue, by the villanie of his vncle. The presence of ISABELL his wife did adde much to this compaſſion: who not onely full of sorrow for her husbands infirmity and the estate of her little son, but much afflicted for the danger wherein her father and friends were, in the presence of them all fell at the Kings feet, recommending vnto him with teares, her father and his howse of *Arragon*: to whom although the King for her age, beautie and present fortune made some shewes of pittie, yet not able to stay the course of so great an action vpon so slender an occasion, he answered her with shewes of will to do that which he could not; saying, that he was forced to prosecute the enterprize, being so farre aduanced. Then holding on his iourney he came to *Pisa*, and was afterwards receiued into *Florence*, and from *Florence* he went to *Rome*, no man daring by the way to make head against him, and much lesse at his comming to that city.

Pope ALEXANDER not daring stay his comming in his Palace, retired himself into the Castle Saint *Angelo*, so much did they stand in feare of him. Afterwards they two came to a composition of peace, although they neither met nor spake together: but afterwards vpon security they met and conferred; and within few daies after, the King with the greateſt part of the forces which he brought with him out of *France*, tooke his way towards the Kingdom of *Naples*, in the moneth of Ianuary, in the yeere of our Lord 1495. where King ALONSO durst not stay vntill he came; aswell by reason of the great Army which he brought with him, as for that, by reason of his vicious and dissolute life, he was ill beloued of his owne subiects of that kingdom. Whereupon, at what time as King CHARLES was in *Rome*; King ALONSO hauing raigned not fully one whole yeere, giuing vp that Kingdome to his son FERDINAND, went into *Sicilia*, where he became a Monke, and in short space after died: by reason whereof, his son FERDINAND being King, he raised the greateſt power hee was able, so that it is affirmed he had 5000. men at Armes, 500. light horse, and a great number of foot. Neuertheleſſe the French had so good succeſſe, and King FERDINAND found so great feare, and so little constancie in his people, that after some accidents, he came to *Naples*, and thence fled by Sea to *Ischaia*, and afterwards into *Sicilia*; and so the French King in two moneths space, became Lord of the whole Kingdome, excepting some little townes vpon the Sea side, which held for King FERDINAND.

King Charles of France his conqueſt of the kingdome of Naples.

Pope ALEXANDER seeing the prosperitie and power of King CHARLES in the kingdome of *Naples*, knowing his ambition, and fearing to loſe his estate; whil'ſt he was busied in the conqueſt of *Naples*, procured a league to be made betweene himselfe, the Venecians, and the Emperour MAXIMILIAN, whom hee solicited to come into *Italy* to the reliefe and defence of his Church. Into this league also entred LEVVES Duke of *Milan* (notwithstanding that by his procurement King CHARLES took occasion to come into *Italy*) being grieued in minde for that King CHARLES had so good succeſſe in *Naples*, which made him stand in feare of his owne estate; whereto the French King euer had an eye; as afterwards LEVVES Duke of *Orleans* and cosin germane to King CHARLES, who afterwards was King, made apparant; who challenged that Dukedome to appertaine vnto him, for that he was Nephew of the other LEVVES Duke also of *Orleance*, brother to King CHARLES the Sixt, and of his wife VALENTINA, sister to Duke PHILIP of *Milan*, the last of the Viscounts; whose bastard, FRANCIS SFORCE Duke of *Milan* took to wife, when he became Lord of that Duchie. Whereupon LEVVES for the better confirmation of his estate, obtained of MAXIMILIAN (as supreme Lord of all *Lombardy*) to be inuested in the Duchie of *Milan*: which in my iudgement, and of all those which write without passion, was his trueſt and beſt title; for after the death of Duke PHILIP aboue named, neither the Emperour FREDERICK, neither MAXIMILIAN had giuen the title to the Duke, or to his Father, or to his Nephew; neither could it descend to them by the feminine sex, and much lesse to this LEVVES Duke of *Orleans*, who then fought, and afterwards took the same, when he came to be King of *France*; and by so much the more, for that the descendents from this SFORCE, came from the woman being a bastard, whereby he vniustly and without reason posſeſſed so great an estate: he being inueſted by the Emperour with great ioy and solemnitie, tooke the Ducall Enſignes. King CHARLES hauing intelligence of the League newly made by these Princes, resolued to leaue such forces in the kingdome of *Naples*, as might suffice for the defence thereof, and with the rest of his Army to returne into *France*; and marching towards *Rome*, giuing the Pope to vnderstand that he came to do his dutie to his Holines; Pope ALEXANDER after some Ambaſſages betweene them, not daring to abide his comming, departed from *Rome*; wherein, and in other townes belonging to

to the Church, the Kings troupes did much harme. The Pope not holding himselfe to be in safety in *Civita Vechia*, went to *Perugia*, with an intent, if he were oppressed, to go to *Ancona*, and there to imbarke himselfe for *Venice*.

A battell betwixt the Frech and the Italians at Fornouo.

The French King departing from *Rome*, continued his iourney towards *France*, notwithstanding that he knew that in *Lombardy* the Venecians and the Duke of *Milan* had an Army in a readinesse to fight with him; and in *Lombardy* LEWES Duke of *Orleans* had already taken the City of *Nouarra*, vnder pretext of the title aforesaid: whereupon the Duke of *Milan* made haste to besiege him. King CHARLES coming neer to *Parma*, passing the riuer *Tarro*, found a great Army of his enemies; whereof FRANCIS GONZAGA Marquesse of *Mantoa* was General: with whom neer to the riuer they cam to a battel, where hapned very notable accidents. But heerin is great difference among Writers about this matter: for, the French attribute the victory to their King; and the Italians giue it to the Venecians and to the Milanois. The truth is, that neither of the Armies was wholly broken or ouerthrowne, but the Italians that day seemd to be Masters of the field: which appears in this, that they taking many French prisoners, none of them were taken by the French; and they moreouer compelled the French king to seek another passage, by reason whereof they were reputed to haue the victory.

There died in this battell, which was fought on the sixt day of Iuly, in the yeer of our Lord 1495, a thousand men of both sides. But GVICHARDIN, writing of this battell of *Taro* or *Furnoue*, saith, that the French had not aboue 200 slain; and of the confederates there were slain 3000: among which was RAINVCIO *de Farneze*, Leader of the Venecian horsemen. Touching the honour of the victory, either side sought to appropriate it to himself with what reasons they could produce; The Italians, for that their tents and carriages were not spoiled: but, by the generall opinion of all indifferent men, the French were held to haue the glory of the victory, both for that they slue more of their enemies, they chased them ouer the riuer, and wonne their liberty to passe on. But after some treaties between the two Armies, the French in a night went towards *Aste*; where the King remained certain daies, and a peace was concluded between him and the Duke of *Milan*: and LEWES Duke of *Orleans* rendring *Nouarra*, King CHARLES returned into *France*; and shortly after, FERDINAND King of *Naples* recouered that Kingdome, but not without great difficulty, by reason of the French which remained in garrison there, and of those which the King afterwards sent thither. In which war, matters of greatest importance for the seruice of King FERDINAND, were guided and directed by the famous Captain GONSALO FERNANDES of *Cordoua*, who for his excellency was called the great Captain of *Spain*; sent thither by King FERDINAND, called the Catholick, for the defense of that Kingdome the first time that he went thither: and so of all this great enterprise, there remained nothing to the French King, but that hee did much harm, and put all *Italy* in great fear (for, the reputation and power wherewith he came, was very great) and making a iourney, gaue a bold attempt, and therewith returned.

The Kingdom of Naples recouerd by King Ferdinand of Arragon.

Whilst these matters passed in *Italy*, the Emperor in the same yeer 1495, assembled a Councell or Diet in the City of *Worms*; where the matter was debated, whether the Emperor should go to relieue the Pope against the French King, or make warre against the Turk: but the Princes were so contrary in their opinions, that nothing was concluded. The Emperor at this Assembly gaue to the Earls of *Wittemburgh* the title of Dukes, which they hould to this day: and from thence he sent the Ensignes and inuestiture before named to LODOVVICK Duke of *Milan*; and other matters were ordained concerning the gouernment and peace of *Germany*. At that time was MAXIMILIAN daily solicited by the Duke of *Milan* to come into *Italy*: and in the end by his importunity, and promise of certain money for the defraying of his Army, the Emperor past the mountains but slenderly accompanied, giuing it out that the body of the Army which he had promised, marched after. Being entred *Italy*, he sent to haue the Duke of *Sauoy* and some other Princes come and speak with him: but his forces were so contemptible, that not any one would obey. Then LODOVVICK Duke of *Milan* perswaded the Emperor to go to *Pisa* (against whom the Florentines made warre) hoping by his means to get that Towne into his hands: whereupon, the Emperor sent Ambassadors to *Florence*, to let them vnderstand, that intending to go with a great Army against the Infidels, hee held it necessary first to come into *Italy*, for the pacifying of all quarels. And for that it did belong to his Imperiall Authority, he required to be informed of the controuersies between them and the Pisans; commanding them in the mean time to surcease from Arms, with assurance that hee would administer iustice indifferently. To whom they sent their Ambassadors to *Genoa* to beseech him to think, that

The Emperor comes into Italy.

that seeing his holy resolution was to settle peace in *Italie*, there was nothing more conuenient than to restore *Pisa* to the Florentines, from whence sprung all the discontentments to his Maiesty and the confederates, *Pisa* being in that regard the cause which made some aspire to the Empire of *Italie*; who to that end laboured to keep it in continuall warre, meaning the Venecians. Moreouer, that it was not agreeable to iustice, that such as had been dispoiled by force, should (contrary to the Imperiall lawes) be constrained to referre their rights to compromise, if they were not restored to their possession; which if they might obtain of him, they would then refer their cause to him, and wholly rely on his iustice. MAXIMIL. discontent with this answer, went by sea to *Pisa*, meaning to besiege *Liuorn*: where doing little good, he raised his siege, and returnd suddenly with little honour into *Germany*, hauing shewed his weakness in *Italy*.

It hapned after, that King FERDINAND hauing recouered his Kingdome, falling sick, died; and for that hee had no sonne, his vncle FREDERICK, brother to his father King ALONSO, had the Kingdome; and many other matters befell in *Italy*, which I haue no time to write: and the Emperor was in peace with King CHARLES, who shortly after in the yeer 1497, died suddenly; which caused a great alteration: for, by reason that he had no issue male, the aforenamed LEWES Duke of *Orleans*, being next of blood, succeeded him in the Kingdome of *France*; who as soon as he was King, caused himself to be called Duke of *Milan*; whereby it might be easily perceiued, that he had a resolution to do that which he afterwards put in execution: and he presently diuorcing himself from his wife IOAN, which was sister to his Predecessor CHARLES, alleaging for his reason that she was barren, and that he was forced to marry her; and also to the end to haue (as he had) the Duchie of *Britain*, he married the widow Queen ANNE, late wife of the deceased King CHARLES.

The Emperor hauing intelligence of the death of the French King, desiring to get the Duchy of *Burgundy* for his sonne PHILIP, who afterward was King of *Spain*, entred it with an armed hand, and took some Towns: for the defense whereof, the new King LEWES sent a very great Army; but within fewe daies following, a peace was concluded between them, greatly to the Emperors honour and aduantage: which was the more easily effected, by reason of the great desire the French King had to proceed in his enterprise against *Milan*, for the right which he pretended to haue to that Duchie; and for that the Emperor had resolued to make warre against the Duke of *Gelders*. The Duke of *Milan* hauing a watchfull eye, and standing in great fear of the French Kings proceedings, as much as was possible for him prouided for his defense, principally through the league and friendship with the Emperor; who, being of sufficient power to protect him, was resolued to haue done so: but other warres happening in the mean time with the Swissers, who in the yeer of our Lord 1499, made warres in the Territories belonging to *Austria* (which warre, and the occasion thereof, is written at large by HENRICVS MVCIVS and NAVCLERVS); the Emperor, leauing the enterprise of *Gelders*, went to this warre: for, the Swissers (called in antient time Heluecians) as well by reason of the situation of their countrey, enuironed with most high hils and steep mountains, as also for their great strength and courage, were then (and at this day are) greatly esteemed, and reputed valiant in Arms. MAXIMILIAN coming against them, notwithstanding that this warre began against his will, yet he followed the same in such sort, that in sundry conflicts and encounters between them, 30000 men were slain of both parts, but the greatest number was of the Swissers; fortune inclining sometime to the one side, and sometime to the other: in the which warre he did wonders in his owne person, vntill that at last, through the entreaty of the Duke of *Milan* and other Princes (which interposed themselues) the Emperor concluded a peace with them. But before that this warre was ended, LEWES the French King (who procured the same) to take benefit of the time, raised his whole power; and in the moneth of October, the same yeer, entring *Lombardy*, he besieged and took the Duke of *Milan*'s Towns; who because he was ill beloued of his subiects, and the Emperor failing him in his necessity, and also because the Venecians were in league with the King, he resolued by abandoning the City to giue place to the French fury; and sending his brother ASCANIVS SFORCE before, with his sonnes MAXIMILIAN and FRANCIS into *Germany*, he with the best and greatest part of his treasure, within few daies after followed. The Duke being in this manner departed, the French King with very little resistance or none at all, was receiued into *Milan*, and into the rest of the cities in that Duchy: and the Venecians (according to the composition made betweene them) took the citie of *Cremona* and other places of that estate.

King

King LEWES being in this manner become Lord of all *Lombardy*, leauing therein such gouernours and garrisons as he thought expedient, returned victorious and triumphant into his countrey. The Duke of *Milan* being come before the Emperour (who loued him very well) was by him very honorably and kindly intertained; and within few daies after, the Emperour assembling the greatest part of the Princes of the Empire, resolued to relieue and succour him as a prince by him inuested, and who had the best title to that estate; and so with the greatest, expedition that could be made, a good Army was leuied, the greatest part whereof were Swissers; wherein the Cardinall ASCANIVS the Dukes brother vsed great diligence. With these men and with such others as he leuied in *Italy*, the Duke in the yeere 1500. returned into *Lombardy*, and his brother the Cardinal going before, was receiued into *Milan* and other cities; who speedily conducted thither his brother.

The Swissers gaue the Duke of Milan into the power of his enemie the French King.

The French King being certified hereof, in the greatest haste possible sent into *Lombardy* the greatest number of choice men that he could get, the greatest part whereof likewise were Swissers: and the Duke who wanted neither men nor courage to fight, attended in field the comming of the French Army: the two Armies being at the poynt to haue ioyned, the Swissers which were with the Duke, not onely refused to fight, but (as some say) corrupted with money, deliuered vp the poore Duke to the French, who was carried prisoner into *France* and afterwards his brother the Cardinall was taken. And so in few daies space, the French King recouered the estate of *Milan*, and Duke LEWES afterwards, poore, afflicted, and depriued of his Duchy; dyed in prison, hauing been one of the most puissant, valiant and redoubted Princes of the world.

The Duke of Gandie murthered by his brother.

Pope ALEXANDER (who neuer had any feeling or compassion of an other mans affliction and miseries) felt tragicall crosses in his owne howse, the fruits of lust and vnnaturall crueltie; for he still desiring to aduance the Duke of *Gandie* his eldest son to all temporall greatnes, the Cardinall of *Valentie* ambitiously affecting his brothers place, and withall enuying him that he had a better share in the loue of the Lady LVCRETIA their common sister; thrust on by lust and ambition, hee caused him to be murthered as he rode one night alone in the streetes of *Rome*, and his body to be cast into *Tiber*. GVICHARDIN writes, that it was reported, that the father was a concurrent with his two sonnes in the loue of his daughter LVCRETIA, who being made Pope took her from her husband, as too meah, and married her to IOHN SFORCE Lord of *Pesaro*; but not able to endure her husband to be his corriuall, he dissolued this second marriage, suggesting that IOHN was colde by nature, and vnable to cohabit. The death of the Duke of *Gandie* afflicted him so, as with teares in the open consistorie he accused his owne actions and life, and promised reformation.

In this yeere 1500, vpon Saint *Matthias* day, being the fiue and twentieth day of *February*, CHARLES who afterwards was King of *Spaine* and Emperour, and was called CHARLES the Fift, was borne in the citie of *Gaunt* in *Flanders*. Duke LEWES hauing in this manner lost his estate, the Emperor receiued his sons which the Cardinal ASCANIVS brought with him: what became of them, you shall heare hereafter. In the yer 1501, prodigious sights, much to be admired, appeared in *Germany*; for certaine crosses of sundry colours, and some blacke, were seene vpon men and womens apparel, vpon their heads, and vpon the beds whereon they did lie, made so perfect and so liuely for the time they lasted, that it was wonderful to behold; after which, ensued a most grieuous and cruell Pestilence. In those dayes also in *Asia* began the Empire and dominion of that great Prince, called the Sophi of *Persia*, who had his beginning from one called SECHIN, or SECHIN, who was said to be descended from the auntient Kings of the Persians: this Prince by Armes made himselfe Lord of all *Persia*, and of great part of *Armenia*, of *Mesopotamia*, and other Prouinces: and afterwards the Kingdome of *Persia* was established in his successors; which since encreasing, is in some sort a bridle to the vnmeasurable rapine and power of the great Turk.

At the same time, LEWES the French King standing in some doubt of the Emperor, by reason of his late conquest of *Milan*, and the enterprise of *Naples*, which he purposed to vndertake, sought to enter into a league with him, and to giue his eldest daughter CLAVDIA in marriage to young CHARLES, who afterwards was Emperour and King of *Spaine*, being then but one yeere olde (she being also an infant) to whom appertained the succession and inheritance of the Duchy of *Britaine*: with this match, the Emperour and his son PHILIP were well content: and Queene IOANE and the said PHILIP being then to goe into *Spaine*, by the leaue and consent of the said French King, went through *France*, and in the citie of *Paris* this marriage

marriage was solemnized; and so they passed into *Spaine*, where they making their abode not fully two yeeres, returned by the same way they came through *France*, as through their friends countrey. Which marriage afterwards was not accomplished, for King LEWES married his said daughter CLAVDIA, to FRANCIS Duke of *Angolesme*, who was afterwards King: by reason whereof King LEWES lost the title which he pretended to haue to the Duchy of *Milan*; for at the making of the peace, it was decreed, that if this marriage took not effect, that then the Emperor, should giue the Duchy of *Milan* to the said young Prince CHARLES. The French King being in this manner in league with the Emperour, sought also to enter into the like with FERDINAND King of *Castile*, with these conditions; that they two making a conquest of the kingdome of *Naples*, and deposing King FREDERICK should diuide the same betweene them: which conditions were accepted by King FERDINAND (as saith SABELLICVS, a writer of that time) for that King FREDERICK shewed himselfe ingratefull to his Nephew, who sent him ayde and succours; and the same went, that he secretly practising vnderhand with the French King, offered to pay him tribute, to the end he should not make warre against him, but suffer him to liue in peace; and that hee promised him his help for the taking of the Ile of *Sicilia*, which appertained to King FERDINAND, and to the house of *Arragon*.

A league betweene the French King, and the King of Castile.

This being concluded, the two Kings sending thither their Armies and Generals, the warre began; and after some matters (which I haue no time to relate) King FREDERICK abandoning the Kingdome, yeelded himself into the French Kings hands, who vsed him very kindely: but his Army neuertheless took all his Countrey, *Calabria* and *Pulia* excepted, which the Spaniards seised on in the behalf of King FERDINAND. And so for a while the peace continued betweene the French and the Spanish, vntill that the French seeking to intrude themselues into the Spanish limits, they made warre one against the other, which warre was one of the most cruell and famous that euer was, and wherein the French imployed the greatest force and power: and GONSALO FERNANDES of *Cordoua*, being Generall for King FERDINAND, in the space of three yeers that this warre lasted, obtained so many notable victories, and performed such exploits in Arms, and vsed so many policies and stratagems, that he purchased the name of a great Captain; and wholly expelling the French out of that Kingdome, made a conquest thereof for his King: and so it remains vntill this day subiect to the house of *Castile*. In the time of this war, which was in he yeer 1503, died Pope ALEXANDER, when he had been Pope eleuen yeers. He died (as it is written) of poison; which, GVICCHARDINE relates after this manner: Going the 18 of August to sup in a Vineyard neer to the Vatican, he was suddenly carried away dead to the Palace, being (according to most mens opinions) poisoned after this manner: The Duke of *Valentinois* his graceless sonne had resolued to poison ADRIAN Cardinall of *Cornette* in the wine they should haue at supper: for, it is most certain, that both father and sonne were well practised in poisoning; not onely to be reuenged of their enemies, or to be freed from iealousies, but euen of a wicked desire to get the goods of the rich whosoeuer they were; As happened to the Cardinall of S. *Auge* who was very rich, yea they would poyson their greatest friends and most faithfull seruants, such as were the Cardinalls of *Capua* and *Modena*. VALENTINOIS had sent certaine flagons of poysoned wine before, giuing charge to his man that no man should touch them. The Pope comming thither before and some what altered with heat, called for drink, his owne prouision being not yet come: he that had the charge of the poysoned wine (thinking it had been recommended vnto him for the rareneſſe thereof) gaue the Pope thereof to drink; and his sonne VALENTINOIS, arriuing at the same Instant, drank also of the same wine. The father died instantly: but VALENTINOIS by the vigor of his youth and the helpe of strong counterpoysons recouered after a long and grieuous sicknes. Al *Rome* reioyced to see the body of this monster dead; a man ful of ambition, infidelity, cruelty, luxury, and strange couetousnes, selling both holy and prophane things without distinction, with which vices he had infected the whole world. In his place was chosen Cardinall FRANCIS PICCOLHOMINI, Nephew to Pope PIVS, being his sisters sonne, and was therefore called PIVS TERTIVS; but he being Pope but thirtie dayes, Cardinall IVLIAN was chosen, and called IVLIVS the Second.

The Emperour intermedled not in the affaires of *Naples*, as well for the preseruation of the league and friendship with *France*, as also the better to prouide for other matters in the Empire, wherein at the very same time, which was in the yeere of our Lord 1502, befell a strange aduenture in the countrey of *Spire*; wherein an infinite number of people gathering themselues

An insurrection of the Commons of Germany, in the Countrey of Spire.

together vnder the name of liberty, addreſſed themſelues againſt the temporall Lords and Princes, and alſo againſt the ſtate of the Clergie: theſe men hauing made them two Captaines, began to warre, robbe, and to commit all manner outrages and inſolencies; hauing firſt determined to obſerue certaine articles, which they meant to hold religiouſly for a law: the firſt was to purchaſe liberty, and to make themſelues free, or to dye in the action: another was, to ſay euery day a certaine number of *Pater Noſters*, and other prayers; vpon another day, to deſtroy all the Princes, and to kill all thoſe which ſhould reſiſt them, and ſome others they purpoſed to robbe, and to make all the clergy goods common; with other ſtrange and dangerous deuices. Theſe men within few daies gathered themſelues together in ſo great a number, that if the Emperour had not very ſpeedily ſent an Army againſt them, which brake and ouerthrew them; they had brought the eſtate of *Germany* in hazard, if they had continued as they began: but through the Emperours endeauour this combuſtion was pacified, and the offenders were, for example ſake, iuſtly puniſhed. Neuertheleſſe, at the ſame time the citie of *Baſil* (which was an Imperiall citie, and tributary to the Empire) gat liberty, and making it ſelfe free, entred into a league and confederacie with the Swiſſers, which was a matter of great importance and danger; as well for the charge to prouide for ſuch a caſe, as for the warre againſt PHILIP, the Countie Palatine, and his ſon ROBERT, which ſprang through this occaſion.

GEORGE Duke of *Bauiere*, called the rich, hauing no more but one daughter, whoſe name was ISABEL; and marrying her to ROBERT the eldeſt ſon of the Count Palatine of *Rhine*, who was alſo called Duke of *Bauiere*, for in auntient time both had been but one houſe; he gaue him with her for her dowrie, the inheritance and ſucceſſion of his whole patrimonie, which was againſt law and reaſon, and a wrong done to his brother ALBERT, who was alſo Duke of *Bauiere*, and had married the Emperor MAXIMILIAN's ſiſter. This marriage being made, Duke GEORGE, father in-law to ALBERT, in the yeere 1503, dyed: and ROBERT hauing ISABEL to wife (being by his father in-laws laſt Will made his heire generall) with the helpe of his father, the Count Palatine of *Rhine*, began to take Townes and Caſtles in *Bauiere*, and to make himſelfe Lord of a great part thereof; and ſo began the warre. The Emperor ſeeking meanes to bring them to an agreement, ROBERT would not accept the conditions: whereupon the Emperour proceeding againſt him, and againſt his father the Count Palatine (who notwithſtanding that he had bin often required and perſwaded to the contrarie, counſelling his ſon to proceede, aſſiſted him both with men and money) confiſked his goods, and expoſing the ſame to him that would take them, made preſently cruell warre vpon him: and by his order, the like was done by the Lantzgraue of *Heſſen*, the Duke of *Wittembergh*, the Marqueſſe of *Brandenburgh*, and the ſaid ALBERT and ALEXANDER Dukes of *Beuiere*, and other Princes: againſt all which the father and the ſon armed themſelues, with the helpe of the king of *Hungary* and *Bohemia*, from whence many men came to their aide; and ſo betweene them began a moſt cruell warre; wherein the Emperor warred in his owne perſon particularly in the countrie of *Bauiere* (whereof ROBERT was in poſſeſſion:) And WILLIAM Lantzgraue of *Heſſen*, and the Duke of *Wittenbergh*, either of them for their portion, together with their friends and kinſfolks made warres in ſeuerall parts of the countries, ſubiect to his father the Count Palatine of *Rhine*.

The Emperour warred with ſuch force and courage, that obtaining certaine notable victories againſt ROBERT and the Bohemians, he recouered all the townes which he had taken; but ROBERT ſaued himſelfe by flight, and the Emperour giuing thoſe townes to his coſin ALBERT, went with his Army into the Count Palatines countrie, wherein the Princes aboue named had taken ſome townes: and comming with the like foree and fury as he had recouered the eſtate of *Bauiere*, he took the greateſt part of that dominion: and PHILIP being vnable to defend what he held, ſending to the Emperour for pardon, promiſed from thenceforth to be his loyall ſeruant. CHRISTOPHER Marqueſſe of *Baden*, together with certaine religious perſons being interceſſors; the Emperour conſidering that if he ſhould wholly ruine him, being a Prince Elector, there would be great controuerſie about the right of the election, he thought it beſt to pardon him; and ſo ceaſed the warres on all parts, and the Count Palatine returning to his obedience was pardoned: but his countrie and eſtate was much diminiſhed. His ſonne ROBERT after the warres were ended, being of the age of fiue and twentie yeeres, ſeeing himſelf ouercome and diſpoſſeſſed, dyed of ſorrow and his wife alſo, by whoſe right he challenged that which is aboue ſpecified.

Whileſt the Emperor was buſied about theſe matters, the great Captaine of *Spaine*, GONSALO FERNANDES, wholly conquered the kingdom of *Naples*, and (as writeth SABELLICVS) a truce being taken betweene King FERDINAND of *Caſtile*, and LEWES the French King for three yeers; *Italie* was in peace for a time. In this yeer, 1504, died ISABEL Queen of *Spaine*, whom Queen IOANE ſucceeding in that kingdom, was with her husband PHILIP called to the Gouernment: but their comming was deferred vntill the beginning of the yeere 1506. In which time the Emperor ſummoned a Councell to be held in the City of *Colen*, from whence he went with an Army againſt the Duke of *Guelders*, and taking ſome townes from him, brought him to ſuch diſtreſſe, that he was conſtrained to ſue for pardon, and he forgiuing him, returned to the Councell or Diet at *Colen*.

This CHARLES Duke of *Guelders*, by the prouocation and ſupport of the French, with whom after his fathers death he had been bred vp in hatred of the houſe of *Burgundy*, violating his faith by the which he was bound to MAXIMILIAN, did infeſt the *Brabantines*, committing great ſpoiles and murthers. This young Prince was of a fowre and proude diſpoſition, whoſe Grand-father ARNOLD, was ſon to MARY, daughter to IOHN Lord of *Arkell*, by the death of REYNOLD the laſt of the Dukes of *Iuliers* and *Guelders*, of the houſe of *Naſſau*, his mothers Vncle, it was conferred into the family of EGMONT who ſtill was an enemy to the houſe of *Burgundy*, in fauour of the French.

The next yeer following, the Emperour being diſpleaſed with the King of *Hungary* and *Bohemia*, for the aſſiſtance giuen to the Count Palatine againſt him, and for his rebellion againſt the Empire, leuied an Army and went againſt him; and entring *Hungary*, did great ſpoiles there, and put the king thereof in ſuch feare, that he (with great humility ſued to him for peace, which was granted vpon ſuch conditions as pleaſed the Emperour; and ſo the warre ended. In the meane time, LEWES the French King, hauing no meaning to marry his daughter CLAVDIA to Prince CHARLES, who being afterwards Emperour, was called CHARLES the Fift, ſhortly after married her to FRANCIS Duke of *Angouſme* and Dolphin of *France*, who afterwards was King: and fearing warres with the Emperour about the Duchy of *Milan*, made a perpetuall league with FERDINAND King of *Caſtile*, who was vpon his departure from *Arragon* to returne to *Naples*; for he expected King PHILIP who went thither in the beginning of the yeer 1506: this league being made betweene them, King FERDINAND married the Lady GERMANA, ſiſter to the Earle of *Foix*: and in Aprill, in the yeere 1506, leauing *Spaine*, he went to *Naples*: and vpon the fiue and twentith of September in the ſame yeer, King PHILIP being of the age of eight and twenty yeeres, departed out of this World: his death was much deplored by all his ſubiects, but more by the Emperor his Father, who was extreamly ſory for the ſame. After his deceaſe, for that the Queen was ſickly, and the Prince CHARLS a childe, King FERDINAND of *Naples* was called to the Gouernment of thoſe Kingdomes; whereupon the yeer next following he came into *Spain* to that effect: and the Emperor, to the end hee ſhould vndertake the Gouernement of the Lowe Countries, was by Ambaſſadours from the States thereof, ſolicited to come thither; who accepting the Gouernement, went preſently into *Flanders*.

The Spaniſh conquered the kingdom of Naples from the French.

The French King hauing leuied an Army to go into *Italy* to ſuppreſſe the rebellion at *Genoa*, the Pope and the Venecians were in ſome doubt that he had a further deſigne: whereupon they ſent their Ambaſſadors to the Emperor and Princes Electors, to let them vnderſtand that the French king had an intent to oppreſſe the ſtate of the Church, and to vſurpe the dignity of the Empire. This cauſed MAXIMILIAN to aſſemble a Diet of the Princes and free Cities at *Conſtance*; giuing them to vnderſtand that the French Kings intention was to aduance the Cardinall of *Ambois*, and to receiue of him the Imperiall Crowne. The Princes were herewith much incenſed with diſdaine; that through their negligence the Majeſty of the Empire ſhould be tranſlated into another Nation. After much conſultation, in the end they concluded to furniſh the Emperor for his voyage into *Italie*, with eight thouſand horſe, and two and twenty thouſand foote, paid for ſix moneths, and 6000 florens of the *Rhyne* for the charges of the Artillery monethly: But the French King hauing diſmiſſed his Army and himſelfe retired into France, the Pope and the Venecians grew cold in their hote purſuite; the Pope giuing charge to his Legate to perſwade the Emperor, in his name, to paſſe into *Italie*, without an Army, offering to doe him more honour, then had been at the crowning of any former Emperor: and the Venecians vpon great inſtance made by his Ambaſſadors to that State, for the paſſing of his army through their Territories, made anſwere; That their reſolution was to grant him paſſage, if he came without an Army, but comming Armed, to deny him that liberty: Wherewith the

Emperour being discontented drawing his forces towards the Frontiers of *Italie*, he sent a Herald to *Verona* to publish his intent to passe into *Italie*, to receiue the Imperiall Crowne, and to require lodging for 4000 Horse; whereunto the gouernour made answere, that if he would passe for no other occasion then to receiue the Crown, they would honor him with all offices of obseruance: but they saw contrary effects, hauing brought so great forces with Artillery vpon their Frontiers. This voyage of the Emperors produced no great effects: for after some spoiles don in *Friuli* and some places taken, which the Venecians soon recouered, in the end he sought to haue a truce with the Venecians, the which was concluded for three yeers, and so the Emperor retired into *Germany*.

In the meane time, CHARLES Duke of *Guelderland*, through the ayde (as it was surmised) of the French king, made warres in *Brabant*, whereupon the Emperour was constrained to giue ouer the warre against the Venecians, and with his forces to go to the reliefe of that Countrey, wherein he making head against the Gelderois, put them to the worse. In the yeere 1508, LEWES Duke of *Milan*, called the Moore, being depriued of his estate, dyed prisoner in *France*; his sonnes MAXIMILIAN and FRANCIS, liuing in the Emperours Court in *Germanie*.

A league made at Cambray.

This yeere the Emperour and French King being either of them much discontented with the Venecians, they resolued to contract a league secretly against them; sending their deputies to *Cambray* to that end, where they concluded (contrarie to the couenants with either of them made with the Venecians) with the consent of the Pope and king of *Arragon*, to make war against the Venecians, euery one in his owne right, to recouer those townes which they had vsurped from them. As, for the Pope *Faenza*, *Rimini*, *Rauenna*, and *Seruia*: for the Emperour *Padua*, *Vincenza*, and *Verona*, belonging to the Empire, and *Friuli* and *Treuisa* as th'inheritance of the house of *Austria*: for the French King *Verona*, *Guiaradada*, *Brescia*, *Bergamo*, and *Crema*: And for the king of *Arragon* the Townes and hauens which had been morgaged by FERDINAND king of *Naples*: That the the French King should beginne the warre in person by the first of Aprill, at what time the Pope and the Catholicke King should enter into the action: And to the end the Emperour might haue some colour of excuse for not obseruing the truce which he had made with the Venecians, The Pope should demande succours of him as from the protector of the Church. There were many other Articles conteyned in this league whereof GVICHARDIN makes an ample relation.

The Pope being resolute, and loth to see the Emperour too great in *Italy*, he desired rather to obtaine part by accord, then the whole by Armes, labouring to induce the Venecians to restore him *Rimini* and *Faenza*; letting them know that the danger which threatned them by the vnion of so many Princes, would be farre greater if he did concurre with them, and pursue them both with his spirituall and temporall Armes; but if they rendred those townes he should haue iust cause not to ratifie the league, which without his Pontificall authority would easily vanish. The Venecians were herewith much perplexed, there being great contrariety of opinions amongst the Senators: but in the end the worse counsell preuailed, which was not to yeeld vnto the Popes desire, whereupon his Holinesse ratified the league.

In Aprill 1509 the French King aduanced his Army into *Italy*, sending a Herald to *Venice* to denounce war against them, whereunto the Duke and State answered; That since the king his master was resolued to make war against them, in a time when they hoped most for the obseruation of the league which they had neuer violated, whereby they had made the Emperour their enemy, they would stand vpon their defence, relying vpon the equity of their cause. They hauing drawne together a florishing Army went to field, and after some daies the two Armies met at *Guiradada* where there was a furious battaile fought, and the Venecians were ouerthrowne. But some write that onely the Venecian rereward came to blowes, where they were in a manner all slaine hauing fought very valiantly, their commander BARTHOLMEVV d'ALVIANA being taken prisoner. Many townes in *Lombardy* followed the Victors fortune and yeelded to the French King. The newes of this ouerthrow being come to *Venice*, it cannot be written what a generall lamentation there was in the citie, and how much they feared the ruine of their countrey. Thus in 15 daies after the battaile, the French King hauing conquered all that belonged to him by the league of *Cambria*, the Pope plaid his part with the townes of *Romagnia*, and the Emperour MAXIMILIAN sending diuerse troupes into *Friuli*, took diuerse townes there.

The Venecians, seeing their estate desperate, resolued to abandon the iurisdiction of the firm land,

land, and to contain themselues within the salt water; commanding their Magistrates and Officers in *Padoua*, *Verona*, and other places, to retire, and leaue the Townes to the peoples deuotion. They also sent an Ambassador to the Emperor to pacifie him by their humble submission, and to obtain peace vnder what condition soeuer: but they could not mone him. They also sent to restore the Ports to the King of *Arragon*: and they sent a Secretary into *Romagna* to deliuer vp to the Pope whatsoeuer they held there; vpon certain conditions; which the Pope did not allow. Thus were they stript of all their great power, being almost out of hope for the preseruation of their liberty. This ruine of theirs was very sensible to many; who foresaw that the estate of *Italy* would be very wretched, if it should be brought vnder the yoke of strangers. The Pope aboue all others began to be much grieued for their fall; who, fearing the power of CÆSAR and the French King, resolued to dob all hee could to crosse their courses, accepting the Letters written vnto him in the name of the Duke of *Venice* with great submission, humbly entreating him to pardon and absolue them.

The Emperor delaying his coming into *Italy*, the Venecians began to recouer some Townes in the firm land which they had abandoned; and the French King prepared for his return into *France*. In the mean time the Emperor came into *Italy* with no great forces, so as hee spent the time in enterprises of small moment with little honour to the Imperiall Name: yet at that time he did solicite his confederates to ioyn their forces together, for the taking of the City of *Venice*; but they could not agree: but in the mean time *Friuli* and *Istria* were pitifully afflicted by the Emperors forces; and he went in person to besiege *Padoua* with a great Army, which the Venecians did fortifie with all the men, artillery and munition they could; so as all the young Gentlemen of *Venice* with their friends and followers put themselues in Armes, and went to guard the City: but after seuenteen daies siege he raised his Camp, and retired towards *Verona* with much discontent; and then presently returned into *Germany* to giue order (as hee said) for the warres he intended to make the Spring following: After which, the Venecians made their submission to the Pope; who gaue them absolution, and enioyned them for penance to visit certain Churches. The warre continued still betwixt the Emperors forces and the Venecians: and the Pope, seeking to reconcile them; the first that gaue ouer this war, was Pope IVLIO; who, being sued vnto by the Venecians for peace, granted the same; and therewith withdrew his forces.

Pope IVLIO (as he was a subtile cunning Prelate) hauing gotten what he desired, mistrusted that the Emperor and the French King hauing brought the Venecians to ruine, his owne state would be in danger: for, his meaning was, that no man should be of greater power in *Italy* than himself. But as the French Kings purposes were to the contrary, so he took his agreement between the Venecians and the Pope in very ill part; and after many Ambassages past between them, in the end they two fell at variance. The Pope, practising vnder hand with the Genoais, made them rebell against the French King; and the King (in requital) made a schisme in the Papacy, and to that effect drew the Cardinall of S. *Crosse* (who had been Legat in *Germany*) together with some other Cardinals, to his deuotion; who, calling a Councell against the Pope, appointed the City of *Pisa* for the place of their meeting. The Emperor, notwithstanding the league between the Pope and the Venecians, desisted not from warring against them: but hee was aduertised that the French King had induced the Duke of *Guelders* to take Armes against him, and to that effect had with money supplied his want: for, the King although hee would that all should aid and assist him, yet hee would not that any one but himself should haue the victory.

The French King caused a schisme in the Papedome.

Vpon this occasion, the Emperor, leauing the friendship of the French, ioyned with the Pope: and the French King, persisting in his resolution, caused many Bishops and other Prelates to go to *Pisa*; where he procured the Councell to bee assembled, which the Cardinall of Saint *Crosse* had already begun: but, holding themselues to be there in no safety, they went afterwards to *Milan*. And the Pope in like manner sent to the King of *Castile*, requiring his aid, which presently was promised, and afterwards sent him: and then he began with his fulminations to persecute the French King. And to the end to defeat this Councell, hee summoned a Councell generall to be held in Saint IOHN *de Lateran* in *Rome*, the yeer next following, which was in the yeer 1512. The warre between the King and the Pope beeing very cruell, the King mightily engrossing his Army, made MONSIEVR DE FOIX, Generall thereof; who going to *Bologna*, took it; and taking *Brescia*, sacked it.

The Cardinall of Saint *Crosse*, and those which ioyned with him, cited the Pope to appear

before them: and the Pope, after many proteſtations proceeding againſt them, depriued them of all their eccleſiaſticall dignities and benefices. King FERDINAND'S forces coming to the Popes aid, after ſome encounters the two Armies (meeting neer to *Rauenna* vpon Whitſunday, in the yeer 1512) came to a battell, which was as cruell and bloody as euer was any; and although the French obtained the victory, yet twice ſo many of them were there ſlain, as of thoſe which were ouerthrowne, if they may be accounted ouercome; whereof one ſquadron remained whole and neuer broken, and ſo paſt through the middeſt of their enemies, none daring to charge them.

A battell betwixt the French and the Popes forces neer the riuer of Carro in Italy.

In this battell MONSIEVR DE FOIX the French Generall was ſlain, together with many of the French Nobility. Finally, the French were reduced to ſuch an eſtate, that notwithſtanding they had the victory, yet it fared with them as though they had been ouercome: for, they departing from *Rauenna*, and taking their way towards *Milan* (MONSIEVR DE LA PALISSE being the Generall) Pope IVLIO recouered the City of *Rauenna*, and in like manner *Bologna*: and vnderſtanding the iſſue of the battell (though at the firſt he ſtood in great fear) yet being certified of the truth, and how much the French Army was diſtreſſed, he after his accuſtomed manner leuying new ſupplies, wrote to all the Kings and Princes of Chriſtendome to ſtirre them vp to warre, and to that effect ſent a Cardinall to the Emperor; who, being diſcontent with the French King, within fewe daies after ſent into *Italy* by the way of *Verona*, an Army of Swiſſers and Germans, with MAXIMILIAN SFORCE the ſonne of Duke LEWES, to recouer the ſtate of *Milan* which was his fathers. MAXIMILIAN SFORCE entering *Italie*, and being come to *Verona*, ioyning with the Spaniſh Army, and with thoſe which were in league with the Pope, the French were ſtricken with ſuch fear, that the Cardinall of Saint *Croſſe*, and the reſt of the Councell of *Piſa* (which had withdrawne themſelues to *Milan*) with all ſpeed poſſible departing thence, fled into *France*: and MONSIEVR DE LA PALISSE the French Generall, leauing ſuch garriſons as hee thought good in the Caſtles of *Milan* and *Breſcia*, and other Towns in *Lombardy*, abandoning the City, retired to *Pauia*; and the enemy coming thither, he departed from thence, and went alſo into *France*. And ſo MAXIMILIAN SFORCE, in ſhort ſpace recouering the Duchy of *Milan*, was with great ioy (through the Emperors aid and fauour) receiued into the City: to whom preſently came Ambaſſadors from *Genoa* to do him honour, and to congratulate his return: for, the Genoais then rebelling againſt the French, and hauing choſen them a Duke, beſieged the Caſtle of the *Lantern*, which was at the French deuotion. In the proceſſe of his war, the King of *Nauarre*, for that he held with the French King againſt the Emperor, againſt the Pope, and the King of *Caſtile*, and would not giue paſſage to the Spaniſh Armies, was bereaued of his Kingdome; and the Kings of *Caſtile* poſſeſs the ſame vnto this day.

After theſe things, and other which ſucceeded, in the beginning of the yeer, vpon the three and twentith day of February, in *Rome* Pope IVLIO died, in the tenth yeer of his Papacy; and in his place was choſen IOHN, Cardinall *de Medicis*, who beeing taken at the rout of *Rauenna*, and afterwards ſet at liberty, was called LEO the Tenth: in the beginning of whoſe Papacy, the French King, the Lord of *Tremouille*, and the Duke of *Albania*, with a great Army came into *Lombardy* againſt MAXIMILIAN Duke of *Milan*; who with aid from the Emperor and the Swiſſers, coming to a battell neer to *Nouarra* (where his father was taken priſoner) obtained the victory, with the death, ouerthrowe, and impriſonment of many of them: ſo as he, driuing the French out of that Duchy, remained Lord thereof in peace.

Preſently after this in the ſame yeere, the Emperor (reſoluing to let the French King know that he had committed an error, in not keeping the peace made and concluded with him) came to a compoſition with HENRY the Eight King of *England* (who was enemie to the French King) to enter *France*, and to make warre againſt him: for performance of which conditions, the King of *England* came to *Calis*; and entring *France*, the Emperour with his Army came and ioyned with him: and although the French King durſt not fight in battaile, yet there paſſed many notable skirmiſhes betweene them: and notwithſtanding that the King of *England* lay two moneths before *Terrouenne*, yet the French King in all that ſpace not daring to come to free it, the towne was conſtrained to yeelde: and ſo the King after the taking of ſome other places, went to *Tourney*, which he battered with ſuch fury, that it yeelded, together with the Caſtles and other townes neere adiacent; whereof the King of *England* being Lord, made great ſpoyle in the countrey, without finding any Army in the field to make head againſt him. The Emperour in like manner by another way, ſent VDALRICK Duke of *Wittembergh*, with great troupes of Swiſſers into *Burgundy*; who beſieging *Dijon*, and hauing brought it to that diſtreſſe as it was thought the prouince would haue been loſt; the Swiſſers (according to the accuſtomed manner) *in conſideration of one hundred thouſand Ducats, ſent them by the French King*, and moued with the hope of a promiſed greater ſumme, raiſing the ſiege, returned home to their houſes, maugre the Duke of *Wittembergh* their Generall: who with his people ſeeing himſelfe abandoned, returned alſo into his countrey. It likewiſe happened, that whileſt the King of *England* made warre in *France*, the King of *Scots* (through the inſtigation of the French King) entred *England*; againſt whom in perſon came KATHERINE Queene of *England*, accompanied by ſome of the Nobility and Commons of that Realme, and fighting with the *Scots* (notwithſtanding that the victory was very doubtful and vnequall, by reaſon of the great multitude of them) yet their King was ſlaine in the battaile: and the Scots not daring any longer to hold the field, returned home; and the Engliſh entring *Scotland*, took certaine places there, in ſuch ſort that the King of *England* through his wiues meanes in *England*, and the Emperors ayde in *France*, returned victorious into his countrey. And the Emperour, for that his preſence was very requiſit in *Germany* did the like; for in *Wormes* was much debate and contention betweene the eſtates Eccleſiaſtical and Secular. There was alſo great controuerſie between WILLIAM and LEWES, Dukes of *Bauiere*, the Emperors Nephewes, the ſons of his brother in-law ALBERT. Whereupon the Emperour went to them, and in ſome ſort mitigating the contention, brought them to be in peace. In the ſame yeere 1513, the Venecians made a league with the French King, which was effected by meanes of BARTHELMEVV D'ALVIANO their Generall, who was taken priſoner by the King, and ANDREVV GRITTI a Venecian gentleman, who was afterwards one of the moſt excellent Dukes that hath been in *Venice*, who likewiſe was priſoner.

After this, a peace being concluded betweene *England* and *France*, the French King took to wife MARY the King of *Englands* ſiſter, with whom he liued but a while after his mariage; for he falling extremely ſick, died vpon the firſt day of Ianuary, in the yeere of our Lord 1514. and the 17. of his Raigne; whom ſucceeded the often named FRANCIS Duke of *Angulesme*, who after his Coronation, procured a league to be made with the Emperour: whereupon the Earle of *Naſſaw* came to *Paris*, and ſo a new mariage was concluded between CHARLES who then was Prince of *Spaine*, and RENATA ſiſter to CLAVDIA the new Queene of *France*; which Marriage afterwards took no effect. The Emperour conſented, and liked well of the march, as well by reaſon of the troubles he had in *Germany*, as for the peace and common good which was expected to enſue thereof. And for the better preſeruation of the particular peace made with LADISLAVS King of *Hungary* & *Bohemia*, he reſolued to marry his niece MARY to LEWES, the eldeſt ſon of the ſaid King, notwithſtanding that they both were very young: whereupon in Iuly in the yeare 1515. a meeting was appointed to be held in *Viena* in *Auſtria*, whither came SIGISMVND King of *Poland*, LADISLAVS King of *Hungary* and *Bohemia*, with his ſonne LEWES, the Emperour, the Dukes of *Bauiere*, and many other Princes of *Germany*, where the ſaid LEWES prince of *Hungary* was betrothed to MARIE the Emperors niece: and it was alſo agreed, that FERDINAND of *Caſtile*, ſhould marrie with his ſiſter ANNE, which afterwards took effect; who raigned in thoſe kingdomes after the deceaſe of his brother in-law LEWES; which marriages were accompliſhed after the Emperors deceaſe, in the yeer 1521. The French King FRANCIS knowing the Emperor to be enclined to peace, feaſting and banquetting; and hauing a little before confirmed a peace with *England*, and with the Venecians, as he had alſo done the like with the ſame Emperor; within ſhort ſpace after he leuied a very great Army of Germans, and Lantzknechts, with a reſolution to inuade the Duchie of *Milan*; and being with his Army paſt the Alps, neere to *Turin*, he ioyned with his Vncle CHARLES Duke of *Sauoy*; and then comming to *Verſelli*, thither came 2000 ſouldiers ſent him by the Genoais, at the requeſt of OCTAVIAN FREGOSO their Duke: from thence he went to *Nouarra*, which yeelded without aſſault; and paſſing on towards *Milan*: and knowing that the Duke had an Army of Swiſſers ſent him by the Emperor; and that he intended to giue him battaile, he ſought to haue corrupted the Swiſſers with money, as king LEWES did when he took the ſaid Dukes father; but failing thereof (for it was diſcouered to his enemies) he fought with them betweene *Milan* and *Marinian*, neere to a Village called Saint BRIGETS: the battaile was ſo fiercely fought, that before any ſigne of victory, they were ouertaken by the night, which was ſo darke, the Moone being down, that when they left fighting, neither party knew how to retire, and ſo they ſtood all the night armed, expecting the day; which being come they again renewed

The battaile of Marinian.

the battaile: at which time, a rumor was spred ouer the Camp, that BARTHOLOMEVS DALVIANO was at hand with the Venecian Army, and that he had marched all the night to come to ioyne with the French King. Whereupon the Swissers fearing so great succors, fled: and the victory remaining to the French King, a most cruell slaughter was made of the poore Swissers.

GVICHARDINE writes, that the Swissers grew proud of the first daies fight, it being bruited throughout *Italie*, that they had put the enemies Army to flight, and the King was carefull to prouide for all things fit for his safety. At the breake of day, the Swissers (who not only despised the French Army, but all the forces of *Italie* vnited) returned to the charge with like fury and rashnesse, and the French entertained them with great valour and discretion: and withall ALVIANO commander of the Venecian forces comming with his light-horse-men, charged the Swissers on the back, so that they despaired of the victory, sounding the retraite, and retyring in good order towards *Milan*, to the great astonishment of the French men, who durst not follow them. This was one of the most furious battailes that euer was seene in *Italie*.

The King hauing obtained so notable a victory; Duke MAXIMILIAN abandoning the citie of *Milan*, withdrew himself into the castle; whereupon the city yeelded to the King, and the other cities did the like. The Duke being besieged and assaulted in the castell, (notwithstanding that the Emperour certified him that he would speedily send him releefe) compounding with the French King for a certaine summe of money, which the king promised to giue him yearely, he resigned the title and state of *Milan*; and so putting himself into the Kings power, he went into *France*, where he afterwards dyed. The French King hereupon was receiued into *Milan*, and into all the other cities without resistance; wherewith the Emperour being much displeased, made preparation for his comming into *Italy*: whereof the King standing in some doubt, sought to enter into a league with Pope LEO; who seeing him victorious was glad of the match; and appointing to meete him in *Bologna*, the league was confirmed, which being ended, the King returning into *France* left the Duke of *Bourbon* with his Army in the state of *Milan*.

The French King inpossession of the Duchie of Milan.

At this time vpon the fiue and twentith day of Ianuary in the yeare 1516, dyed King FERDINAND in *Madril* neere to *Guadalupe* in *Spaine*; and to the gouernment of those kingdomes they called CHARLES, (who was afterwards Emperor, being then but sixteene yeeres old) who went thither the yeere following. The Duchy of *Milan* being conquered by the French King, in such manner as is said, within few dayes after the Emperor MAXIMILIAN by the way of *Verona*, came into *Italy* with so florishing an Army, that he would haue bin glad to haue met the French King: and the Duke of *Bourbon* in *Lombardy* not daring to keepe the field against him, shut vp himselfe in *Milan*: the Emperour finding no resistance, held on his way vntill hee came before the citie, and besieged it: which together with all the rest had been soone recouered, if he could haue staied some while in the country; but the treasure and reuenues of this great Captaine, were not sufficient to maintaine the warres which he vndertooke, and to pay the ordinarie troupes which he should neede in the action; which was the occasion that he that he oftentimes lost great occasions. Besides this, LADISLAVS King of *Hungary* falling sicke and dying, there arose after his decease, such discord, that to establish peace in that kingdome, and for the defence thereof against Turke, the Emperour was sent for; for LEWIS, sonne to the deceased King, was but a child of little more then thirteene yeares old: wherefore being constrained to leaue the wars of *Milan*, and to returne into *Germany*, the French King continued in possession of that Duchy for a time; as you shall heare.

The Emperour vpon so vrgent occasion being come into *Germany*, could hardlie keepe the peace in *Hungary*: the occasion whereof was, for that King LADISLAVS before his death nominated for tutors and gouernours for his son, in the kingdomes of *Hungary*, and *Bohemia*, the Emperor MAXIMILIAN, and his owne brother SIGISMVND, King of *Poland*: wherewith the Hungars were very much discontent, for they stood in feare that these two Princes would haue practised to haue had those kingdomes to themselues. But as the Emperours intent was but for the good of the countrie, so he took not so great care to haue the gouernment, as he did that those Kingdomes should be gouerned with equitie, and for the defence of *Hungary* against the Turk, which was put in effect so long as he liued: for he gaue the gouernment to certaine great personages of those Kingdomes: but not without great difficultie and trouble; which plainly appeared, by the the calamities which ensued in those kingdoms after his decease.

A

A hundred yeers were now past since the conclusion of the Councel of *Constance*, when IOHN HVSS foretold would come a fatal change in the Romane Hierarchie, which no fury nor fire should bee able to preuent. Wherefore this yeare 1517, MARTIN LVTHER an Augustin Friar, began to impugne the Popes trade of Indulgences, the which were carried about in *Germany* to be sold for little money, (vnder the title of ALBERT Archbishop of *Magdeburg*) by TICELIVS an impudent sycophant. LVTHER being moued with his wicked Sermons published certain propositions concerning Indulgences: against whom TICELIVS did spett out his poyson, and burnt his propositions, which forced LVTHER to write more copiously for the defence of the truth; yet in the beginning he did not wholly reiect Indulgences, but desired some reformation. The Elector FREDERICK Duke of *Saxony* hauing read LVTHERS writings and duly considered of his authorities, fauoured and supported his doctrine, neither could he be diuerted with any terror or threats, being straightly inioyned by MAXIMILIAN and CHARLES Emperours and by the Bishops of *Rome* not to graunt LVTHER any place to teach in: yet he would not of himselfe iudge of his doctrine, but craued the opinions of many learned men. And among others calling ERASMVS of *Roterdam* vnto him, he said that he had rather the earth should swallow him vp, then he would adhere to any false opinions, intreating him earnestly to deliuer his iudgement freely. To whom ERASMVS answered pleasantly, that LVTHER had committed two great sinnes, he had been to busie with the Monks bellies, and with the Popes Crowne, but he added seriously, that LVTHER had iustly taxed the errors, and that reformation in the Church was necessary, and that his doctrine was true, but he wisht more mildnesse in his proceedings. After which there were many disputations touching diuers points of doctrine held by the Church of *Rome*, which LVTHER did impugne, whereof diuers haue written, and diuersly, to whom I will referre the impartiall Reader.

At this time also it behoued the Emperour to take order for the going of his Nephew CHARLES King of *Spaine* into his Countrey: by reason whereof, he was constrained to giue eare to a new peace motioned by the French King, which was concluded; and it was also decreed that CHARLES King of *Spaine* should take to wife the daughter of King LEWIS. This friendship and alliance being made (although the marriage tooke no effect) King CHARLES taking shipping sayled into *Spaine*, where he arriued the nineteenth of September, in the yeer 1517. And so Peace being between the Emperor and the French King, and generally through all Christendome, he spent the rest of his time in ministring iustice, and reforming the lawes and customes of the Empire; and so liued in peace and good estate.

This yeere one thousand fiue hundred eighteene, the Emperor called a great and his last assembly of the Princes of *Augusta* (where they treated of the Turkish warres, for *Selim*, hauing ruined the *Sultans* of *Egypt*) strooke a great terror into all the Princes of the Christian World) and desired to settle the succession of the Romane Empire vpon one of his Nephewes, which he wished might haue been FERDINAND the yonger brother, thinking it better for the supporting of the honor of his house if two personages were great, then one alone: but being otherwise perswaded by some about him, and by the Cardinall of *Syon*, he commends his Nephew CHARLES to the Princes Electors, who could not be chosen King of the Romanes in his life time, for that he had not receiued the Imperiall Crowne from the Pope. After this he was taken with a *Dissenteria*, which bereaued him of his life vpon the twelfth day of Ianuary, in the yeere of our Lord one thousand fiue hundred nineteene, being of the age of nine and fifty yeers (as saith CVSPINIAN) and after others, threescore and three, and in the fiue and twentith yeer of his raign.

The death of the Emperor Maximilian.

Thus haue I briefly past ouer the great acts of this Emperor (for as I said in the beginning of his life) if I should at large haue described his prowesse and excellency, I should haue been driuen to haue run a long race, and haue needed an excellent wit and much eloquence, wherefore I know my selfe as naked and destitute, as this Prince was abundant in all vertue: for he was so bountifull, that if he had been Lord of all the rents and reuenues of the World, he would haue needed them, considering his gifts and expences, according to the greatnesse of his mind; and notwithstanding that what he had was great, yet was it euer too little in regard of his liberality. He was endued with such magnanimitie, that he neuer was seen to be timorous what danger soeuer he were in; and therewith was one of the most redoubted Princes in the World: he was very deuout, and as he liued so he died, he was of a most singular wit, and sound iudgement, as well in Peace as in Warre: and notwithstanding that he was well able to counsell others, yet he neuer disdained to aske and take counsell of such as he thought loued him, and were able

able to giue him counsell. And as he loued learning, and learned men, so he gaue great gifts and pensions to such as were well seen in the Liberall Sciences: and it grieued him much that he had not in his youth been instructed in good Letters, and in the pure elegant Latine tongue; for as he had a barbarous schoole-master, so was that which he learned of him; yet he afterwards, hauing many learned men in his Court, came to the knowledge of many things. He was naturally enclined to Poesie, so as he compiled a notable peece of worke in his own vulgar tongue, of the many dangers wherein he had been, and another booke called the price of honour. Besides his excellent wit, he was of a wonderfull memorie: for whosoeuer had once conferred with him about any businesse, although in long time after he came not into his presence, yet as soon as he should see him he would know him.

He was so honest and bashfull as it was strange, for he neuer consented that any one should see him naked; neither did he at any time take the Vrinall to make water, in the presence of any Chamberlaine or Page, or any such like thing; neither would he permit that any should see his Vrine, except some fewe very excellent Physicians. He was of an excellent and strong complexion, and was seldome sick, and then but lightly; whereto this was a great help, in that he was very temperate in his diet; yet he kept a very bountifull table, and did take his meate so neately and comely as it was a pleasure to behold him. He could so well endure trauaile, that heate, cold, hunger, thirst, or any other want or discommodity did little annoy him. He much exercised his person in bearing Armes, especially at Tilt and Tourney, besides the warres and battailes wherein he fought in person; and aboue all he was exceeding milde and courteous in his behauiour towards Princes, and towards all his seruants and familiars; and was so friendly to those which had to deale with him; that with his looks and countenance he wonne their hearts, which put them out of the feare and bashfulnesse wherein they were, by reason of his presence: for which excellencies and other which I leaue to write, he attained to be the most honoured Prince of his time, and was both obeyed and beloued through the whole Empire, and saw all his sonnes and Nephewes Lords of the greatest part of Christendome. After his death CHARLES the Fift was chosen Emperor, whose great wars and acts require a more eloquent and exact writer.

THE LIFE OF CHARLS, THE FIFT OF THAT NAME, AND HVNDRETH AND FIFTEENTH ROMAN EMPEROR.

(***)



The descent of the Emperor Charles the Fift.

THE Author, writing the life of this famous Emperor, passeth ouer his memorable acts cursorily, both for that (as he saith) they were then fresh in memory, as also they were related at large by GVICHARDINE, IOVIVS, and other Writers. But, holding it an indignity don to so noble a Prince, to neglect him more in the writing of his life than other his Predecessors, or to send the Reader to seek satisfaction from other Authors, I am bould somewhat to enlarge the History of his life.

The Emperor CHARLES was by his fathers side of the Imperiall House of *Austria*; and by his mother he descended from the antient Kings of *Spain*; and his grandmother by his father, was of the house of *France*, in this manner: CHARLES the Fift, King of *France*, surnamed the Wise, gaue the Country of *Burgundy*

by to his yonger brother PHILIP. From PHILIP, who had to wife the onely daughter of LEWES Earl of *Flanders*, descended IOHN, who was father to PHILIP which begat CHARLES the Hardy, Duke of *Burgundy*; whose warres with LEWES the Eleuenth, King of *France*, are written by PHILIP *de Comines*, Lord of *Argenton*. This CHARLES, being slain at the battell of *Nancy*, left his onely daughter the Lady MARY, heir to his whole estate: this MARY was married to MAXIMILIAN the Emperour, father to PHILIP; which PHILIP took to wife the Lady IOAN, the daughter of the Kings of *Castile* and *Arragon*, and by her he had the Emperor CHARLES the Fift. And forasmuch as FERDINAND King of *Castile* had neuer a son, hee adopted his son-in-law PHILIP for his sonne; who, after the decease of his father-in-law FERDINAND, became King of *Spain*: and by these meanes the house of *Austria* obtained the dominions of *Burgundy*, *Flanders* and *Spain*. As for his mother, her grandfather FERDINAND, King of *Spain*, had to wife the Lady ISABELL, the onely daughter of IOHN the Second, King of *Castile*; and after the conquest of *Naples*, he gat by her IOHN, ISABELL, IOAN, MARY and CATHERINE; but IOHN and ISABELL dying without issue, the succession of the Kingdome, by the lawes of *Spain*, came to IOAN, as to the eldest of them; but *Austria*, by the diuision of the inheritance, came to FERDINAND brother to CHARLES the Fift; which FERDINAND was afterwards Emperor also, and father to the Emperor MAXIMILIAN the Second.

The birth of the Emperor Charles.

CHARLES was born in *Gaunt*, a City of *Flanders*, vpon Saint MATTHIAS day, being the foure and twentith of February, in the yeer 1500: which day was noted to be euer very fortunate vnto him; considering that vpon that day many accidents hapned to him in sundry parts of the world, and he obtained vpon that day honourable victories; as by his actions, written by GVICHARDINE and IOVIVS, plainly appeareth. Being come to yeers of discretion, although but a youth (for, his father, dying, left him but sixteen yeers old) he was sent to *Mecklin*, a citie in *Brabant*, to school, his Masters name was ADRIAN of *Florence*; then whom, none in all that prouince was more famous, for many qualities, as the issue of his life made manifest; for he becam a Cardinall, and afterwards being made Pope, after the death of LEO the tenth, was called ADRIAN the Sixt. But in his exercise of armes he was instructed by CHARLES *de Cheures*, a valiant man at arms in that Age. It seemeth that hee profited little in learning, yet hee attained to the Spanish, Dutch, and French tongues, the Latin tongue he vnderstood somwhat grossely. Three bookes onely hee loued to reade, which hee caused to be translated into his owne vulgar tongue; of which, one was the Institution of a ciuill life, which was the Courtier of the Earle BALTASAR *de Castilione*; the other was of matters of state, which was the Prince, with the discourse of MACHIAVEL: the third was the Order of Knighthood, which was the historie of POLIBIVS. But he most delighted in armes, which besides religion, are the foundation of kingdomes; and hee more esteemed the warres then any man in the world. Hee was skilfull in the managing of Artillery, and very expert in the marshalling of an armie, and lodged the same very skilfully, and knew all the meanes and deuices how to batter and assault a City: so as all his attempts, or the greatest part which he vndertook, might well haue good successe. The constitution of his body was neither fat nor grosse, but of a gallant proportion and strongly sinued. His hands were great and strong, fit to wield weapons and to manage Armes. His legs were straight and of a due proportion, which chiefly appeared when he was on horseback: for, he rode with such majesty when he was armed, and managed his horse so gallantly, that it seemed no gallanter Knight could be found, or more fit to bear Arms than himself. Hee was of a fair complexion, with cleer azured eies, which (although he were angry) were not terrible, but accompanied with a graue bashfulnes and manly modesty. Hee was somewhat hook-nosed, after the manner of the antient Kings of *Persia*, which was a signe of the greatnes of his minde. He had a long chin, and a yellow beard: his hair was yellow of the color of gold, after the vse of the antient Emperors of *Rome*. It was thought by those which were wise, that neuer was man of better constitution, better aduised, or of riper judgement than he: for, with a certain motion which accompanied his speeches, he made men to wonder at his proceedings. He was very curteous in discourse, but double; so as his speeches might haue diuerse constructions; and so he euer saued himself by the interpretation, fitting it to his purpose; alleaging, that his meaning was to be vnderstood in this and in this manner. He was neuer throughly angry; but telling the truth, and grounding his speeches vpon reason, he satisfied the hearers. He was neuer ouer-hasty in his answers: for, he first consulted, and then concluded; but the conclusion must depend of him onely. He made great account of those which might either pleasure

sure, or annoy him; but made no shew thereof in outward apparance, to the end to maintaine his reputation in greatnes. He was neither bloody nor vindicatiue vpon his enemies, but reformed them without ruine.

He seldome punished his seruants and officers, but vpheld them in their defects. And although that by his enemies he was noted of cruelty, in the matters of *Rome*, and in the death of the children of *France*, yet was he milde and pittifull, and they of malice slander him wrongfully. As for his friends which were made great by him, he constantly maintained them, and would not endure to heare them ill spoken of; giuing more credit to his owne iudgement then to other mens reports; reputing them to speake of enuy or malice. He was an earnest defendor of his Ambassadours, notwithstanding that they did ought that were not tolerable; for he loued to haue good intelligence, and knew all that passed in all parts of the World. He vsed to discourse of his affaires the space of foure or fiue houres together, and wrote downe the reasons *pro & contra*, the better to consider thereof; and his arguments were so well compounded, and all of one poize, that who so vnderstood the beginning of the matter, might presently comprehend the end thereof.

He knew the naturall inclination of those Princes with whom he had to deale, and spent much money to haue full notice of them; by reason whereof, he negociated with them, with liuely reasons and sound arguments, and not with generalities; and had his busines in all parts in readines, attending oportunity & fit occasion to put them in execution: Hence it grew, that in regard of his affaires, he was mortified in all his pleasures: concerning the lawes, he was iust, and made profession to maintain and hold his word, and to preferre his honour before all things in the World; wherefore whosoeuer desired to get his fauour, was to vse the meanes of honor, and of modesty, with shew of Religion: whereto he was so much addicted, as he communicated foure times in the yeere. He was very patient in hearing causes, and gaue audience aswell to the meane as the great, with much attention: and notwithstanding that he was slow to resolue of his owne affaires, aswell as of other mens; yet he concluded very prudently. But he that will blame him may say, that he was remisse and irresolute; and he that will commend him may affirm, that he was well aduised and politick.

Touching his liberality, he was held rather niggardly and sparing, then bountifull; especially towards his seruants, whom he entertained with hope many yeers; but when he did reward, if enough were enough, he gaue enough; for he had great meanes to giue, of the three orders of Knight-hood which are in *Spaine*, besides Bishopricks, Abbeys, Titles, Offices, and other reuenues: neuertheless, it seemed that in giuing he much more fauoured the Flemmings then the Spaniards or Italians. He was bountifull to such Captaines as serued him in the wars, and to such as he loued; but it came but slowly. He made shew to loue peace, and not to desire wars, but when he was prouoked. Briefly, he gaue example for all to follow, and abstained from all such vices as might staine his Conscience, or good name. He effected great matters by negociation, wherein he was more then in Armes; notwithstanding that in Armes he was inuincible and peerlesse.

He rose late in the morning, and after he was ready (clad in no better then in silke, or cloath, close made, more like a priuate Gentleman then a great Lord, but yet very neately) he heard a priuate Masse for the soule of the Empresse; and then gaue audience and dispatched much businesse; then going out of his chamber, he heard another Masse openly in a Chappell, which being ended, he went to dinner: Wherupon they vsed this prouerb in his Court, From Masse to Messe.

He was a great feeder, and did eate such things as did breede grosse and viscous humors, wherof proceeded the Gowte, and the Ptisick; which infirmities in his later daies greatly tormented him, especially the Gowt; which was of so maligne a condition, that it sent the vapour thereof from the stomack into the head, which put him often in danger of his life, which he assured himself could not be long: but yet when he was wel, he made small reckoning of Physicians, as though he should neuer be sick againe. He did eate little at night, thinking to make amends for disordering himselfe at noone. After dinner he gaue audience, and sometime retiring himselfe into some secret place, he passed the time in drawing the plot of some fortresse, or other edifice; but most commonly he vsed to iest with a Polonian dwarfe which he had, or with one ADRIAN a groome of his chamber; and often with the Baron of *Monfalcon* Steward of his house, in whose company he took great delight, for his ready and quick wit. He sometimes rode on hunting, not with aboue eight or ten horse at the most, and returned oftentimes

times with a brace of stagges, or wilde Boares. And sometimes he vsed to shoote at Pigions, at Choughs, and such like birds; and in all these his disports he spent not an hundred crownes in the yeere; so much did he applie himselfe to matters of importance. He vsed the like sparing in cladding his court, in his table, in the furniture of his house, and such other ornaments; insomuch that if in trussing himselfe a poynt brake, he would tie it together, and keepe it, not to lose so much time as till another were fetcht. His sparing was such, that there was no man that spent tenne crownes by the yeere, but spent more then he: but for other expences, passing through other mens hands, he did as other Princes doe, which referre the same to other mens trust; yet he vsed all possible diligence to vnderstand euery particular, and would know how his money was issued, euen to a crowne; so carefull was he for what was his. The vertues and faire conditions of this Prince, together with his power, excelling all the Princes of his time, moued the Electors in *Germany* to create him Emperor.

But before we come to relate what his actions were after he came to the Empire, it shall not be impertinent to make a breefe repetition of the most memorable accidents which happened in his kingdomes of *Spaine*. FERDINAND King of *Arragon* dying, left Queene IOANE his onely daughter to succeed him in all his Realmes and estates: CHARLES Archduke of *Austria* and Earle of *Flanders* her eldest son was to inherit all those great estates after her; by reason of whose absence and the Queenes disability (being possessed with a melancholy humor) FERDINAND thinking that Prince CHARLES would not come in person to gouerne the Realmes of *Spaine*, was desirous to appoint FERDINAND his Nephew, brother to Prince CHARLES (whom he loued dearely, hauing beene bred vp with him) to gouerne those Realmes, for his daughter Queene IOANE; but he was diuerted by the wise aduice of some of his Councell, shewing the inconueniences that might ensue: wherupon he nominated Cardinall FRANCIS XIMENES of *Cisneros* for gouernour, vntill the comming of Prince CHARLES; giuing great testimonies of his fidelity and loialty: who tooke vpon him the gouernment of *Castile*, with the consent of all the Councell, and Nobility; onely the ministers of the Infant DON FERDINAND, sought to haue him intrude himselfe into the gouernment of affaires.

The death of Ferdinand King of Arragon.

The first care of Cardinall XIMENES was to make an accord with Doctor ADRIAN of *Florence* who had been Shoole-Maister to Prince CHARLES, hauing bin sent Ambassadour from him to King FERDINAND, touching some negotiation; but with secret authority, that the King dying he should take vpon him the gouernement of *Castile*; but the Cardinal and he made an accord that vntil they had other newes from Prince CHARLES, they should ioyntly signe all dispatches.

Accord for the gouernment of Castile.

The Cardinal with the Councell remaining at *Madrid*, there grew some tumult in *Andalusia*, the head wherof was DON PEDRO GIRON eldest son to the Earle of *Vregna*, who entred the Duke of *Medina Sidonia's* country with forces, pretending a title to the whole Duchie: which tumult the Cardinall sought to suppresse, proclaiming them troublers of the publike peace and guilty of high Treason, wherewith DON PEDRO GIRON retired for a time; But soone after he returned to his first frenzey, being countenanced and supported by DON FERNANDES of *Velasco*, Constable of *Castile*, by the Duke of *Benauent*, the Duke of *Albaquerque*, by the Earle of *Medina Celi*, the Bishop of *Segutnea*, with diuerse others, who hating the Cardinall entered into a faction: But by the wise aduice of of the Duke of *Infantazgo* (whom they sought to haue drawne vnto them) and by the constant resolution of the Cardinal these practices died; and they returned vnto their first obedience, the greatest of them seeking to insinuate themselues into the Cardinalls fauour.

A tumult in Andalusia.

This wise Cardinall knowing that he might be croft in the gouernment of affaires, by the Nobility which did both hate and enuy him, he sought to procure from King CHARLES Letters patents for the confirmation of his authority, and that hee might haue free liberty in matters of state to doe what he should thinke profitable for the safety of the kingdomes; requiring the like authority ouer iustice and the treasure; but before the dispatch of these Letters patents, he put one thing in execution which bred some alteration in the State.

The Cardinall after the death of King FERDINAND ordained for the defence of the Realme, aswell against forraine inuaders, as home-bred rebels, Legions and bands of soldiers taken out of the citizens and Burgesses of the good townes of *Spaine*, men of good fame, hauing both house and family. Some seditious men and desirous of innouation were much scandalyzed at this edict, and many townes began to oppose themselues against the execution therof, but especially

Cardinall Ximenes instituteth legionary souldiers.

Sedition at Vailledolit against the Cardinal.

specially at *Vailledolit*, where they took Armes against Cardinal XIMINES as against an enemy, offering violence to his officers who were sent to make the inrolments, wherein they were animated by the Admirall of *Castile* who had some hereditary rights in the gouernment of the towne, and the Bishop of *Astorgia* who had been Schoole-Master to the infant, *Don* FERDINAND. These alterations did much trouble the Cardinal; yet would he not procede rigorously against them vntill that he had receiued approbation from King CHARLES, the which was sent him the yeere following; so as at the comming of these Letters into *Spaine*, the inhabitants of all the mutinous townes, submitted themselues and gaue over their factions.

A tumult at Malaga.

In the yeere 1517 there grew a mutiny in *Malaga* against the officers of the Admiralty, the townesmen being desirous to free themselues from that iurisdiction, pretending that it did but hinder the course of iustice, and giue way to ill liuers, to auoid deserued punishment. This multitude of *Malaga* hauing no patience to attend an answere from King CHARLES of *Austria*, did tumultuously chase away the iudges, and defaced all the markes of the Admiralty in their towne and iurisdiction. The Admiral of *Castile* complained to the Cardinal and Councel, who sought by admonitions and threats to suppresse the fury of this people: but they persisted stil in Armes and planted the Artillery vpon their walles. But the Cardinall seeing no milde courses could preuaile, *sent 6000 of his legionary foot and 400 horse against them*, vnder the command of *Don* ANTONIO *de la Cueua*, vpon whose approach the Malagins fainted, and sued for mercy: whereof the Cardinal being aduertised, he commanded him to procede with mildnes and clemency, preseruing the Kings honour and dignity; So as there were fiue of the chiefe authors of this sedition hanged and the rest pardoned.

The state of Queene Ioane of Castile mother to King Charles.

Cardinall XIMENES was much troubled with the pitifull estate of IOANE Queene of *Castile*; for this Princesse being possest with a sharpe melancholy humor led a most lamentable life in the Castle of *Iordesillas* whereas King FERDINAND her father had lodged her, being a very pleasant place: yet LEVVES FERRIER of *Valencia* who had the chrge of her could neuer get her to lodge in any wel-aired chamber, but she would still lurk in some dark place neere the ground, *fit to entertaine her melancholy. She did abhorre soft beds, and would ly* vpon the ground, or vpon a boord couered with a carpet by importunity. They could not get her to weare a furred gowne in winter, nor any thing that was rich: She was many times three daies together without eating, complaining often, that she was kept like a prisoner, and that they withheld her from the gouernment of affaires like a priuate person. The Cardinall was much grieued hereat: and somewhat to redresse it, holding that the negligence of LEVVES FERRIER did feed the malice of her infirmity, he remoued him, putting in his place FERDINAND DVCA of *Talauera*, a man nobly borne and wise, who by his discretion in a short time did moderate this violent humor in the Queene, getting her to be content to haue her chamber made cleane, which grew vnsauory by reason of the meate which she would not suffer them to carry away, and by little and little he perswaded her to ly in a bed and to goe abroad to Church, and he made her to haue some feeling and apprehension that she was a Queen, and so acknowledged. And in time he made her familiar and brought her to a more mild and humane kind of life: The which did much please K. CHARLS her son, who thanked Cardinal XIMENES by his Letters.

Cardinall Ximenes impatient of iniuries.

Cardinall XIMENES found many crosses and oppositions in his gouernment: yet he was so impatient of any iniury, as whatsoeuer King CHARLES ordeined touching the affaires of *Spaine*, if it proceeded not from him and his counsell, he held it done in contempt of him, and condemned it as a subiect of sedition; accusing the Noblemen & Councel of *Flanders* of rashnes, who being *ignorant of the manners of the Spaniards meddled with the gouernment, the which* did wholly depend of the Viceroyes authority & of the kings Councel which was in the countrey: he did much honour ADRIAN FLORENT who was ioyned with him in the gouernment: for that he yeelded vnto him.

The Spaniards who are by nature hauty and proud, could not long indure the integrity of Cardinall XIMENES, neither were they well pleased with the Flemmings, who entertaining the King in *Flanders* were too busie with the affaires of *Spaine*, so as all things tended there to a combustion. But to preuent all disorders which were feared by reason of the Kings absence, it was resolued to send the Lord of *Chaux* thither to haue the third place in the gouernment with Cardinall XIMENES, and Doctour ADRIAN, who had formerly beene the principall cause of his sending; for that (as he said) he was not sufficient to resist Cardinall XIMENES a hauty man, who did manage all things at his pleasure, and could in no sort indure any companion; His comming was very pleasing to the

A third gouernour sent into Spaine.

the Noble-men and people of *Spain*, who were much discontented with the Cardinall; and they all went forth to receiue him with great honour, being the first that euer had been sent into *Spain* with authority, since CHARLES of *Austria* took vpon him the title of King. But the Cardinall maintained his authority resolutely, and held still the first place in all dispatches; as may well appear by that which follows: for, the other two hauing on a time signed certain Letters, leauing a space for the Cardinall to signe vnder them; he tore them in pieces, causing others to be made to the same effect, which he signed aboue: and thus he continued vntill the Kings coming. It was often resolued in *Flanders* to haue sent some great man into *Spain* to manage the gouernment, and to check the sowre and harsh disposition of the Cardinall. LEVVES Count Palatine was propounded both to take charge of the State, and of the Infant D. FERDINAND: but the Cardinall could indure no corriuall, beseeching the King by his Letter, not to send any one into *Spain* with whom he must bee in continuall quarell; but rather to giue him leaue to retire himself to his Diocesse, where he would liue religiously in peace, foreseeing that many would seek malitiously to crosse his good designs to serue the Common-weal; they hauing no other end but to breed some great tumults in *Spain*, hee desired not to bee engaged therein, but rather to be a spectator; aduertising the King, that the onely means to preuent all dangers, was, To commit the whole affairs of the estates gouernment to his tried faith, and to *rely* wholly vpon him, seeking to diuide the royall Soueraignty betwixt the King and himself: for, he said the Flemings vnderstood nothing in the affairs of *Spain*, and the King for his tender age could not vndergo so many cares: but the Cardinals proud courses bred him much hatred.

The King much desired in Spain.

The King was greatly desired in *Spain* by the Nobility, who thought thereby to supplant the Cardinall in his gouernment: and this voyage was much pressed by the Emperor MAXIMILIAN, who held it very necessary; and to that end came to see the King at *Bruxelles*, and to conferre with him, fearing that his long stay in the Low Countries would breed some alteration in the state of *Spain*, where he was much desired. This conference bred some iealousie in the Cardinall; who wrote, that the enterview of great men did neuer bring profit to themselues, nor to their affairs. The Spaniards, seeing the time spent in vain hopes of their King's coming, began to growe into mutinies, making great complaints of the greedinesse of the Flemings, who disposed of the affairs, and wasted the Kings treasure, transporting it out of the Realm. Many of the best Towns of *Spain*, being incensed with these complaints, sought how to preuent the disorders, and to curb the greedinesse of the Flemmish Courtiers. The Cardinall and Councell, knowing well, that what the Towns had desired was just, yet fearing some popular tumults, they perswaded them to forbear all Assemblies till there were certain newes of the Kings coming, who they vnderstood made preparation to imbark speedily: and in the mean time they aduertised the King of what had past. But the Cardinall and Councell were again importuned for an assembly of the States, promising onely to solicite the King to come into *Spaine*, to maintain the lawes and customes of the Country, and to reform such disorders as were crept in; or else the people did protest to send Ambassadors to the King, and to prouide that the Common-weal should take no prejudice. The Cardinall could not refuse their just demand, appointing the Assembly in September 1517, hoping by that time the King would be arriued in *Spain*; hauing to that end sent him a fleet of ships, and sending Post daily to aduance his coming, the onely means to maintain peace: for, the Cardinall held it a dangerous thing *when as people (hauing cause of grieuance) presume to complain publiquely: for hauing* once lost the respect due to the magistrate, there is no more any restraint; and popular complaints are easily believed by such as haue a desire to trouble the State.

Exactions of Pope Leo hindred by Cardinall Ximenes.

Pope LEO about this time, by vertue of a decree made in the Councell of *Lateran*, demanded the tenth of all the reuenues of the Clergy, vpon colour to defend the Christian religion against Infidels; fot that SELIM, Emperor of the Turks, threatned Christendome, and especially *Italie*: whereupon the Pope sent out his Bulls to exact this mony for three yeers, with many indulgences to such as should contribute willingly. The Clergy complaind heerof to Cardinall XIMENES, being at *Toledo*; who vndertook their protection, and by his authoritie (which was great with the Pope) freed them from that exaction.

Violence committed by the Duke of Infantago.

At one Instant there were three of the greatest Noble-men of *Spain* conspired together against the Cardinall vpon sundry discontents; which were, the Duke of *Infantazgo*, the Duke of *Alua*, and the Earl of *Vregna*: The Duke of *Infantazgo* had offred violence to a Promoter sent by the Cardinall touching some proceeding at *Guadalajara*, threatning to hang him. The Cardinall gaue it out, that he would call the Duke in question, for that he had violated religion,

and broken the publike peace: and the Duke, desirous to braue the Cardinall, sent a Chaplain of his vnto him, with a message full of disgracefull reproaches and vain threats. To whom the Cardinall (hearing him quietly without any alteration) answerd, Go back to thy master, whom thou shalt finde repenting the foolish words which thou hast deliuerd: and in truth before his return, the Dukes choler was past, and he very sorry for his rashnes; but he was afterwards reconciled to the Cardinall by the Constable of *Velasco*.

The Earl of *Pregnas* excesse was of a higher strain: for, Don GVTTIERRE of *Quixada* hauing a suite against him for the restitution of *Villafratte*, a Town neer to *Vailledolit*; and certain officers of justice coming thither by order of the Court to put him in possession, they were outraged & beaten by RODERIGO GIRON the Earls sonne, BERNARDIN of *Velasco* the Constables sonne, BERTRAVD *de la Cueua* sonne to the Duke of *Albuquergue*, FERDINAND HENRIQVES son to the Admirall, with other ill aduised yong Noble-men then present. The Court being much incensed heerat (the Bishop of *Malaga* being President) commanded certain legionary souldiers to arm to assist justice, and to punish those rebels, getting himself in person towards the place. The Constable, foreseeing the danger, posted thither before, and caused them to giue way to the Sentence of the Court: for which good office, the Bishop of *Malaga* gaue thanks to the Constable, and dismist his souldiers. But the Cardinall was not so tractable, but sent out his warrant to apprehend these yong Noble-men; who, seeing him proceed criminally against them, returned to their old frenzy, putting themselues again into *Villafratte*, meaning to keep it. This businesse tended to sedition, many blaming the Cardinals seuerity, wherby the whole Realm might be drawn into combustion: but the Cardinall held it a glory to oppose himself against great men, seeking such occasions ambitiously to shew his magnanimity & courage. Finally, they proceeded against these young Noble-men by course of justice; and their names were proclaimed, and they cited to appear and to giue an account of the action.

The court of Parliament violated.

The Fathers of these young men were much troubled: who knowing the Cardinalls power and sowre disposition, resolued to pacify him by all faire meanes, sending to intreat him to haue regard vnto the youth of their children, complaining notwithstanding by their letters vnto the King of the Cardinalls harsh disposition, whereby *Spaine* was filled with combustions; The Cardinall in like manner did aggrauate this action vnto the King, complayning of the disobedience and contempt of these Noblemen, who made many assemblies tending to some great tumult: But in the meane time, they proceeded against them, that were within *Villafratte*, who fearing the Viceroyes power, left the place and dislodged by night. The towne was by sentence condemned to be burned, and the ground to bee sowed with salt: And the Earle of *Pregna* with his sonne and their other confederats were conuicted of high treason, which sentence was presently put in execution: The towne was burnt to Ashes and feauen of the inhabitants publikely whipt. This seuerity bred great hatred against the Cardinall. But the Admirall HENRIQVES comming to MADRID, told him with great mildnes, that hee did himselfe wrong, and the whole Realme (being Archbishop of *Toledo* and Primate so to blemish the honour of the greatest houses of *Spaine*, so well deseruing, both in these publike executions and in many bad offices which he had done them with the King; perswading him for the good of the Realme, and the kings seruice, to temper his austere behauiour, and to intreat men with more equity, and lesse choler. The Cardinall (with a settled countenance) answered, that hee had neuer sought to winne fauour of Kings or to maintayne his reputation in the world by doing wrong to any, but had euer indeauored to acquit himselfe duly, of the gouerment which had been committed vnto him: neither had hee done any bad offices to the king, as many did maliciously publish.

The Duke of *Alua's* discontent grewe vpon a suite depending betwixt *Don* DIEGO, of *Toledo* his sonne, and D. ANTHONY of *Estuniga*, brother to the Duke of *Beiar*, for the Priory of Saint IOHN of *Jerusalem*. D. ANTHONY, who had it at the first by resignation from his Vncle the which Pope LEO confirmed with consent of King PHILLIP, and now againe hauing sewed at *Rome*, he had wonne his cause, and gotten letters of execution from the Pope, who recommended him with other fauorable letters to King CHARLES, who sent him into *Spaine* to Cardinall XIMENES, giuing him charge to sequestrate all the places of the Priory into his hands, commaunding the Duke of *Alua* and his son to retire their men, and to refer the cause to his compromise, and if they should refuse then to execute the Kings letters, and the sentence. The Duke of *Alua* was loath to dispossesse himselfe, conceiuing that the Cardinall did not affect his cause; And therefore hee reiected such reasonable conditions as hee offered vnto him

The causes of the Duke of Alua's discontents.

him; and falling into choler and rage, he mustred vp his friends and forces, thinking to maintain that by Arms which was not justifieable by law or reason: wherefore the Cardinall, seeing his furious proceeding, was forced to come to the last remedy, calling together his legionary bands, as well to guard and fortifie the counsell and iustice, as to suppresse and disperse the mutinies; of whom they encountred about a thousand foot and some horse, drawne together by the Duke of *Alua*, and put them to rout. The Duke presently saw his owne errour, imploying the fauour of his best friends for his reconcilement; submitting himself vnto the Cardinall, into whose hands he yeelded vp the Priory: which controuersie was after ended in friendly manner.

This yeer the Inhabitants of *Algier* (a Town in *Affrick*) being much afflicted by the dissension of two brethren Moors, who contended for the Signory, they had called vnto them FLORVSCO BARBAROVSSE, a famous Pirat, to defend their liberties; who hauing seized vpon that City, fit for theft and Piracies, he made himselfe king of *Algiere*, hauing slaine CELIM the lawfull Prince, and then he began to spoile the coasts of *Spaine*; and to tyrannize ouer the petty Kings of *Affrick*, of his owne sect, seeking to dispossesse ALBVZRVEN, King of *Tunis*; whom hauing slaine, he forced IAHIA his sonne to flie into *Spaine*, who imparting his miseries to Cardinall XIMENES, intreated him to assist him in the recouery of his Kingdome. The Cardinall caused men to be leuied to send against this Pirat BARBAROVSSE, giuing the charge of the Army to DIEGO VERA, a rash and indiscreet man. This Army, beeing about eight thousand strong, came neer vnto *Algier* in October, the Moores beeing aduertised, and prepared to hinder his landing. The Town was manned with very good souldiers Turks, which HORVSCO had brought with him out of *Asia*. DIEGO VERA, comming neer the Town, diuided his Army into foure parts, contrary to aduice: for, the Barbarians were in all places stronger than the Spaniards; so as the whole Christian Army was chased and dispersed with great slaughter. DIEGO VERA abandoned all, and hid himself with his sonne among the rocks till the euening; when as he found a vessell lying at anchor, with which hee returned into *Spain*, with much disgrace and dishonour; the children singing, that DIEGO was too weak to wrastle with HORVSCO, who had but one arme. Cardinall XIMENES made small account of this losse; saying, that by this means *Spain* should bee purged of a great many of leud insolent companions.

Algier attempted by the Spaniards.

The Cardinall was much importuned to send a fleet into *Flanders* to transport K. CHARLES into *Spain*: whereupon he prepared a good number of ships, appointing GOMES of *Buiteron* for Admirall. He caused the Ports of *Biscaie*, *Asturia* and *Galicia* to be visited for fear of infection, and victuals with other refreshings to bee sent vnto all places where the fleet should arriue: he himselfe went vnto *Arando of Duero*, there to attend the Kings comming; hauing in his company the Infant Don FERDINAND, Doctor ADRIAN now made Cardinall, and ARMASTO. Dining at *Boleguillas*, a Borough in the mountaines, it was thought that hee was poisoned; so as hee fell into a lingering consumption. Hauing dined, hee found himselfe very ill, the blood comming out at his eares and nailes: this suspicion was augmented by an vnknowne horseman, who that morning hauing neer vnto the village mette with the Prouincial MARQVINE and other Monks which went vnto the Cardinall, he willed them to make haste and to aduise him not to eat of a great Trout which would be set before him: for, without doubt it was poysoned. If you arriue, said he, too late, then care for the health of his soul, for his body will be past recouery. This message was deliuered late to the Cardinall; who answered, that if his infirmity came of poison, he thought it proceeded from *Flanders*, and that he had been infected by the eyes in reading of a Letter which came from that Countrey; since which time he had not been well.

A fleet sent into Flanders for king Charles.

Cardinall Ximenes poisoned.

Being in this estate, he caused himselfe to be carried to *Aranda*, and in the meane time, the town of *Vailledolit* fel into a new tumult, the people hauing a conceit, that the report of the kings comming was but counterfeit, and that this great preparation, was to send the infant *Don* FERDINAND into *Flanders*; so as *Spaine* remayning destitute of her Princes, being in the hands of an old Monke, halfe rotten and neere his end, must of necessity be ruined by home-bred seditions, or become a prey to forraine Nations: But to pacifie this mutiny, and to assure them of the kings comming, the Cardinall sent vnto them, and satisfied them: The Cardinall had resolued to doe one act more which he held necessary, but was full of enuy, and that was to reforme the Infant *Don* FERDINAND's house, and to take from him those which had bred him vp and serued him, either for some priuate dislikes, or for some other considerations which he

A tumult in Vailledolit.

Reformation of Don Ferdinads house by the cardinall.

pretended, wherewith he acquainted the King, who a little before his comming, sent his Letters of command to the Cardinall, to discharge D. PEDRO NVGNES of *Guzman*, the Infants Gouernour; D. ALVARO OSORIO bishop of *Astorga* his Schoole-master; Don GONZALO of *Guzman* his chamberlaine, and SANCHO *de Euredes* his steward, and to send them home to their houses, letting them know that the King was well satisfied with their good seruices; but their ages required rest, referring the rest of the Infants house to the Cardinals disposition.

Intreaty of the Infant D. Ferdinand *to the Cardinall.*

The secret of this packet was divulged before it came to the Cardinalls hands, which bred a great alteration in the Infants house, they giuing the Infant to vnderstand that this was a practice of the Cardinals, to debase him and keepe him vnder; whereupon he came in choler the next day to the couent of *Aguillera*, where the Cardinall lay sick of his infirmity, to whom he complained euen with teares, of the wrong he did him; seeking without any iust cause to depriue him of such faithfull seruants, and therewithall he intreated him and coniured him, by the memory of Queen ISABEL, not to suffer such an indignity to be done him, as to take from him such worthy personages which had attended him so faithfully, and now to see them so ignominiously disgraced.

Speech of Cardinall Ximenes *to the Infant* D. Ferdinand

The Cardinall sought by milde words, to pacifie the incensed courage of this Prince, laying before him the King his brothers pleasure, which tended to his aduancement, if he would shew himself obedient and tractable; he told him that he loued him deerely, and that he had no will to wrong him: he confessed that his care for the good of his seruants was honorable, but he must withall know, that the king his brother was dearer vnto him: and therfore he exhorted him, that laying aside those passions which his seruants had bred in him, he should wholly rely vpon him who was the greatest king in Christendome, against whose will it was neither safe, nor fit for him to oppose himselfe; vsing many other reasons to the like effect; But the young Prince was not so satisfied, but answered the Cardinall with these words: Seeing you are resolued to ruine me and mine, I must of necessity finde meanes to preserue our selues. The Cardinall being toucht at these words; Doe (said he) what you please, but I sweare by the life of king CHARLES your brother, that to morrow shall not passe, before his commandements be executed, the which it behooues you to obey before all other; yea, though all *Spaine* had conspired to hinder it. Hereupon the Infant went from the Cardinall without any shew of perturbation, and so returned to *Aranda*, where he found himselfe with the Towne and all the approaches, guarded by two Captaines of the Guard, and their troupes, which bred great discontent in the Infant, but he could not helpe it, nor auoid the remouing of his seruants, as you may reade at large in the Hiſtory of *Spaine*.

Arriuall of K. Charles *at the Asturies.*

King CHARLES hauing taken shipping in *Flanders* in the beginning of September, arriued about the end of that moneth, vpon an vneasie coast of the Asturies, a Rockie place and not frequented; The mountain-people hauing retired their wiues and children into the Rocks, betook them to their Armes, and came downe in troupes to take the Sea-shore, thinking there had been some enemies; which the king perceiuing, he caused his royall Standard to be aduanced, that he might be knowne, and the Asturians discouering the armes, knew it was their king; so as laying down their weapons, they came to salute him vpon their knees, accompanying him to *Villa Vicienſe*, where he rested himself after his trauel by Sea, being accompanied by his sister D. LEONARA then Queen of *Portugall*.

Practices of the Flemmiſh courtiers to keep the king from seeing of the Cardinal.

The Cardinall, who lay in his couent very sick, was so much ioyed, at the newes of the kings comming, as he left his bed and sang Masse; and the Flemmings, on the other side, were as much discontented, wishing him dead before the king should conferre with him, for they knew well that he sought to chace them from the Councell, and from the managing of all affaires: wherefore they were very inquisitiue of his life, and practised delaies to stay the King vpon the way, wishing he were dead before the King should see him: There were diuers deuices to haue drawne the king first into *Arragon*, which the Cardinall hindred, humbly beseeching him not to determine any thing touching his publike or priuate affaires, before he had giuen him a full information of the estate of his Kingdome: and he also counselled him to send Don FERDINAND his brother as soon as might be into *Germany* to the Emperor his grandfather, holding it the best course both for his owne affairs & the good of the Infant, and to be a means that all or the greatest part of MAXIMILIANS estates might be conferred vpon him, seeing that he was King and Lord of so many Realms and rich estates. This aduice was followed after the Cardinals death: but it seems the Flemings had other designs; for, the Lord of *Cheures* sought

sought to keep him vnder, and would haue had him giue water to the King his brother; who (being discontented to see his brother so debase himselfe) said, that XIMENES counsel was better: whereupon he ordained, that the Infant should be conducted into *Germany*.

King Charles visits his mother

The King, vpon his way towards *Vailledolit*, had a desire to go and visit his mother Queen IOAN at *Tordesillas*; writing the causes which moued him thereto to the Cardinall and to his brother D. FERDINAND: his resolution seemed full of piety; but, considering the indisposition of this Princesse, it was not needfull to conferre so long with her of affaires and matters as he did.

Sight of the Cardinals disgrace.

The Court comming to *Vailledolit*, the Cardinall found that his credit began to decay, and that he was not so respected in the making of his lodging as he ought to haue been, whereat he thought himself to haue been disgraced; saying, that it was a poore recompence after so much toyle and sweat to receiue a wrong, in the place of a reward, blaming the Kings officers, who were ignorant of the customes of *Spaine*: But the receipt of the kings Letters touched him neerer, by which he was commanded to attend him at *Moiados*, vpon the way to *Tordesillas*, where he desired to haue his aduice touching the affaires of his Realme and house, to the end he might discharge him of so great a burthen, and suffer him to retire to his owne house to liue in rest; where God would reward him for the many good offices he had done to the Realme, which he thought was not in the power of man to doe, and that for his part, he would euer remember it, and honour him as his Father. He conceiued so great a griefe vpon the receipt of these Letters, to see himselfe kept back, and, in a manner, disgraced, as within few houres after he died.

The Death of Cardinal Ximenes.

Coronation of King Charles *the firſt of that name.*

The King hauing called the estates of *Castile* to *Vailledolit*, he was there proclaimed king of *Castile*, *Toledo*, *Granado*, and other Prouinces depending in *Spaine*, where he receiued and tooke the oath after the accustomed manner: at which there was some question made by some of the Granadoes, for that Queene IOANE his mother was yet liuing, but notwithstanding they proceeded. Hauing there ordained some things touching the Gouernment of *Castile*, he went into *Arragon* to haue the like assembly called and solemnly performed in regard of those countries and prouinces: during his abode there, he had newes of the death of the Emperor MAXIMILIAN: for which great dignity, there were two great Princes in competition; FRANCIS the First, King of *France*, and CHARLES King of *Spaine*: In the beginning they proceeded with great modesty, each of them labouring by his Authority and meanes to draw the Electors vnto his side.

Death of Max. imilian, *and a concurrance for the Empire.*

The King of *Spaine* thought the Empire did belong vnto him by right, as hauing continued by a long succession in the house of *Austria*, and that it had not been the custome to depriue the descendents of the dead, without apparant cause of disability, hauing diuers other reasons to feed his hopes to attaine vnto the Empire.

The French King on the other side had no lesse hopes, grounded vpon an opinion he had to purchase the Electors voices by money, whereof some were his antient friends and pensioners, to which enterprise they incouraged him, as a matter easie to effect: Hee also knew well that it was very grieuous to many great houses in *Germany*, who held themselues capable of so great a dignity, to see the Empire continue so long in one house, and become as it were hereditary; and that they might call that Election a succession, which durst not leaue the next descendents of the deceased Emperour. These humours of the Germane Princes made him hope, that the iealousies among them might helpe his cause.

The Germans, louers of their countries.

The Electors were assembled at *Franckford* to agree vpon their election. The French King was still abused by the promises of the Marquesse of *Brandenburgh*, who was drawne thereunto by offers of great summes of money, for the which he did not onely binde himselfe to giue his voice: but he also promised that his brother, the Archbishop of *Mentz* should doe the like, and the French King was in hope that some other of the Electors were well affected to his party. But the Germane people had no wil to see the Imperiall dignity transferred to a stranger, intreating the Pope that he would not fauour any one in that election, that were not of the Germane Nation; yet in shew he seemed to fauour the French King, but in his heart hee desired not to haue either of them chosen Emperour, fearing their great power; but laboured to cause some other of the German Princes to be elected. During all these practices and the Electors differences about the election, they were aduertised of an Army put to field by the King of *Spaine* (who was more ready to leuie Souldiers with his money then to giue it to the Electors) which Army drawing neare to *Franckford* vpon colour to bridle such as should offer to force the Ele-

ction gate courage to thoſe Electors which fauoured his cauſe, and drew ſuch as ſtood doubtful vnto them. The Marqueſſe of *Brandenburgh* who ſtood for the French King, was ſo amazed, as deſpairing of the other Electors, and fearing the hatred of the whole nation, he durſt not diſcouer his intention; ſo as comming to the act of Election, CHARLES of *Auſtria* King of *Spaine* was choſen Emperour by foure of the Electors, onely the Archbiſhop of *Treues* gaue his voice for the Marqueſſe of *Brandenburgh* who was alſo concurrent in the Election for himſelfe.

Charles the Fift choſen Emperour.

This election did much trouble the French king, ſo as many conceiued that theſe two young Princes, betweene whom there were ſo many cauſes of iealouſie and debate, vpon ſundry pretentions, would in the end grow to ſome great & dangerous warre, as you ſhall hereafter vnderſtand. King CHARLES being at *Barcelona*, he had newes of his election to the Empire of *Germany*, by an Embaſſage ſent from the Electors, whereupon he went to make preparation for his iourney, and to ſet order for the affaires of *Caſtile*, which were very confuſed. But he was forced to make haſte and to leaue many things vndecided, being aduertiſed of the conſpiracies and leagues betwixt the townes and Noblemen of the Realme, for the defence of the priuiledges of the countrey, againſt the greedineſs of the flemiſh Counſellors. The king was loath to be ingaged in the Spaniſh mutinies with whoſe humors he was not yet acquainted: wherefore he embarqued ſodenly at the *Groyne*, leauing for gouernours Cardinall ADRIAN and the Conſtable VELASCO, with whom afterwards he ioyned FREDERICK, HENRIQVES great Admirall of *Caſtile*: And ſo paſſing by ſea with a great fleete he landed in *England*, to ſee king HENRY the Eighth, with whom he was in good correſpondence, where he was very honourably entertained for ſome daies, and then paſſed ouer into the Low countries, from whence he went with an honourable traine to *Aix*, where he made his entrie with all the Princes Electors, and many other Princes Embaſſadours and Noblemen, ſo as ſome write there were in the traine 15000 horſe, and there he receiued the firſt Imperial, crowne of Iron.

In the meane time the combuſtions increaſed daily in *Caſtile*, many townes and Noblemen complaining of the breach of the lawes and priuiledges of the Realme, and of the bad gouernment of the Flemiſh Lords, moſt of the chief townes fell to Armes and actual rebellion, hauing ioyned with diuerſe Noblemen and Knights and committing all ſorts of riots and inſolencies, refuſing to obey the Kings officers, but of themſelues they ſet downe a forme of gouernment, which was made by the generall multitude, and they called it, *la Santa Iunta*. The gouernours ſeeing this generall reuolt, leuied forces to ſuppreſſe the rebells, in the which there were many exploits don, which I omit. But in the end the two Armies met neere to *Villa Lara*, where the rebels were defeated, and thereby al tumults pacified, & the confiderate cities labored to recouer their former fauour. The Biſhop of *Zamorra* one of the chiefe of the confederates was taken & ſtrangled, and ſome other condemned to loſe their heads: and thus their ciuil wars ended, which grew by the exceſſe and violent gouernment of the Flemings.

Ciuil warres in Caſtile.

During this rebellion in *Caſtile*, the gouernours being weak, were forced to draw the garriſons out of *Nauarre*, and to draw away ſome of the ordinance out of *Pampelona*, whereupon the Lord of *Aſperant* brother to the Lord of *Lautrech*, with ſome French wel affected to HENRY of *Albret*, the right heire of that Realme, entred the countrey and took ſome places, and in the end was receiued into *Pampelona*: yet being abandoned by the Duke of *Nagera*, who was Viceroy, and finding no reſiſtance in the whole Countrey, during the ciuil warres, he vnaduiſedly paſt the riuer of *Ebro* and laid ſiege to *Logrogna*: but the Gouernors hauing gotten the victory at *Villa Lora*, marched towards him, and forced him to repaſſe the riuer, following the French vntill the Armies came neere to *Pampelona*, where the Lord of *Aſperant* reſolued to hazard a battail and would not attend ſuch forces as were to ioyne with them the next day, in the which the French were defeated, and the Generall taken priſoner; whereupon the whole countrey of *Nauarre* was eaſily recouered by the Caſtilians.

Nauarre enuied by the French.

The Lord of Aſperans and the French defeated in Nauarre.

The heart burning betwixt the Emperor and the French King began now to diſcouer it ſelf, for the Duke of *Bouillon* (hauing put himſelfe vnder the protection of the French) ſent to defie the Emperor being at a Diet at *Wormes*, and his ſonne the Lord of *Florenges* hauing leuied ſome forces in *France*, went to beſiege a ſmal town in *Luxenburg*, but the king of *England* diſſwaded the French King, from entring into quarrell vpon ſo ſmall a ſubiect; there was nothing done, and the Duke of *Bouillon* diſmiſſed his Army: but the Emperor raiſed forces, and took diuers places and townes from the Duke, who finding himſelfe too weake obtained a Truce for ſix weekes. After the Emperors coronation the firſt act he did, was to ſuppreſſe, if he could by mild meanes, the doctrine preached by LVTHER the which increaſed much in *Germany*. To this end, and for

Duke of Bouillon defies the Emperour.

for ſome othe reaſues of importance concerning the Empire, he cauſed the Princes and eſtates to aſſemble at *Wormes*, whither LVTHER came, hauing a paſport, and was heard diſputing againſt Doctour ECKIVS and diuers others, but there followed ſmall fruites of this Diet.

A Diet at Wormes.

King FRANCIS being much diſcontented with the ouerthrow of the Lord of *Aſperants* army, he ſent the Lord of *Bonguet* admiral of *France* with a greater power, who entred by *Guipuſcoa* and beſieged FONTARRABI the which after ſome daies he took by compoſition, and manned it with a garriſon of 3000 Gaſcoines, vnder the commaund of the Earle of LVDE: and about the ſame time the Viceroy of *Nauarre* receiued commandement from the Emperor, to ruine all the walled Townes and forces of *Nauarre*, to preuent another rebellion, the which was executed but at *Pampalona* and ſome few other places. Both theſe great Princes in like manner were in Armes vpon the frontiers of *France* and *Burgundy*, where there were diuerſe exploits done but of no great moment.

Fontarrabi taken by the French.

This yere the Emperor hearing of the alterations which had been in *Spaine* againſt the gouernours; hauing conſulted with the Princes Electors he diſpoſed of his affaires there and of the Netherlands, and took ſhipping at *Fluſhing*, who finding a proſperous winde he touched in *England* where he concluded an allyance with King HENRY the Eighth, to marrie with MARY his daughter (being then but ſeuen yeeres old) when ſhe ſhould come to age but it ſucceeded not, from whence he ſailed into *Spaine* and arriued at S. *Ander* the 25 of Iuly. The Emperor being gon into *Spaine* there fell out great combuſtions in *Germany*, the Peſants taking Armes againſt the Nobility, who being aſſembled in great numbers, made ſpoile of religious houſes, and committed a thouſand inſolencies hauing no ſubiect, but onely abuſed by certaine falſe preachers, who ſaid, they had a reuelation from God, that they ſhould root out that tyrannous Nobility and enioy their full liberty; but they were defeated, and put to rout by the Count Palatine, the Archbiſhop of *Mentz*; and ſome others. Their leader was publickly executed, and thoſe poore wretches that eſcaped from the battaile, returned home to their houſes.

The Emperours ſecond voiage into Spaine.

The peſants warre in Germany.

The Emperour being in *Spaine*, had ſent an Army to infeſt FONTARRABIE: the Earle of LVDE the gouernour wanting things neceſſarie for the defence of a towne of war, which attended a ſiege hourely, he aduertiſed the king his maiſter, intreating him to relieue him and to ſend another to take the charge: whereupon the Marſhall CHABANES came and victualled the towne, and changed the garriſon, leauing captaine FRAVGET, in the place of the Earle of LVDE, and the next yeere 1524 the Emperour ſent an Army to beſiege it, and FRAVGET hauing neither want of victualls nor endured an aſſault, yeelded the towne by compoſition, for the which he was degraded of his Nobility, vpon a ſcaffold in the citie of *Lions*. In the meane time the warres began to grow hot in *Italy*, whereas the Pope and the Emperour had made a ſecret league againſt the French King, ſeeking firſt to ſupplant him in the Duchey of *Milan* by ſecret practices, and then by open Armes, where after many exploits done in the end the Imperialiſts took the city of *Milan*. After with the Swiſſers vnder the French Kings pay, and vnder the command of the Lord of *Lautre* their General, would needes go and change the Imperialiſts at *Bicocca* where they were repulſt, yet they retired in good order with their Artillery, the enemy not daring to purſue them; in which conflict the Swiſſers loſt 3000 of their beſt men and 22 Captains: after which they returned home; and the French, into *France*. The lord of *Lautrec* hauing giuen order for the defenſe of *Cremona*, *Genoa*, and ſome other Townes in *Lombardy*, in the mean time the Emperor made a league with the Venecians: the Articles were, that betweene the Emperor FERDINAND Duke of *Auſtria*, and FRANCIS SFORZA Duke of *Milan*, on the one part, and the Senate of *Venice* on the other, there ſhould be a perpetuall peace and league, with diuerſe other Articles for the ioynt preſeruation of their eſtates. And in Auguſt following there was another league concluded at *Rome* betwixt the Pope, the Emperor, the King of *England*, the Archduke of *Auſtria*, the Duke of *Milan*, the Cardinall of *Medicis*, together with the ſtate of *Florence*, and the Genoais; where it was concluded, that this league ſhould continue during the confederates liues, and a yeer after the death of any of them, reſeruing place for any other to come in, ſo as they were admitted by the Pope, the Emperor, and the King of *England*: the reſt of the Articles you may reade at large in GVICHARDIN.

Fonbarraby taken by the Emperour.

Milan taken by the Imperialiſts.

The incounter of Bicocca.

A league betweene the Emperor and Venecians.

The French King was nothing danted with theſe leagues, nor the vnion of ſo many Princes; who being come to *Lions*, reſolued to go in perſon with a great Armie into *Italie*. His Armie paſſed the mountains: but the King was ſtaid by the conſpiracy of the Duke of *Bourbon*; who, being

The French King prepares to goe into Italy.

being the greateſt officer of the kingdome, and of a noble Family, ſeeing himſelfe in ſome diſgrace, made a league with the Emperour and the king of *England*, by which it was agreed, that as ſoone as the king ſhould haue paſſed the Alpes, he ſhould enter *Burgundy* with twenty thouſand Foote; But this could not be brought to paſſe, before it was diſcouered to the King being at *Lions*, who ſent to apprehend him, but he was fled away in a diſguiſed habit. This accident of importance ſtayed the king from his intended iourney, who keeping certaine troupes about him prepared for the new warre, he ſent the Lord of *Bonnivet* Admirall of *France*, into *Italie*, with one thouſand eight hundred Lances, and thirty one thouſand Foot, of ſeueral Nations, with which he drew neere to the confines of the Duchie of *Milan*, where he took ſome Townes, but attempted *Milan* in vaine.

The Duke of *Bourbon*, not able to doe the Emperor any ſeruice in *Burgundy*, for want of money to pay his Lance-knights, retired to *Milan*, where the Emperor (hauing no will he ſhould paſſe into *Spaine*, to marry his ſiſter the widdow Queene of *Portugal*) ſent to intreate him that he would ſtay there, giuing him the title of his Lieutenant generall in *Italie*; the Emperours affaires were not ſucceſſefull vpon the coaſts of of *Spaine*, for hauing a great deſire to paſſe in perſon into *France*, and thither to tranſport the warres, hauing to that end ſent his Army vnder the Pirenean hills, the which had taken *Deluaterra*: But his deſignes were greater then his power, being vnable for want of money to entertain ſuch great forces as were neceſſary for ſuch an enterpriſe: for which cauſe he could not draw his Army together before the later end of the yeer, which bred him great difficulties in that cold ſeaſon, for which conſideration together with the want of victuals he was forced to diſſolue his Army.

The Emperos deſigne to go into France made fruſtrate.

But to return to *Italie*, the Emperors Army was now on foote, vnder the leading of the Duke of *Milan*, the Duke of *Bourbon*, the Vice-roy of *Naples*, and the Marqueſſe of *Peſquera*; what ſucceſſe theſe two Armies had, I leaue to the relation of GVICHARDINE: part of this Army was ſent in *France*, vnder the Duke of *Bourbon*, and the Marqueſſe of *Peſquiera*, they entred *Prouence* and took *Aix*, the chiefe City of that Prouince, with ſome other townes. The Duke of *Bourbon* would gladly haue paſſed the riuer of *Rhoſne*, and entred farther into *France*, giuing diuers reaſons for his aduice; But the Marqueſſe and the Spaniards deſired rather to take *Marſeilles* a hauen of the Sea, lying very commodious for the Emperors paſſage out of *Spaine* into *Italie*, the which they went to beſiege, lying forty daies before it; but deſpairing to be able to take it, and fearing ſome great danger if the King ſhould approach, they raiſed their ſiege: the king being comm to *Auinion* with his whole Army, and marched with all ſpeede towards *Marſeilles*; the French King, ſeeing a faire occaſion offered him for the recouery of the Duchy of *Milan*, hauing a puiſſant Army, and his enemies being weake, he reſolued to embrace the occaſion, wherewith he acquainted his Captains; ſaying, I haue reſolued to paſſe in perſon into *Italie*, and whoſoeuer ſhall aduiſe me to the contrary ſhall much diſpleaſe me. Let euery man therefore looke carefully to his charge; for God is a louer of iuſtice, and the raſhneſſe of our enemies, hath at laſt laid open a meanes for vs to recouer that, which hath been violently taken from vs.

The Duke of Bourbon enters into Prouence with an Army.

The French king reſolues to paſſe the mountains and follow the enemy.

After which he cauſed the Army to march immediatly, ſhunning to meete with the Lady Regent his mother, who came to perſwade him not to paſſe the mountains in perſon: But he went on, and encamped with his Army before *Pauia* (hauing firſt taken the City of *Milan*) during which time, the Pope did mediat a Peace betwixt thoſe two great Princes, but it tooke no effect.

The French King continued ſtill his ſiege before *Pauia*, which was reduced to extremity, but the Imperialiſts drew all their forces together to relieue it; and the Armies lying neere together, they ioyned battaile vpon the fourteenth day of February, where the French Army was ouerthrowne, and King FRANCIS, fighting valiantly and long in the middeſt of the battaile, had his horſe ſlain vnder him, and himſelfe lightly hurt in the face and the hand, being fallen to the ground, he was taken priſoner by fiue ſouldiers who knew him not: But the Vice-roy changing to come, he diſcouered himſelfe vnto him, who gaue him his hand with great reuerence, and receiued him priſoner in the Emperors name. In this ouerthrow there were many Princes and Noble-men of *France* ſlaine and taken priſoners, the particularities whereof I omit for breuities ſake.

The battell of Pauia where the French King was taken priſoner.

The Emperour being aduertiſed of this ouerthrow, and of the kings impriſonment, the news were very pleaſing vnto him, yet he made no ſhew of pride for this great ſucceſſe, but carried himſelfe very modeſtly; For, being informed of the victory, and receiuing Letters of the French

French Kings own hand, which were humbly written, rather in the condition of a priſoner then of a king: He went forthwith to the Church to giue God thanks, and the next morning receiued the Sacrament with great deuotion, and ſo went in proceſſion with his whole Court, but he would not ſuffer any Bels to be rung, or bonefiers made in ſigne of ioy; ſaying, That it was fit to reioyce for victories obtained againſt Infidels, and not for thoſe which were gotten againſt Chriſtians. Whereupon he called his Councell together to aduiſe in what ſort he ſhould deale with the French King, and to what ends he ſhould vſe the Victory, commanding euery one to deliuer his minde freely in his preſence: Whereupon the Biſhop of *Oſma*, who was his Confeſſor, making a graue ſpeech & ſhewing three deliberations which might be taken, touching the French King; the firſt to keep him a perpetuall priſoner; the ſecond, to deliuer him friendly and brotherly without any other conditions but ſuch as might ſettle a perpetuall Peace betwixt them; and the third to deliuer him, but to draw as great profite thereby as hee could, concluding that the ſafeſt courſe was to binde the king vnto him by a free and brotherly deliuerance. But on the other ſide the Duke of *Alua* perſwaded the Emperour to make as great profit of this Victory, as poſſible he could, whoſe aduice was applauded by the whole Councell without any replie, the which the Emperour himſelfe alſo approued: Whereupon there were certaine Articles drawne and ſent with all ſpeede vnto the King, who reiected them as vnreaſonable.

The Emperours moderation vpon the newes of the Victory.

The Vice-roy doubting of the Kings ſafe keeping within the Duchie of *Milan*, he reſolued to tranſport him to *Naples*, whereat the King was much grieued: He was conducted to *Genoa*, and from thence to *Portoſeio* where he ſhould imbarke, but the Vice-roy hauing certaine French Gallies, ſent him by the Queene Regent, he changed his aduice, and tranſported the King into *Spaine*. The Emperor, hearing of his arriuall, gaue commandement, that he ſhould be receiued with great honour in all places as he paſſed: what followed during his impriſonment vntil his deliuery, you may reade at large in the French hiſtory.

The french king tranſported into Spaine.

In the yeer one thouſand fiue hundred twenty ſix, after many conſultations, in the end was a treaty concluded for the deliuery of the French King; but the Emperour tyed him to ſuch conditions as were very vnreaſonable: yet he promiſed vpon his oath to obſerue them faithfully, hauing left his two ſonnes in Hoſtage, and contracted himſelfe to Queene ELEANOR the Emperors ſiſter. This accord held all the Princes of Chriſtendome in ſuſpence, for they conſidered that if he obſerued the treaty of *Madrid*, all *Italie* being vnable to defend it ſelfe, would fall into ſeruitude, but the world was ſoone ſatisfied of the French kings intention; For, being arriued at *Bayonne*, he was required to ratifie the Accord, which he had promiſed to doe when he came to a free place, but he delayed it with many excuſes: giuing the Emperor to vnderſtand that before he proceeded to ſuch an act, it wes neceſſary he ſhould pacifie his ſubiects, who were diſcontented with bonds which tended to the diminution of the Crowne of *France*: But notwithſtanding all difficulties he would obſerue what he had promiſed; notwithſtanding the Pope and the Venecians ſending meſſengers vnto him, he complained much of the Emperors inhumanity vnto him, during his impriſonment, not vſing him like a Prince, nor with that commiſeration of his calamity that beſitted a Prince. That he had not found him any mildlier diſpoſed towards others, but perceiued by his ſpeeches vſed at *Madrid* that he affected nothing more then how to bring the Church, *Italy*, and all other Princes into ſeruitude: and therefore he wiſhed them to be carefull of their owne ſafeties: which if they did, he would concurre with them for the common good, and make a league with them againſt the Emperor, not that he had any intent to recouer the State of *Milan*, or to adde any thing to his own greatneſſe, but only by warre to recouer his children, and aſſure the liberty of *Italie*, ſeeing the Emperours great couetouſneſſe had left him no colour to binde him to obſerue the treaty: For that both at the firſt when he was in the Caſtle of *Piſqueton* and afterwards in *Spaine*, he had often proteſted to the Emperour, by reaſon of his exorbitant demands, that if through neceſſity he were driuen to compound vpon vniuſt conditions, or ſuch as were not in his power to performe, that not only he would not obſerue them; but holding himſelfe wronged in that he had forced him to make impoſſible promiſes, he would be reuenged if euer occaſion were offered, and that he had often told him, that it was not in the power of a French king, to binde himſelfe to the alienation of any thing depending of the Crowne, without the conſent of the generall eſtates: that the Laws of Chriſtians did not allowe, that he which was taken in warre ſhould be deteined in perpetuall priſon, which was a puniſhment proper for malefactors, and not for ſuch as had been beaten with the cruelty of fortune; that all men knew that bonds made by conſtraint in priſon were of no

The deliuery of the French king.

His complaint againſt the Emperor.

no value; and that the capitulation being of no force, the faith likewiſe which was but acceſſary, and the confirmation of the ſame, could not be bound; that by the oath which hee had taken at *Rhemes* at his coronation, hee was bound (according to the cuſtome of other Kings of *France*) not to alienate the patrimony of the Crown: and therefore for theſe reaſons he was no leſſe free than ready to abate the Emperors pride.

The Emperor ſends to the French King touching the treaty.

The Emperor, growing jealous of the Kings delaies for the ratification, ſent one vnto him to be certified of his intent, who found him very vnwilling to leaue *Burgundy*; which, beeing very prejudiciall to the Crown of *France*, he ſaid was not in his power to obſerue: but deſiring much to entertain the amity begun with the Emperor, and to giue perfection to the marriage, he would be contented (obſeruing all other Articles) to pay him two millions of crownes for the reſignation of *Burgundy*.

The Emperor, hearing this anſwer, was much troubled in minde, yet he reſolued not to alter any thing touching the reſtitution of *Burgundy*, and rather to accord with the Pope, and to conſent to the reintegration of FRANCIS SFORCE; being more fitting for him to pardon a Prince leſſe than himſelf, than by yeelding to the will of a powerfull Prince, and one that enuied his greatnes, to make as it were a confeſſion of feare. But the French King hearing that the Emperor would alter nothing touching the Articles of the capitulation, he preſently began to hearken to the treaty of the league, the which was concluded the tenth of May 1526, between the French King on the one part, the Pope and the Venecians on the other; that between the Pope, the French King, the Venecians, and the Duke of *Milan* (for whom the Pope and the Venecians aſſured their ratification) ſhould bee a perpetuall league to reſtore FRANCIS SFORCE freely to the Duchy of *Milan*, and the French Kings children to their liberty; that the league ſhould be ſignifi'd to the Emperor, to whom was giuen power to enter into it within three moneths, with condition to deliuer the Kings children, receiuing a competent ranſome, ſuch as the King of *England* ſhould arbitrate, and alſo to leaue the whole Duchy of *Milan* vnto FRANCIS SFORCE, and the other eſtates of *Italie* as they were before the laſt war began: there were many other Articles touching the managing of this warre, which I leaue to GVICHARDINE.

A league concluded between the Pope, the French King, and the Venecians.

The Army of confederates being in field, they came and ſate down before *Milan*, and ſoon retired again without any effect: and in the meane time the poore Inhabitants of *Milan* were wonderfully oppreſt by the rigour and cruelty of the Spaniards; and the face of this City appeared very miſerable and almoſt naked of Inhabitants, many beeing waſted by the plague, and many fleeing away daily to auoid the fury of thoſe mercileſſe Spaniards. They were ſomwhat reuiued by the coming of the Duke of *Bourbon*; perſwading themſelues, that ſeeing hee had brought ſome prouiſion of money, and that the confederates Camp was retired, their neceſſities and dangers would decreaſe, and they ſhould not bee ſo much oppreſſed and cruelly handled: furthermore, they had a conceit, that the Duke (to whom it was ſaid the Emperor had giuen the Duchie of *Milan*) would prouide for his owne profit, that they ſhould be no more ſo miſerably afflicted. Wherefore, aſſembling themſelues together, they came to the Duke, and deliuered their grieuances vnto him by the mouth of one of their company, with teares and lamentations. The Duke ſeemed to be much grieued for their miſeries, promiſing to doo his beſt to releeue the City, which had been ſo much oppreſt contrary to the Emperours will and pleaſure: he tould them, moreouer, that he had brought ſome prouiſion of money, but not ſo much as might content the ſouldiers; yet if the City would furniſh him with 30000 Ducates for the pay of one moneth, he would cauſe the Army to retire out of *Milan*; aſſuring them, that hee would not break his faith and word, vpon which they might confidently rely; praying God, that, if he failed of his promiſe, his head might bee taken from his ſhoulders by the firſt ſhot of Cannon from the enemy: whereupon, the poor Citizens with great difficulty began to make prouiſion of the money. But the Duke of *Bourbon* made no reckoning to keep his word and promiſe, or at the leaſt it lay not in his power to curb the pride and inſolencie of the ſouldiers.

The miſerable eſtate of Milan.

The Caſtle of Milan yeelded to the Imperialiſts.

The Caſtle of *Milan* was all this time beſieged by the Imperialiſtes and reduced to great extremity for want of victualls, the confederate army vnder the command of the Duke, promiſing ſtill to releeue them, and they came and planted their Camp within a mile of *Milan*: but they delaied the execution ſo long, as the Duke of *Milan* was forced by extremity of hunger, to yield it vp vnto the Duke of *Burbon* vpon certain conditions, the which were very ill obſerued.

Prouiſions of the Emperor againſt the confederats.

The Emperour began to fortify himſelfe in *Italy* againſt the confederates: hee ſent the Viceroy of *Naples* out of *Spaine*, with 6000 foot, Lanceknights, & Spaniardes, and he ſent directions into *Germany* for new ſuccours of footmen: but by reaſon of the want of money that Leuy came ſlowely.

After the ſucceſſe of theſe matters in *Italy* with diuerſe euents, Embaſſadors came vnto the Emperor in September from the Pope, the french king & the Venecians, to ſignifie vnto him the league which they had made; with the libertie which was left to him to enter, according to the conditions: at which act the Embaſſador of *England* being preſent, hee deliuered a Letter from the king his maſter, who perſwaded him to enter into the League. The Emperour hauing heard their charge, anſwered, that it agreed not with his dignity, to enter into a league, made principally againſt his eſtate and honour: but hauing been alwaies deſirous of the vniuerſall peace, he made offer to accompliſh it preſently if they had ſufficient commiſſions for the ſame.

This yeere the Duke of *Burbon* went out of *Milan* with part of the Imperiall Army, being perſwaded by the Duke of *Ferrara* to addreſſe himſelf to the head, and attempt *Florence*, or *Rome*: and in like manner the Viceroy of *Naples*, who alſo had an Army for the Emperor, was deſirous to inuade the territories of the Church: the Duke of *Bourbon* marched neere to *Bologna*, where he was in great danger of his life by reaſon of the mutinie of his ſouldiers for want of pay. But the Pope ſeeing theſe ſtormes approach, began to faint and to loſe all courage, ſo as he reſolued, to make an accord with ſome whom the Viceroy had ſent to *Rome*, to that end: which was, That there ſhould be a furceaſing of Armes for eight moneths, the Pope paying to the Imperiall Army 60000 Ducats; with diuerſe other Articles. The Duke of *Burbon* was perſwaded by the Viceroy to accept of the truce: the which he refuſed, ſaying that the Army could not bee ſtaied but by the aduancing of a greater ſumme of money; ſo as hauing no meanes to entertaine the Army longer without money (for vntill that day he had carried them through many difficulties, with fair promiſes and vain hopes) being conſtraind either to trie his fortune or to periſh, he reſolued to march with all poſſible ſpeed to ſurpriſe *Rome*: where the reward of the victory would be ineſtimable; and he was encouraged with hopes of good ſucceſſe, for that the Pope had vnaduiſedly vpon the treaty of the accord diſmiſſed his troupes. The Duke of *Burbon*, leauing his artillery and baggage behinde, marcht with incredible ſpeed, and drew neer to *Rome*, the Pope being ſcarcely aduertiſed of his coming: what paſſed within the City, I omit for breuities ſake. On the fift of May he ſent a Trumpet to demand paſſage through the City of *Rome*, to go with his Army to the Realm of *Naples*: and the next morning at the break of day he reſolued either to dy or vanquiſh, giuing a furious aſſault to the ſuburbs; in which hee was much fauoured by a thick miſt. At the beginning of the aſſault, the Duke of *Bourbon*, beeing in the head of the troops to draw them on, was ſhot through the head with a bullet, and ſlaine. This did nothing daunt the reſolution of the ſouldiers; who after a little reſiſtance forced the rampiers, the Defendants all fleeing away: whereupon Pope CLEMENT with certain of his Cardinals fled into the Caſtle; and the ſame night the ſouldiers entred the City, where they made a pitifull ſpoil, without reſpect of perſon or place, were they holy or profane. The ſpoil was infinite for the wealth and riches which they found, and for the quality and number of the priſoners, who were to redeem themſelues with very great ranſomes.

1527

The Pope makes an accord with the Imperialiſts.

The duke of Burbon ſlain at the aſſault of Rome.

Rome taken and ſacked by the Imperialiſts.

On the ſixt of Iune the Pope compounded with the Imperialiſts: the conditions were, that he ſhould pay to the Army 400000 Ducats, that he ſhould deliuer vp to the Emperor the Caſtle Saint *Angelo*, the Forts of *Oſtia*, *Ciuita vecchia*, and of *Ciuita Caſtellano*, with the Cities of *Parma*, *Placencia* and *Modena*; that the Pope, with thirteen Cardinals which were with him, ſhould remain priſoners within the Caſtle vntill the firſt paiment were made of 15000 Ducates, and then they ſhould go to *Naples* or to *Caietta*, and there attend the Emperors pleaſure; that for aſſurance of the other paiments he ſhould giue in hoſtage certain ſpeciall men whom they named. This ſack of *Rome* drew all the ſouldiers of the Realm of *Naples* thither; ſo as there were at that one Inſtant 24000 men, who liued there tumultuouſly and inſolently, and would not depart: but a great number of them were deuoured by the plague.

Matters being treated of before for the preparation of a new war, in April a league was concluded betwixt the Kings of *France* and *England*, vpon certain conditions ſet down: and it was reſolued, that either of them ſhould ſend Embaſſadors to the Emperor to acquaint him with the league they had made, and to ſummon him to reſtore the Kings children, and to enter into the peace with honeſt conditions; which if he would not accept within one moneth, then to denounce war.

A league betwixt the Kings of France and England.

This league being concluded, the two Kings ſent two Gentlemen in poſte to make this ſum-

mons to the Emperor; which act the two Ambaſſadors performed. And in like manner, on the fifteenth of May 1527, the French King (hauing newes of the ſack of *Rome*, and the death of the Duke of *Bourbon*) contracted with the Venecians and the Duke of *Milan*, for the leuying of an Army in *Italy*. Of this Army of the league, MONSIEVR *de Lautrech* was made Captain generall; who, hauing paſſed into *Italie*, took *Genoa* and *Alexandria*, and ſackt *Pauia*. After which he was importuned by the Pope to aduance with his Army: whereupon the Imperialiſts, fearing his deſcent into the Realm of *Naples*, which they were of neceſſity to defend, made an accord with the Pope. The Articles were, that the Pope ſhould make no enterpriſe againſt the Emperor, either in *Milan*, or the Kingdome of *Naples*; that hee ſhould grant him a Croiſade in *Spain*, and a Tenth of all the Clergy-reuenues in thoſe Realms; that he ſhould leaue in the Emperors hands (for aſſurance of the obſeruation) *Oſtia*, *Ciuita vecchia*, *Ciuita Caſtellana*, and the Caſtle of *Parlie*, and giue for hoſtages his nephews, HIPPOLITO and ALEXANDER; that he ſhould pay to the Lance-Knights 67000 Ducats, and to the Spaniards 35000: which being performed, they ſhould releaſe him with all his Cardinals: and they ſhould goe out of *Rome*, and the Caſtle; conuaying the Pope in ſafety to *Oruietta*, *Spoleto* or *Perouſa*, vntill the reſt of their moncy were paid.

Accord betwixt the pope and the Emperors agents

The night before the tenth of December, which was appointed for the Popes departure, he fearing that ſome ſiniſter accident might happen vnto him, ſtole, in the cloſing of the euening, ſecretly out of the Caſtle in the habit of a merchant; being attended by LEVVES *de Gonzaga*, who was in the Emperors pay, and conducted him ſafely to *Oruietta*: from whence he wrote a Letter to MONSIEVR *de Lautrec*, thanking him for that which he had done touching his deliuery.

Moſt part of the former yeer there had been treating of a peace betwixt the Emperour and the Kings of *France* and *England*; and taking no effect, the Ambaſſadors being retired, their Heralds came to denounce warre againſt the Emperor: whereto (as ſome write) hee made this anſwer, that the French King could not denounce war againſt him being his priſoner, although he were at liberty, hauing giuen his ſonnes for hoſtages: if hee could not obſerue his promiſe which he had ſolemnly ſworn, being hindred by his ſubjects, he ſhould return again to priſon; and that he could not by the law of Nations, being not yet freed from his oath, denounce war againſt him: and GVICHARDINE writes, that hee tould ſome of the Kings miniſters, that he would end all quarels with the French King by ſingle combate of both their perſons, and that he had dealt villanouſly and cowardly with him in falſifying his faith. The King, hearing heerof, held it a diſhonour to paſſe it ouer in ſilence: and therefore on the twentith of March, in a great aſſembly of all his Princes, all the Ambaſſadors and his whole Court, calling for PERRINOT the Emperors Ambaſſador, after ſome ſpeeches hee deſired him to carry a Letter and deliuer a meſſage to the Emperor from him of this tenor, that whereas the Emperor had told his Herald that he had falſified his faith, he had ſpoken an vntruth; and that as often as hee had ſpoken it, ſo often he had lied; and not to deferre the triall of their quarels, that hee ſhould aſſigne him the place where they might together perform the combate. The Ambaſſador refuſing to carry this Letter or deliuer the meſſage, tould him hee would ſignifie as much to the Emperor by an Herald: and although he were not ignorant that he had ſpoken againſt the honour of his brother the King of *England*, yet hee would ſay nothing therein, knowing that the King was well able to defend himſelf: but if through the indiſpoſition of his body he had any lawfull impediment, he offred to aduenture his body for him. But not many daies after, the King of *England* gaue him the like defiance with the ſame ſolemnities. The Army of the league vnder the command of Monſieur *de Lautrec* their Generall, entred into the Realme of *Naples*, being ſtill followed by the Imperiall Army, cutting off their victuals: but in the end of April he came to *Naples*, which he reſolued to beſiege both by ſea and land; where in the beginning there was a great fight at ſea between PHILIP DORIA who ſerued the French, and the Imperialiſts; in which Don HVGO *de Monarda* Viceroy of *Naples*, with aboue 1000 Spaniards, were ſlain, and many Noble-men and others taken priſoners. The ſiege of *Naples* proued very fatall for the French: for, ANDREVV DORIA with his gallies left the Kings ſeruice, and fell to the Emperor, whoſe Army was fortified with new forces. The French Army was diſtreſſed for victuals, and much infected with the plague, whereof many great Commanders and Captains died, and in the end Monſieur *de Lautrec* the Generall himſelf; which was the ouerthrowe of the French Army in the kingdom of *Naples*, hauing as bad ſucceſſe in *Lombardy* vnder the command of Monſieur *de S. Pol*, who was ouerthrowne and taken priſoner by ANTHONY

1528 Answer made by the emperor to the French King.

The French K. giues the Emperor the ly.

1528 Naples beſieged.

The Spaniards defeated at ſea.

Death of Monſ. de Lautrec.

NY *De Leua*, at *Lauidriano*. Theſe many croſſes cauſed the French King willingly to giue eare to a treaty of peace, the which was debated at *Cambray* in the yeere 1530 by LEVVES of *Sauoy*, the French Kings mother, and MARGARET of *Auſtria* the Emperours Aunt, where after much debating the two Princes were reconciled; by the which the Infants of *France* were to be deliuered in regarde of two millions and 500000 crownes, paiable at ſeuerall times, whereof part was in diſcharge of the Emperour to the King of *England*, that the King ſhould renounce the Soueraigntie of *Flanders*, & *Artois*, and his pretentions to the Duchie of *Milan* & *Naples*, with diuerſe other Articles which did not hold. During the negotiation at *Cambraye*, the Emperour paſſed into *Italy* with great forces, which amazed all the States of *Italy*: he landed at *Genoa*, and went to *Bologna*, whereas Pope CLEMENT attended him and receiued him with great honor, and lodged him in the ſame palace with him, where by their outward demonſtrations they ſeemed to haue been alwaies in great amity. There he receiued the imperiall Crownes, one of Iron, which the Emperours haue bin accuſtomed to receiue at *Milan*, and the other of Gold which he ſhould haue taken at *Rome*: and during his abode there, by the Popes mediation, the Venetians, and the Duke of *Milan*, vpon certaine conditions, were reconciled to the Emperor, who reſtored to FRANCIS SFORCE, *Milan*, with the whole Duchie: from whence he paſſed into *Germany*, to an Imperiall Diet which was held at *Auſbourge*, where aſſiſted FERDINAND King of *Hungary* his brother, with the Princes of the Empire. There the Proteſtant Princes, Noble-men, and Imperiall townes beſought the Emperor to heare the confeſſion of their doctrine, where were many diſputations by the Doctors on both ſides: where the Proteſtants ſeeing they could not preuaile any thing, made a proteſtation that they could not contribute to the warres againſt the Turke who threatned to beſiege *Viena*: After which, King FERDINAND was choſen King of the Romanes, with whom the Emperor went to *Aix* where he was ſolemnely crowned, in Ianuary 1531. And from thence the Emperour went into the Low countries, where he made a very ſeuere Edict againſt them of the reformed religion; and then he returned into *Germany* and went with his brother FERDINAND to a Diet at *Ratiſbon*, where the Councell of *Auſbourg* was allowed vntill a Councell were called: and ſo a peace was concluded in *Germany*, vpon certaine Articles; ſo as the Proteſtants for their parts, being ſeuen Princes and 24 townes, offered obedience to the Emperor, and promiſed him ſuccours againſt the Turk.

The Emperor makes a peace at Cambray with the French king.

Coronation of the Emperor at Bologna.

Ferdinand choſen King of the Romans.

A peace betwixt the Emperor and the Proteſtants in Germany.

This treaty was ratified by the Emperour the ſecond of Auguſt 1532, commanding the Imperial chamber and all other Iudges to obey it. The Emperor leauing *Germany* returned into *Italy*, and had an enteruiew with the Pope at *Bologna*, in ſhew to treat of a generall Councell, which was nothing pleaſing vnto the Pope: but the chiefe end was, to make a league betweene them and the other Potentates of *Italy*, for the aſſurance of their eſtates againſt the enterpriſes of the French: which done, the Emperor returned to *Genoa* and from thence paſſed into *Spain*.

A league betwixt the Pope and the Emperor.

The Emperour being in *Spain*, he was ſolicited by MVLEY HASCEN King of *Tunis* who had been diſpoſſeſt by HARADIN BARBAROVSSE, to reſtore him to his Realme, promiſing to hold it of the Crowne of *Spain*. This occaſion was willingly imbraced, as neceſſary for the good of Chriſtendome, and very honourable for the Emperour in particular. Hauing reſolued vpon this enterpriſe, he aduertiſed all Chriſtian Princes, inuiting them to contribute men, mony and ſhips to this warre, whither hee would go in perſon: the *Rendez vous* was in *Sardinia*, where he ſhipped his Army beeing neere 40000 men, with the which he landed happily within ſix miles of *Tunis*: he firſt aſſaulted *Gouletta* which was a ſtrong Fort ſet vpon the mouth of the lake, the which was taken by aſſault, in which there were ſlaine in fighting or in flying away aboue 1500 Turks and all BARBAROVSSES ordinance and Galleys taken. There was great conſultation touching the enterpriſe of *Tunis*, which ſome held difficult and others made it eaſie. It is written that BARBAROVSSE being much grieued for the loſſe of *Gouletta* was once in minde to haue ſlaine all the Chriſtian ſlaues: from which cruell reſolution he was diuerted by ſome, ſhewing him that ſo foule a fact would not onely blemiſh his name perpetually, but bring him in diſgrace with SOLIMAN, who was a generous Prince, and hated all ſuch baſe actions, as to kill people impriſoned which could not offend him. The Emperour marched with his Army towards *Tunis*, and BARBAROVSSE came forth of the citie in ſhew to giue him battaile, hauing (as ſome write) twenty thouſand horſe, 100000 foot, Moores and Arabians, with 7000 Turks on whom he did chiefly rely. The two Armies drawing neere, the charge began: but the Barbarians vpon the firſt charge, fled away baſely, neither did BARBAROVSSE ſhew any courage that day, but fled ſpeedily to the City, where the ſlaughter in this battaile

Muly Haſcen reſtored by the Emperor.

The Emperors forces going to Tunis.

Gouletta taken by the Empero.

Battaile betweene the Chriſtians and Barbarouſſe at Tunis.

was not great, the Barbarians flying presently. BARBAROVSSH being in *Tunis* entred into a new resolution to murder the Christian slaues, which moued two Renegados (much fauoured by him) to campassion, who opened the prison dores to these wrethes, who (as some write) were 10000: and they hauing broken their chaines, got staues and such other weapons and became maisters of the Castle, driuing away those few Turks which were left there in guarde, seizing vpon the treasure, victuals and Armes which BARBAROVSSH had left there, who posted to the Castle seeking to be let in; but they chased him away with reproches. This happened the day after the battaile, when as those slaues made signe vnto the Emperour to approach, but by reason of the distance they could not be seene: yet the Emperor finding there was some alteration sent to discouer it. In the meane time BARBAROVSSH fearing the inconstancie of his Moores, left the citie, and went towards *Bona* with his 7000 Turks: the Christian Army marching towards *Tunis*, they were met by Embassadours from the city, who offred to yeeld vnto the Emperour vpon what conditions he would prescribe, so as he would secure them from sack, the which was granted: But soone after the Emperors entrance the Spaniards and Germanes fell to spoile and kill, committing all acts of hostilitey. After all this MVLI HASCEN was restored to his kingdome by the Emperour, vpon certaine Articles set downe, doing him homage: and then the Emperor dismissing part of his Army from *Gouletta* he returned with the rest into *Sicily*, and so came to *Naples*.

Christian slaues seise vpon the Castle of Tunis.

The Emperour returnes into Sicily.

The Emperour being returned to *Naples* there began a new warre betwixt him and the French king, for the Duke of *Sauoy* brother in law to the Emperour, whom the French sought to dispossesse of his estate. The Emperour consulted with his captaines of the manner how he should begin this war, whether he should stay in *Piemont* or passe presently into *Prouence*: where after diuerse opinions it was concluded to inuade *Prouence*; for the which enterprise he made preparation of a mighty Army, hauing (as some write) 24000 Germanes, 14000 Spaniards, 12000 Italians and 5000 horse, with which he marched into *Prouence*, where he attempted *Marselles* in vaine, neither did he any thing in that voiage worth the memory, but was forced to retire with his Army with great losse and dishonor, the particularities you may reade at large in the French historie. After the Emperours retraite out of *France* the warre being still hot in *Piemont*, Pope PAVL considering what miseries it brought vnto Christendome, and foreseeing the ruine of *Italy* if it continued, he labored an enteruiew of these two Princes and himselfe at *Nice*, where they could not be reconciled, there being a truce onely for tenne yeers concluded.

The Emperours passage into Prouence.

An enteruiew betwixt the Pope, Emperor, and French King at Nice.

The Emperour returning towards *Spaine*, was staied by fowle weather about *Marselles*, where the King sent to intreate him to enter and to rest himself vntill the winde were faire; for which he gaue him thanks, *letting him vnderstand, that he desired they might meete at Aigues mortes*: whereupon the king went thither from *Auignon*; where the Emperour landed, and dined with the king, and he afterwards entred confidently into the Emperors Galley where they conferred long together, and parted with great shewes of friendship.

The Emperour and French king mees at Aguesmortes.

In the yeeare 1539. the Ganthois in the County of *Flanders* began to mutine: the Companies of Trades and occupations, assembled in their seuerall Halls, and then went to Armes, seeking to extort many things from the great Bailiffe, and the Magistrates of the Towne; they committed many to prison, and one they publikely beheaded of their owne authority. The Emperour hearing of this rebellion, (vpon the French Kings word and safe conduct) he posted from *Spaine*, to come by land, into the Netherlands through *France*; The Prince Dolphin and the Duke of *Orleans*, were ready to receiue him at the foot of the Pyrenian mountaines, who conducted him to *Paris*, being in great state, in all the townes where hee passed: approching neere vnto *Paris* the King met him hauing a godly traine of Princes, Noblemen, and Gentlemen; and being come to the *Loure* bothe the King and Queene ELENOR his sister, gaue him a very Royall reception, from whence hee was conducted to *Valenciennes* in *Henalt*: and from thence he went to *Brussels*, where hearing many complaints of the Ganthois rebellion, he went thither with 4000 men, where comming neere the towne the Magistrates met him, and brought him into the towne with great honor. Being duly informed of all matters, he caused many Burgesses to be apprehended: and their proces being made, there were nine of the chiefe beheaded, and the inhabitants were forbidden to carry knives, vnlesse the points were broken: and the better to keepe the towne in awe, the Emperour caused a strong cittadell to be built; their priuiledges were taken away, and many other indignities were done them, which I forbeare to relate.

The Emperour passeth through France to suppresse the Ganthois.

The Ganthois rebellion punished.

The

The warres continued hot betwixt the Emperour and the French King, who had entred *Brabant*, and spoiled the Countrey vntill they came to *Antwerp*, being assisted by the troups of the Duke of *Guelders*. The Emperour hauing settled his affaires in the Netherlands, he went to *Ratisbone*, where he had appointed an Imperiall Diet; as well to prouide for the warre against the Turke, as to bring the Protestants vnder the obedience of the Church of *Rome*: and vnder the colour of Religion, he thought to stay the French King from making warre (being much incensed, for that his Embassadours had beene murdered going to *Venice*) by vndertaking the Conquest of *Algier*; for which attempt hee assembled his Forces, reiecting the wise counsell of his best Captaines, who aduised him to deferre the enterprise vntill the Spring following: but the enterprise prooued very fatall; for the Army was not onely annoied by Land by the Barbarians, but his Fleet was miserably torne and spoyled at Sea by Tempest, whereby the Armie was driuen to great extreamity for want of victualls, and the Emperour forced to retire; embarking his Armie in those few shipps and galleys that remained; himselfe shaping his course for *Spaine*, where he found himselfe ingaged in a difficult warre against the French King, who pretended the truce had beene broken, by the murder of his Embassadours; whereupon (as I haue said) he had sent troupes into *Brabant*, and the Duke of *Orleance* into *Luxenbourgh*: the Dolphin HENRY went with a goodly Army to besiege *Perpignan*, but he preuailed not: hee also made warre in *Italy*, and sent the Duke of *Vendosme* into *Picardie*.

The French enter into Brabant.

The Emperours voiage to Algier.

His returne from that miserable attempt.

The French king inuades the Emperors territories.

The Emperour fainted not for all this; but that which troubled him much was to heare that SOLIMAN had newly repulst the forces of the Empire from before *Buda*, and that hee prepared to returne this yeere into *Hungary* with a mighty Army: and that which did afflict him more, was to vnderstand that BARBAROVSSH wes at sea with a great fleete, meaning to inuade his countries of *Naples*, and *Sicily*, or *Spaine* if hee could. To preuent all these mischiefs hee past into *Italy* and made a league with the King of *England*, from whence he went into *Germany*, and so into the Lowe Countries, and then began the warre in those parts betwixt the two Princes: for after many incounters, and sieges of townes, the two Armies being neere, and ready to giue battaile, by the mediation of some good men, a peace was concluded betwixt them, and the Emperour retired to *Brussels* in October, whither came in the same moneth Queene ELENOR the French Kings wife, with the Duke of *Orleance*, where they were receiued and entertained with great state and magnificence.

The Emperour went from thence to an Imperiall Diet at *Wormes*, where he meant to treat of matters of Religion; Pope PAVL and he hauing made a league in Iune 1546, *concluding, that seeing the Protestants would not allow of the Councell of Trent, nor submit themselues vnto it*, the Emperour should force them by Armes, and if he entred into any treaty with them, he should not preiudice the Church of *Rome*: That the Pope should consigne 100000 crownes at *Venice*, besides 100000 Crownes which he had already payed, to be imploied in this warre; that he should also intertaine 12000 foot, and 500 horse, for six moneths; That the Emperour might for this warre, take the one halfe of the reuenew of the Clergie, and sell of Abbey Lands, to the value of 500000 crownes: And if any Prince should seeke to hinder their resolution they should ioyne their forces together to resist them. Then they began to make preparation for this warre, both in *Germany*, *Spaine*, and *Italy*.

A league betweene the Pope and the Emperor against the Protestants of Germany.

The Emperour (as it seemed) had a further desigue; *Viz.* that hauing ruined the protestants, which made the greatest power of *Germany*, he would subiect the states of the Empire to his will, that he might keepe the Empire in his family, and make it hereditary: and for some proofe of this absolute power which he did affect, he had mad a truce with the Turk the better to attend this warre, without taking the aduice of those Princes and States, who had contributed great summes of money, to make warre against the enemy of Christendome.

Finally, after many conferences, and refusall of peace, which they had demanded; the confederate Princes raised a mighty Army, whereupon the Emperour proclaimed them guilty of high treason. The two Armies lay neere together, and the protestants offered battaile to the Emperor, but he would none; assuring himselfe that they could not long continue together. The protestants Army had two commanders, the D. of *Saxonoy* & the *Lantgraue* of *Hessen*, who did not concurre wel in their consultations, besides they wanted victuals, and money; so

The Duke of Saxony defeated and taken.

as they were forced to diſlodge and retire further off: whereupon, diuerſe proteſtant Townes compounded to pay money, and to receiue garriſons. The Emperor purſued the Elector, and forced him to fight with diſaduantage, where he was defeated and taken. Within fewe dayes the Emperor gaue Sentence of death againſt him, which was reuoked vpon ſuit made; yet vpon condition, that he ſhould reſigne the dignity of Elector; which was giuen to MAVRICE, with all his Lands. There were many other conditions impoſed vpon him, all which hee ſigned; onely he would not promiſe to obey the *decrees of the Councell of Trent*, proteſting conſtantly, that he had rather dy than yeeld to it: whereupon the Emperor cauſed that Article to be left out; yet for all this, FREDERICK continued priſoner to the Emperor.

Conditions propounded to the Lantzgraue.

D. MAVRICE being now Elector of *Saxony*, and the Marqueſs of *Brandenburgh*, ſons-in-law to the Lantzgraue of *Heſſen*, were ſuters for him; who obtaind a promiſe from the Emperor to pardon his life, to remit all other puniſhments due to the Rebels, to leaue him his Countrey, with one Fort furniſhed with artillery, ſo as he did renounce all leagues which did prejudice him or his brother FERDINAND, obey the Imperiall Chamber, deliuer vp the reſt of his *Ordinance*, pay 150000 crowns within foure months for the charges of the war, and deliuer the priſoners which he held, and come and craue pardon of the Emperor. The Lantzgraue accepted theſe conditions, and preſented *himſelf to the Emperor vpon his knees*; who returned him an ambiguous anſwer: yet, thinking that all went well, hee thanked the Emperour. Then going to ſup with the Duke of *Alua*, and thinking after ſupper to retire with his two ſons in law, he was detained priſoner, and giuen in guard to Spaniards, the which miniſtred matter of great diſcontent, Duke MAVRICE and *Brandenburgh* charging the Emperor with breach of his promiſe. This act depriued the Emperor of the fruits hee pretended of his enterpriſes, and was a means to chaſe him out of *Germany*.

Prince Philip *take poſſeſſion of the duchie of Brabant.*

Prince PHILIP, being ſent for by the Emperor his father, came from *Spain* into *Italy*; and ſo paſſing through *Germany*, arriued at *Bruſſelles*, the Emperor inueſting him in the Duchie of *Brabant*, the County of *Flanders*, of *Henalt*, and of *Arthois*, and afterwards of the Town of *Antwerp*, and the Marquiſate of the holy Empire: all which was performed with great pomp and ceremonies. In May 1550, the Emperor parted from *Bruſſelles* with the Prince his ſonne, to go to an Imperiall Diet held at *Ausbourgh*, where he preſt his brother FERDINAND to reſigne to Prince PHILIP his ſonne his right and dignity of King of the Romans; whereupon they grew to a quarell: for the pacifying whereof, MARY Queen of *Hungary*, their ſiſter, was forced to return to *Ausbourgh*. He purſued this reſignation by all means poſſible: but FERDINAND would neuer yeeld, thinking that if he made this dangerous alienation, all his ſons (hauing many) ſhould remain without eſtates: and he had ſent into *Spain* for MAXIMILIAN his ſonne to come to the Diet, beeing a milde and curteous Prince, and very pleaſing vnto all *Germany*. Prince PHILIP, hauing failed in this attempt, returned towards *Spain* the ſame way he came;

The Emperor ſolicits King Ferdinand to reſigne the dignity of the Romans for his ſon Philip.

Duke MAVRICE and *Brandenburg*, being aſſiſted by the king of *Denmarke*, the King of Romanes, and by many other Princes, who had written their Letters to the Emperour for the Lantzgraues deliuery: But it ſeemed the Emperor reſpected all theſe Princes little, referring the anſwere of their requeſt, to the comming of Duke MAVRICE, whom he ſaid he expected to come and treate with him. WILLIAM eldeſt ſonne to the Lantzgraue did importune him much: But Duke MAVRICE and the Marqueſſe of *Brandenburg* much more, ſpeaking very boldly vnto him, and putting him in minde of their bond and promiſe.

The Emperor, being puft vp with his good ſucceſſe in *Germany*, gaue diſtaſte to all, as well Catholiques as Proteſtants, by his exactions, vpon diuerſe pretenſes: of ſome to be ſatisfied for the charges of the warre, which he pretended to haue made for the liberty of *Germany*; of other by the way of chaſtiſement, for that they had reuolted: wherein he ſaid he proceeded mildely, quitting much of his right to eaſe and ſpare them. By this means there was neither Town nor Country, eſtate nor condition amongſt the Germans which were not vexed by taxes, and by ſowre ſpeeches and threats, if they preſumed to put him in minde of his conuention and promiſes. It is ſaid, that he wreſted from thoſe Princes and proteſtant Towns, aboue 500 pieces of great Ordinance, wherewith he furniſhed his Forts in *Italie*, *Spain* and *Flanders*. Duke MAVRICE remembring the captiuity of the Lantzgraue his father-in-law (whom hee had brought to the Emperor vpon a promiſe that he would not detain him priſoner, yet notwithſtanding he carried him vp and down as it were in triumph) reſolued to compound the wars with the town of *Magdeburgh*, which had been ſtraightly beſieged for that they reſiſted the Emperors edicts;

The Germans begin to growne diſcontent with the Emperor.

ſo as they had means to free themſelues vpon honeſt conditions; Duke MAVRICE beeing the chief in that action: who ſeeing the Emperor reject his many motions vnto him for the Land-graues deliuery, he entred into league with ALBERT of *Brandebourg*, the Land-graues children and others, and all they ioyntly with HENRY the Second, the French King (ſonne to FRANCIS the Firſt, who died before in the yeer one thouſand fiue hundred forty ſeuen) who marched ſpeedily with a great Army towards the *Rhine*, publiſhing that it was to reſtore the *Germanes*, his good neighbours, and antient friends, to their true and auntient liberty, which was taken from them by CHARLES of *Auſtria*, tearming himſelfe Emperour: the Proteſtant Princes went alſo to Armes, and took many Townes in *Germany*, into their protection, yet forcing them to furniſh both money and artillery into the townes of vpper *Germany*, to meet at *Ausbourg* in the end of Aprill.

A league betwixt the Princes of Germany and the French King againſt the Emperor.

Duke MAVRICE had taken *Ausbourg*, finding ſmall reſiſtance; from thence he marched towards *Inſpruch*, to ouertake the Emperour, who (ſeeing this new taking of Armes in *Germany*) had retired thither to draw men out of *Italie*. Hearing that the enemy approached, he ſent ſome fewe ſouldiers to defend *Chiuſa*, a very ſtrong paſſage in that Countrie, but it was ſoone forced by the *Germanes*; whereof the Emperor being aduertiſed, he parted ſuddenly from *Inſpruch*, in the night by torch-light, in a rainy ſeaſon, and retired to *Villaco*, a Caſtle belonging to the houſe of *Auſtria*, vpon the confines of *Friuly*. It was a miſerable thing to ſee the Emperor and his Court depart in ſuch haſte, at ſuch time, and in ſuch a ſeaſon, hauing left behinde them moſt part of their baggage, many walking on foote for want of Horſes, whom the Emperour comforted what he could. Duke MAVRICE came the ſame night to *Inſpruch*, but followed the Emperour no further, making ſpoile only of what the Court had left there. But this warre had an end by the Land-graues deliuery, and by a peace concluded by FERDINAND's mediation at *Naſſau*, the which the Emperour himſelfe ſigned.

The Emperour flies to Villaco for feare of Maurice.

The French king was diſcontented with this accord, yet hearing that the Land-graue was in great danger, if it had not been concluded, he yeelded, ſending back the hoſtages (which the Proteſtant Princes had giuen him) ſafe into *Germany*, and retired with his Army, retaining for his charges, *Metz*, *Thoule*, and *Verdun*, Imperiall townes. The Land-graue was ſet at liberty according to the accord, hauing been a priſoner fiue yeers at *Macklin* in *Brabant*, and returning homeward, he was againe ſtayed by the Queene of *Hungaries* commandement, who pretended that the Peace was broken.

The Duke of Saxony and the Land-graue ſet at liberty.

The Emperour ſet IOHN FREDERICK Duke of *Saxony* at liberty, hauing firſt depriued him of his Electorall dignity, and his eſtate; And in September the Land-graue was abſolutely diſcharged, and returned to his houſe: And the Emperor finding himſelfe bound to recouer thoſe townes which the French had taken, came with a goodly Army, and laid ſiege to *Metz*, in Nouember, the which he battered with 40 Cannons. The winter was very ſharpe, and the town well mand, and valiantly defended, by many good captains, Princes, and others of great houſes, vnder the command of the Duke of *Guiſe*: ſo as feeing his Army ouer-toyled, and diminiſhed daily, through hunger, cold, nakedneſſe, and want of all things, being preſſed by neceſſity, he retired his Army with loſſe and diſhonor; from whence the Emperor returned to *Bruſſells*, and the warres continued betwixt him and the French King, vpon the Frontiers of *Arthois* and *Picardy*, where there paſſed many encounters and taking of townes.

Metz beſieged by the Emperor.

In the yeere one thouſand fiue hundred fifty foure, HENRY the French king, ſent three Armies againſt the Emperor, the firſt into *Vermandois* vnder the Prince *La Roche ſur Yonne*: the ſecond towards *Crely* led by the Conſtable, and the third was commanded by the Duke of *Neuers*, who entred the *Ardennes*, took *Orchimont*, and burnt many villages, and paſſing into the countrey of *Leege*, he aſſured the paſſage of the Riuer of *Meuze*, by the taking of ſome ſtrong Forts. The Conſtables Army took *Marreimburg*, and *Rocroy*, with diuers other places; The Prince of *Roch ſur Yonne*, with the Duke of *Neuers*, entred *Henalt*, and *Brabant*, where they burnt all the villages, and carried away a great Prey, leauing the countrey miſerable and deſolate; They beſieged the Caſtle of *Ranty*, which the Emperor came in perſon to relieue, whereupon the French retired their Army.

Three French Armies againſt the Emperor.

During the warres in *Germany* and the Lowe Countries: the Turkes and Pirates of *Affrick*, ſpoyled the Coaſts of *Naples*, *Sicily*, and *Spaine*: whereof the chiefe commander was DRAGAT RAYS a famous Pirate, who ſurprized the towne of *Affrick*, which then was well peopled and of great traffique, whereby he made himſelfe fearefull to all the Coaſts of *Italie* and *Spaine*. So as the Emperor was daily importuned to diſlodge him from thence, who gaue

charge to Don IOHN *de Vega*, Viceroy of *Sicilie*, and ANDREVV DORIA, to gather an Army together with all ſpeede for this action, who came in Iune, one thouſand fiue hundred fifty two, with 54 Gallies well mand with ſouldiers and mariners, and landed neere to the towne of *Affrick*, but they firſt attempted *Miniſterio* a little towne neere it with a good Caſtle, the which DRAGVT had fortified with a good Garriſon of Moores, and Turks: the which they hauing battered; in the end, after a long defence they took it, all the Turkes being either ſlaine, or taken priſoners: Then they turned towards *Affrick*, the ſiege whereof they found to be of greater difficulty, it being inuironed on three parts by Sea, where they could not eaſily batter it, and the fourth ſide vpon the Land, was very well fortified, yet they planted their Cannon againſt a rauelin and made a breach which the Spaniards entred with great courage and reſolution: but there being no diuerſion made by the Gallies, as it was ordered, they were oppreſſed by all the forces of the Towne, and repulſt with great loſſe, the which did much afflict the whole Campe, there being ſmall hope in this ſiege; for the Moores and Turkes were growne proud, and in the Campe they wanted both men, munition and victuall; but ſending to *Genoa*, they were ſupplied with 1200 Spaniſh foote from *Milan*; and the Duke of *Florence*, and the State of *Genoa*, fortified them with munition and victuals.

Affrick a Towne in the Realme of Tunis taken by the Spaniards.

DRAGVT was reſolued to relieue them by Land, hauing gathered together many Moors, which he ioyned to ſeuen hundred Turkes, who making often attempts, did much annoy the Chriſtians: But in the end, hauing loſt many of his men in a furious skirmiſh, he deſpaired, and retired himſelfe to *Gerbe*; after which they concluded to make three batteries, one by Sea, and two by land, where hauing made ſufficient breaches, they came to the aſſault and tooke it, the Turks hauing defended it very valiantly: In which Towne (ſome write) there were 10000 priſoners taken; it was afterwards to be razed by the aduice of the Emperors Councel, being held a place of great charge, and not guardable.

After all the warres vpon the Frontiers of *France* and the Netherlands, betwixt the Emperour and the *French* king, they ſent their deputies, who met in a Plain betwixt *Ardres*, *Calais*, and *Graueling*, hauing Tents ſet vp for that purpoſe, whither came Cardinall POOLE from *England*, to aſſiſt as a mediator and vmpier betwixt them: The demands on either ſide were ſo exceſſiue, as they could not agree, and ſo the aſſembly proued fruitleſſe.

1555
An aſſembly to treat of a peace.

This yeer, on the ninth of May, newes came to the Emperor of the death of Queen IOAN his mother, in the Town of *Tordeſillas*, hauing been alwaies troubled in her ſenſes and diſtracted ſince the death of King PHILIP her husband, vntill ſhe was 75 yeers old. This Princeſſe troubling herſelf infinitely for that ſhe thought ſhe was contemned and kept as a priſoner, this ambitious humour of command would not ſuffer her to take any reſt; ſo as this ſharp and violent humour of melancholy (which ſhe had as it were by inheritance from Queen ISABELL of *Portugall*, her grandmother, wife to IOHN the ſecond King of *Caſtile*) was continually augmented in her: her funerall was deferred vntill the coming of King PHILIP, who was then in *England* with Queen MARY his wife, who arriued at *Bruſſels* in September. At what time the funerals were celebrated with great pomp and ſtate.

The death of Queen Ioan the Emperors mother.

This yeer the Emperor performed an act, which bred admiration in all the World; for, being broken with the toiles and cares of the World, and willing to free himſelfe of ſo great a burthen, he renounced the abſolute Gouernment, with all the titles of thoſe Realmes and Eſtates, except the Empire, in the which his brother FERDINAND was to ſucceede. And to this end he called all the Knights of the order of the Golden-fleece to Court, in whoſe preſence he pulled the Coller of the ſaide order, from his owne neck, and put it about his ſonnes; ſaying, I doe now make you Soueraigne of the noble order of the Golden-fleece; maintaine it in the like dignity that I, my Father, and predeceſſors haue done. Then turning to the knights he ſaid, Prince my ſonne, theſe are the faithfull ſeruants, which haue been the ſupport of my Empire, by whom I haue ouergone many perils and dangers, and therefore I haue loued them dearly. If you doo the like, I aſſure my ſelf they will carry you the like affection and obedience: but if you intreat them otherwiſe, they will be the cauſe of the ruine of your eſtate; wherefore loue and honour them.

The Emperor reſignes his gouernment to his ſon K. Philip.

On the twenty fift of Nouember, all the States being aſſembled in the great Hall at the Palace of *Bruſſels*, the Emperor came thither, being accompanied by the King his ſonne, Queen MARY the Regent, with many other Noble-men; whereas the Queen cauſed all men to depart, of what degree ſoeuer, but ſuch as were called to this ſolemn Act.

The Emperour, King, Queene and all the deputies being ſet according to their degrees,

PHILLI-

PHILLIBERT of *Bruſſels* the Emperors Orator, made a long ſpeech to them in his Maieſties name; giuing them to vnderſtand, that he had gouerned thoſe his hereditary countries long, and had alwaies endeuoured to maintaine the publike quiet; that he had vndertaken many paineful and dangerous voiages to come vnto them; that he had been carefull to gouerne them with iuſtice, to maintaine their rights and priuiledges, and to doe all other things whereunto a good Prince is bound; All which he held well imployed, being done for ſuch faithfull, dutifull, and obedient ſubiects. But his age and the weakeneſſe of his bodie making him vnable to vndergo his forepaſſed toyles, he was reſolued to giue ouer that burthen and to commit it to another; who might continue as he had begunne; and ſo retire himſelfe into *Spaine*, from whence hee had been long abſent, the climate being more agreeable to his health then any other; wherfore he reſolued to ſubſtitute in his place, his deere and only ſonne, and their Lord and lawfull Prince, to whom they had giuen their oath; his maieſty knowing well, that the king his ſon was not only ſufficient to vndergo the charge, but alſo had a will and a deſire to imploy himſelfe for the good of thoſe countries: wherefore his Imperiall maieſty truſting that they would like thereof, and that for the loue of him, they would willingly accept in his place the king, their Lord and Prince, he did then giue ouer thoſe Countries, and reſigne them into his ſonnes hands, intreating them earneſtly to receiue him willingly and cheerefully. And accordingly he did freely acquit and diſcharge them of their oath of fealty and homage, that they might take the ſame vnto their king at the reception of their eſtates and offices.

An Oration to the States in the emperors name.

His Maieſty did alſo intreate them to take in good part the affection which he had ſhewed by the effects, hauing omitted no trauaile nor care belonging to his dutie, confeſſing withall that they had been good and loyall ſubiects, and had aſſiſted him faithfully and dutifully. He vſed many words more, admoniſhing them of diuers things which concerned their eſtate. After which ſpeech the Emperor began to ſpeake vnto them in French, ſaying;

That he had forty yeers ſince in the ſame place beeen emancipated by the Emperor MAXIMILIAN his Grand-father, and put in poſſeſſion of thoſe Countries, ſince which time he had runne through many fortunes, and endured much as well in *Spaine*, touching the affaires of Queene IOANE his mother, and the gouernment of her kingdoms, as in his other eſtates: he ſhewed alſo how many troubleſome, long, painefull and daungerous voyages he had made in paſſing and repaſſing the Seas, as well into *Spaine* as into *Italie*, to the great perill of his perſon; namely in the voyages to *Barbary*, *Tunis* and *Algier*; he ſhewed alſo into what daunger he had willingly thruſt himſelfe, paſſing through *France*, to preuent the troubles which were like to grow in the Nether-lands, which he euer had in great recommendation. And as they had alwaies been to him louing ſubiects and faithfull vaſſalls; ſo he intreated them to be the like vnto his ſonne, into whoſe hands he had reſigned thoſe Countries. In ſpeaking of which words he ſhewed ſuch paſſion, as ſighs interrupting his ſpeech, the teares trickled downe his cheekes, which moued many to the like compaſſion: hauing made a little pauſe, he tooke his Spectacles, and looking vpon a remembrance which he had in his hand, he ſaid that his ſight and memorie were not ſo good as they had been, and that he felt himſelfe to decline, and grow weake houreſy, vnable to endure the trauaile that was requiſite for the preſeruation of the Countrey and of them all, the which did moue him chiefly to returne into *Spaine*, and not to prolong his life, the which he referred into the hands of God. Laſtly, he intreated them to continue in the Chriſtian Religion, as they had done, and to obſerue iuſtice. After theſe words, the king kneeling down before his Father, ſaid vnto him that he was vnworthy of ſo great a fauour: but ſeeing it was his Maieſties pleaſure, he humbly thanked him, accepting the charge, proteſting to be ſo carefull to gouerne his Subiects with iuſtice, as he hoped they ſhould reſt ſatisfied with him, reſeruing to make manifeſt by his deedes the loue which he bare them: And turning to the aſſembly, he ſpake in French, ſaying; I would, my Lords, that my skill in this language were more then it is, to the end I might make you the better vnderſtand what affection I beare you; but for as much as I cannot expreſſe it in ſuch tearms as were fit, the Biſhop of *Arras* ſhal ſpeak for me; who riſing vp, deliuered the Kings minde at large: which being ended, King PHILIP retired to his ſeat. After which, Doctor MASEVS an eloquent Orator, deputed to that end by the States, made anſwer to the former ſpeeches, ſaying, that they knew well his Imperiall Maieſty had for many yeers gouerned that eſtate carefully and religiouſly; that he had vndergon great and many toils in many accidents; that notwithſtanding his Majeſties great and vrgent affaires, yet he had alwais carried a fatherly loue and affection to thoſe Countries of his inheritance, whereof the people had taſted the fruit whenſoeuer they ſtood in need: all which duely conſi-

The emperors ſpeech vnto the States.

dered,

The Deputies anſwere to the Emperor.

dered, they found that his Majesty was well aduised in that which he had propounded. And therefore the Nobles, Prelates, and Deputies of Townes there present (although it were a sword which did wound their hearts to hear of his Majesties departure, yet desiring to conform themselues in all things to his good will and pleasure) did humbly thank his Imperiall Majesty for the great honour and fauour he had done them; euery one being very ready to consent irreuocably to the said Cession or resignation made by his Imperiall Majesty of all those Netherlands to the behoof of the King there present, whom they did acknowledge for their naturall Lord and Prince, the lawfull sonne and onely heir of his Imperiall Maiesty, beeing ready to renew the oath which they had formerly made vnto him, with all other duties requisite in the like case: and so, after thanks giuen, he ended his speech.

The words of Queen Mary to the Emperor.

During this action, Queen MARY of *Hungary*, the Emperors sister, and Gouernesse of those Countries, rising from her seat, said reuerently to the Emperor, that she had euer endeauoured to gouern those Countries in such manner as she thought most expedient for his Majesties benefit and the publike good: but if peraduenture, according to his desire and her good intent she had not attained thereto, she humbly besought his Majesty to pardon her. To whom the Emperor, both with his hands and his countenance, made great shew to bee well pleased: and then she, turning herself towards the States, vsed in a manner the same words which shee had done to the Emperor.

After all these speeches, the Emperor by a publike Act resigned to his son K. PHILIP the Kingdoms of *Spain*, *Sicily*, *Sardinia*, *Maiorca*, *Minorca*, the *Indies*, and all others depending vpon the Crowne of *Spain*, reseruing onely a small yeerly reuenue for the maintaining of himself and a fewe seruants. The next morning the Deputies of the Duchy of *Brabant* coming to Court,

King Philip takes the oath as Duke of Brabant.

King PHILIP in their presence renewed the oath which he had formerly taken in the yeer 1549, to keep, maintain and preserue them in their antient rights, priuiledges and customes, without breaking them, or suffering them to be broken in any sort whatsoeuer. And the Deputies of the chief Towns of *Brabant* did also take the oath of fealty and homage to him, as to their Lord and Duke of *Brabant*.

Resolution of the Imperiall diet held at Ausbourg.

About this time there ended an Imperiall Diet held at *Ausbourg*, where king FERDINAND did preside in the Emperors name; in the which, after much debate, it was concluded, that neither the Emperor, King FERDINAND, nor any other Prince, or State should doe wrong to any of the Empire, in what sort soeuer, by reason of the confession of *Ausbourg*; that from thenceforth they should not force by edict or other meanes, the allies of this confession, to abandon their Religion; but should suffer them to enioy it freely with their goods, rights, and possessions, with many other priuiledges, granted in fauour of their Religion. It was thought that the Pope was wonderfully discontented with this decree, and that he did solicite the Emperor to disannull it. Before the Act of the Emperors resignation, he gaue instructions to his sonne PHILP, touching the gouernement of his person and estate; the which being very long, would take vp too much roome in this Volume; but I will only make mention of the reasons which moued him to this resignation, who speaking vnto him, said:

The Emperors speech to his son.

I haue resolued deer sonne, to come to the point of resigning into your hands, the absolute gouernement of all my Realmes and estates; wherefore my pleasure is, that against the morning you giue order for the performance of this Act, with all due Ceremonies: you shall giue order with speede, that all Gouernors, Magistrates, and all other persons, acknowledge you for their superior; that all persons (except the subiects of the Empire) take the Oath of allegeance: the more rare this president is, the greater are the signes, both of my loue to you, and of the assurance I haue of your good inclination, and also of the great care I haue to see your estate settled. I could deferre this Act (as most Princes doe) vntill my death; but hauing a desire rather to imitate the smaller number of Fathers in this point, I haue chosen willingly by this Act in my life time, to make my selfe a superior, rather then a companion to any. It is a weake triall of the valour and resolution of a Prince, to subdue kingdoms by force, in comparison of conquering himselfe, being not only content to bridle all ambition and desire of Rule, but to submitte himselfe to a certain kinde of obedience: Against this course, sensuality doth striue with all her force; and in exchange of all worldly satisfactions, which are enioyed by the prerogatiue of absolute authority, setteth before our eyes the rigor of the Lawes; to which (Princes setting their authorities aside) must leuell all their actions, as well as priuate men. To blinde our vnderstanding with like veiles, the same sensuall consideration stirreth vp, by way of admonition, a prouident forecast of diuers inconueniences, whereinto many fall, which haue made themselues subiect to the will of other men, by the diuersity of their conceites and censures, the which by the corruption of the care of priuate interest, are apt to swarue from the right rule of integritie. It may be that some will be terrified with this common supposition, that Princes which are once possessed with authority, may resigne it at their own pleasures, but they must resume it at the pleasures of other men: yet fatherly loue and affection hath preuailed more with me, then all these worldly considerations, and dutie also in some sort; for, finding my selfe now aged (which may be accounted greater, in regard of my sickly estate) my satiety of glory in this World, and wearinesse of toyle; finding moreouer that by my continual trauaile vnto this day, I could not satisfie in any part the dutie which belongerh vnto the profession of a Christian; I finde my selfe enflamed with a most earnest desire to free my selfe from so many troubles and incombrances, and then retire to a more religious kinde of life, and more fit for a Christian. On the other side the consideration of your age being now ripe, and fit for gouernement, together with the expectation which you haue gotten in the World, by managing the greatest affairs of *Spain* with great iudgement, moueme now the rather to proceed in my resolution. Being incited with all these good considerations, I haue thought it fit to lay this waighty burthen vpon your shoulders, and to ease mine owne, which time and trauaile haue now weakened and disabled. I doe confidently hope, that the subiects of all my countries, shall haue cause to thanke God first, and then me for this resolution, in respect of the gracious vsage they shall receiue at your hands, succeeding in my place: neither is it hurtfull vnto your selfe, that by this occasion, during my life, you shall settle your selfe more firmely in my Dominions. And so hee proceeded to his aduice and counsel, touching the gouernment of his Estates.

After that the Emperour had resigned all his kingdomes vnto king PHILIP his sonne, and disposed of his affaires in the Netherlands, being desirous to free himselfe from all temporall cares, and to spend the remainder of his daies in peace, applying himselfe wholly to the seruice of God; he resolued to retire himselfe with his two sisters, ELENOR the French Queen, and MARY Queene of *Hungary* into *Spaine*: But before his departure, he would also dispose of the Empire, the which he would resigne vnto his brother FERDINAND King of the Romanes, and to that end he wrote his Letters vnto the Princes Electors and States of the Empire; giuing them to vnderstand, that finding himselfe ouercharged with age, and continuall infirmities, which had disabled him for the managing of affaires; hauing long before resolued to resigne all his Realmes of *Spaine* to the Prince his sonne, hauing taken leaue of the Court, being ready to imbarque with the first prosperous winde; and seeing that by his absence, the gouernement of the Empire did of right belong vnto his deere and welbeloued brother FERDINAND king of the Romanes, of *Hungary* and *Bohemia*, as his lawfull successor in the said qualitie of King of Romanes; which gouernment he had for many yeers well deserued in his absence, supporting the burthen with a brotherly loue and affection; wherefore lest the holy Empire should fal into some dangerous inconuenience, he had resolued that his said brother, king of Romans, should haue absolute and irreuocable power to treate, negociate and command in all things that he should finde requisite and necessary for the greatnesse, prosperity and increase of the Empire, as absolutely as he himselfe being Emperor might doe: and for that he could not come vnto the Imperiall Diet at *Ratisbone*, there to haue resigned the gouernment of the Empire vnto the king of Romanes, as he had intended, he thought it good by those Letters to acquaint them with his resolution, inioyning all men by his Imperiall authority to shew all loyalty and obedience vnto the King of Romanes, and to honour and respect him in all his commandements, and Decrees, without any contradiction, as they would doe himselfe, if hee were there in person.

The Emperor writes to the princes Electors

After this, the fleet being ready in *Zeland*, he took his leaue of PHILIP his son, and of all the Princes and Noble-men: then he imbarked with his two sisters, and arriued within fewe daies in *Spain*; where, after some daies rest, he retired to a Monastery of Saint IEROME the Hermite, in *Estremadura* neer *Placencia*, an vnfrequented place, and fit for heauenly meditations, where he liued not aboue two yeers, spending his time in holy and godly works. And the better to attend the seruice of God, he would haue his sisters to liue from him at *Vailladolit*, that they might not trouble him. He reserued but 100000 crowns a yeer to himself, whereof hee employed only 4000, for his diet and entertainment: the rest he disposed of, for the marrying of yong maids, and to relieue widdowes and orphanes, and for other works of Charity.

The Emperor departeth with his two sisters out of the Netherlands.

This

Diuerse opinions touching the Emperors renunciation.

This Act of renunciation, being one of the rarest presedents, that had bin seen for manie ages, ministred occasion vnto the world, to discourse of the reasons that might induce him to depriue himself of so great a dignity. Some held opinion that his infirmity of the gowt being very grieuous; and foreseeing that it would shorten his life, was the cause that moued him to that resolution. Others said that he did it vpon discontent, seing himself bearded and ouermatched, by HENRY the French king: and some affirmed that to auoide the crosses of fortune, which (by the relation of certaine Astrologians) he knew would befall him, he with great iudgement resolued to retire himself before it should in that sort obscure the brightnesse of that glory, which he with so much toile had gotten. There were also some which said that fortune began to frowne on him when as he made his retreat to *Vilacco* and went to besiege *Mets*: so as some commending and others blaming his resolution all did censure diuersely thereon.



THE LIFE OF FERDINAND, ONELY OF THAT NAME, AND HVNDRETH AND SIXTEENTH ROMAN EMPEROR.

(*,*)

THE ARGVMENT.

THis present life of the Emperour Ferdinand, containeth his countrey, his parentage, his education, and where he was brought vp; how he became Lord of Austria, Bohemia, Hungary, and Transiluania; his warres with Iohn Sepusius, the taking of Buda; with the siege of Viena; when he was created King of the Romanes, his agreement made with the said Iohn, the difference betweene Frier George and him; the often comming of Soliman into Hungary; the Insurrections in Germany against the Emperour Charles the Fift; the displeasure of Pope Paul the Fourth, the creating of Maximilian King of the Romanes, his conuersation and behauiour, and the children which he had by his wife Anne, sister to Lewes King of Hungary.

The birth of Ferdinand, when, and who was his father.

AMong many Townes worthy respect, in the Kingdom of *Toledo* in *Spaine*, it is certaine (as it appeareth by the Chronicles thereof) that *Alcala Henarez* in antient time, euer hath been, and still is, one of the chiefe; wherin besides the men of singular valour which in time past haue liued there, in the yeere of the incarnation of the sonne of God 1503. vpon the tenth day of May, in the same yeere, FERDINAND of *Austria* of that name the first Emperour of the West, was borne; whose father was PHILIP the first of that name, King of *Castile*, and sonne to the Emperor MAXIMILIAN: his mother was IOANE, daughter to FERDINAND and ISABEL, King and Queene of *Spaine*, who by reason of the vnexpected sodaine death of his Father (which happened in the yeere 1506) remaining vnder the tutele of his Grandfather FERDINAND (commonly called the Catholike) was by him (by means of the excellencie

This Isabell together with her husband Ferdinand draue the Moores out of Granada anno dom. 1487.

cellencie of his wit, besides the exercise of Armes) carefully instructed, in diuers languages; principally in the puritie of the Latin tongue; wherein, in short space he profited so much, that to the great admiration of all men, he prooued a most actiue Knight in Armes, and a perfect Orator in the Latin, Dutch, Spanish, Italian, Hungarish and Bohemian tongues; so as all men did prognosticate him to proue a Prince of singular valour: and this made him the more accounted of, for that by all men generally which knew them, he was likened to FERDINAND the Third, who by force took *Seuil* from the Moores, from whom by his mother, he descended. That FERDINAND for his many vertues, was no lesse numbered amongst the blessed, then reputed happie amongst all the Kings of *Spaine*, for being father of King ALONSO, who for his rare knowledge in Sciences, was surnamed the Sage: who in the long schisme of the Empire, in the yeere 1258, being by the greatest part of the Princes Electors of the Empire chosen Emperour; by the perswasion of Pope GREGORY the Tenth, for the common quietnes of Christendome, voluntarily resigned, and gaue vp his right, after that he had enioyed the name of Emperor the space of sixteene yeeres, approouing and ratifying the successiue election of RODVLPH the First of that name, from whom from father to sonne this FERDINAND lineally descended.

This FERDINAND being brought vp in *Spaine*, vnder the Catholike King, was for his rare qualities so much beloued by the Spaniardes, that his brother CHARLES in the yeere 1520. remaining (through the death of his Grandfather FERDINAND, which happened in the yeere 1516.) heire generall of the kingdoms of *Spaine*, of both the *Sicilies*, of the West *Indies*, of *Burgundie*, and *Austria*, and in the yeere 1519. through the death of his Grand-father MAXIMILIAN, chosen to weare the Imperiall Diadem, was by those which (tumultuously mutinying vnder the name of the holy assembly) rebelled against his brother CHARLES, by reason of the vnmeasurable oppressions laid vpon them by his polling officers, instantly requested and entreated to make himselfe King of *Spaine*; whereto not consenting (much more esteeming the preseruation of his faith, by refusing those estates, then the greatnes of them, by violating the same to his eternall infamie) with singular integrity of minde, he not onely refused their offer, but vsed all meanes possible to retaine those kingdomes in his brothers subiection: for which, he was euer after entirely beloued by him. Who returning into *Spaine*, in the yeer 1529. not onely reconfirmed vnto him the donation of the Archduchy of *Austria* (the antient patrimonie of their family) made ouer to him by testament, by their Grandfather MAXIMILIAN, by his brother CHARLES his consent, to whom as to the eldest sonne it did appertaine; but he also freely gaue him the Countries of *Stiria*, and *Carinthia*, with the Counties of *Tirol*, *Halspurge*, and *Hassia*: hauing first in the Diet at *Wormes*, declared him (to the good liking of the Princes Electors) his Lieutenant, and Imperiall Vicar in *Germany*; whither, within a while after this graunt, going in the yeere 1521. hee was honorably receiued by the Germanes; and as Vicar of the Empire, was with great magnificence, met by all the Potentates: where making no long abode, he went to take possession of his dominions, to the great good liking of that people.

In the same yeere he celebrated his contracted nuptials, with ANNE sister to LEWES king of *Hungary* and *Bohemia*; renewing the oaths sworne in the yeere 1515. betweene his Grandfather MAXIMILIAN, and LADISLAVS father to King LEVVES; which were, that LEVVES dying without issue, FERDINAND, or any other begotten by him, and his said sister ANNE, should succeed in his kingdome. But either through the iust wrath of God kindled against the manifold iniquities of the Hungars, or what other occasion I know not, the two brothers in-law had scarcely enioyed the beloued fruite of the established succession two moneths, but FERDINAND being molested by the instability of fortune (seldome constant in prosperity) was aduertised that SOLIMAN Emperour of the Turks, being victorious, hauing subduced GAZELLES in *Soria* in the yeere 1516; and also for that his father SELIM, had in three seuerall battailes, with incredible fortune, first ouerthrowne CAMPSON, and soone after TOMOMBEY, Souldanes of *Egypt*; GAZELLES giuing place to fortune, and voluntarily yeelding himselfe into the power of his victorious enemy, was with great fauour receiued into grace: so that notwithstanding that the Empire of the Souldanes was extinguished in *Egypt*, yet he hauing liberty was made Gouernour of *Soria* (not without much murmuring of the Turkish Captaines, his Lieutenants in that countrey). Neuertheless GAZELLES in the yeere 1519. being certified of the death of SELIM, thinking himself now discharged of the oath of fealtie which he had sworne vnto him onely (without any mention made of his successors) and therewith earnestly desiring to reuiue the antient dominion of the Souldiers,

Egypt taken by the Turks.

leuied the greatest forces of Mamalukes, Arabians, and Syrians that he possibly could; with which, rebelling, he made himselfe Lord of sundry Cities in *Soria*: against whom in the yeere 1520, SOLIMAN sent FARAAT Basha with a great Army; who fighting with him neere to the City of *Damasco*; GAZELLES being slaine in the battaile, he obtained a notable victory, which happened in the end of the yeer 1520. FERDINAND (as I said) being aduertised that SOLIMAN puft vp with pride by reason of his victory, resolued to make warre in *Hungary*; where through the negligence of King LEWES, and want of reliefe from the Emperour CHARLES, or his Lieutenant FERDINAND, the Turkes (making sundry roades and incursions into the Countrey) in the end besieged, battered, and tooke the strong City of *Belgrade*, in antient time called *Taurinum*, situated in *Angularia Forme*, between the riuers *Sauus* and *Danubius*, the which was held the buckler of Christendome, and in the time of MATTHEVV King of *Hungary*, it had been twice assaulted in vaine by MAMORT his great Grand-father, and AMVRATH father to the said MAHOMET, and now by the negligence of King LEWES, who did not relieue it in time (although he were much importuned thereunto by FERDINAND) after some moneths siege, it was forced by SOLIMAN, and a great slaughter made of the Christians.

Gazelles ouerthrown & slain by Faraat Basha, 1520.

Belgrade in Hungary taken by the Turke.

But FERDINAND as it seemeth taking more care to suppresse LVTHER's doctrine, then for the defence of *Hungary* against the Turkes; in a Councell held at *Norimburgh*, vpon grieuous penalties, prohibited the reading of the Bible, which LVTHER had translated; but yet LVTHER neuertheless being countenanced by IOHN FREDERICK Duke of *Saxony* published his booke, wherein he toucht all the Romish Princes of *Germany*, but chiefly FERDINAND. Hereupon FERDINAND summoned a Councell to be held in *Ratisbone* in the yeer 1523, whither from Pope CLEMENT the seuenth, who succeeded ADRIAN the sixt, came Cardinall LAVRENCE CAMPEIVS, to procure (although in vaine) the suppression of LVTHER's doctrine. About which matter FERDINAND hauing spent the yeers 1523, and 1524, had intelligence that SOLIMAN after the taking of the Isle of *Rhodes* (which he vpon composition entred vpon the fiue and twentith day of December, being Christmas day, in the yeer 1522, after that it had been by the Knights of the order, held and valiantly defended against the whole forces of the Infidels, for the space of 214 yeers, from the yeer 1380 at which time it was taken from the Infidels vntill then; and after that it had been now besieged the space of fixe moneths, in which time the Turke lost the greatest part of his Army; for besides those which were slaine at the many assaults which were giuen, aboue 30000 died of the flix) threatned to bring greater calamities vpon the Christians: among which a man would haue thought, the long troubles of the former wars, in the yeer 1525, would haue ended. For the imprisonment of FRANCIS the first King of *France*, who by the Emperors Captaines, vpon the foure and twentith of February in the same yeer, was taken at the battaile of *Pauia*, made most men to thinke that the Emperor would not haue released him, without an assured peace with *France*; by which meane, he might not only haue been able to haue performed any great attempt, but also haue made frustrate SOLIMAN's designes. But as men in future accidents are most commonly deceiued in their opinions, so the affaires of the Christians fell afterwards into farre worse tearmes; for the most part of the Christian Princes being moued against the Emperor, either through griefe for the French kings aduersitie (a Prince for the worth of his person, and the greatnesse of so flourishing a kingdome highly esteemed) or else for feare of their owne particular interest, doubting that he would haue aspired to the absolute Monarchy; the state of Christendome came to be so confused and out of order, especially in *Italie*, that mens iudgement proued not only vaine, but the troubles continued a long time after.

Soliman the great Turke entred Hungary with an army of 200000 men: & the reason.

Italy being by reason of the warre betweene CHARLES the Fift, and FRANCIS the French King miserably afflicted, the one enuying the others greatnesse; most of the Princes and states in Christendome were by the one or other (to the great enfeebling of the whole Christian Common-wealth) drawne into the action; which SOLIMAN the great Turke perceiuing, was thereby encouraged with an Army of two hundred thousand men to inuade *Hungary*; into which (hauing *Belgrade*) he had an open passage; thinking withall that he might easily oppresse the young king of *Hungary*, who was ill obeyed in his kingdome, by the discord of his Barons; hauing also small experience in the art of war, by reason of his yong yeeres. King LEWES, who in regarde of his tender age, was but weake of iudgement and terrified with the fame of so powerfull an enemy, sending in vaine to all places for succors; hee called a Diet of Hungarians, which was according to their custome of armed men, who were bound to assist him in

in the wars. The Nobility of *Hungary* (who had neuer seene the campe of a Turkish Emperour, but had onely incountred them in light skirmishes) despised the Turkes in such sort, as they bragged vainely, that if they came to fight they would cut in pieces huge Armies of Turks: Among the which PAVL TOMORBVS Archbishop of *Colossa* shewed himselfe most vaine, assuring himselfe confidently of the victory, bragging that he would be the first that should charge the Turkish troupes with his lance. The King had not in his Army aboue 26000; and yet TOMORBVS would needes presse him to fight: whose presumption all men of iudgment condemned; and the old soldiers said that it was the part of desperate men, to ioyne battaile with such an enemy who had neere eight times as many fighting men in his Army: wherefore some were of opinion that the king should retire himself, and STEPHEN VERBESIVS Generall of his Army perswaded him to go into the Castle of *Buda*; but the obstinate soldiers opposed, saying that they were not to fight vnlesse the King did lead them. TOMORBVS prenailed, and the king resolued to go and meete the enemy: yea, TOMORBVS madnes was such, as he would not staie for IOHN SEPVSIVS gouernour of *Transiluania* who marcht with an Army to ioyne with the king. The Armies ioyning, the Hungarians were in halfe an houre ouerthrowne. And the poore king seeing his whole Army in rout, thought to saue himselfe by flight: but passing through a marish fenne, his horse falling, he was smothered in the mud, there being not halfe a foot of water: his page escaped and obserued the place, so as many daies after the enemies retreat, the Kinges bodie was found, and buried in *Alba Regalis*. After the victory it is said that SOLIMAN wondred at the beastly humor of the Hungarians, and that the kings Counsellers should be possest with such madnes, as with so small forces to incounter so great an Army. Hauing seene the pictures of the King and the Queene his wife, he was grieued (he said) for the disgrace of that young king, who hauing had such foolish counsellors, in a matter of such importance, had grossely made haste to ioyne battaile; adding withall that he came not into *Hungary* to depriue him of his kingdome, but to reuenge the wrong done him by the Hungarians; and if he had escaped from the battaile he would onely haue imposed a tribute, and restored him to his kingdome: and that he would haue held it a glory to haue preserued one who was son to a brother of SIGISMVND King of *Poland* his friend, and so strictly allied to the Noble house of *Austria*: which words he deliuered with great maiesty. This battaile was fought in October 1526.

The Hungarians ouerthrowne by the Turke.

Death of Lewes king of Hungary.

For the infortunate death of King LEWES, FERDINAND was very sorrowfull: for besides the losse of his friend and brother in-law, he was aduertised that SOLIMAN besides other places, without one blow striken, had taken the city of *Buda*; and that from thence, besides the most excellent Artillery which he found there, he had carried the statues of HERCVLES, APOLLO, and DIANA, most exquisitely made in brasse, and left there by the great MATTHEVV CORVINVS: and that with an infinite number of captiues, and loden with prey and bootie, he was returned to *Constantinople*.

After SOLIMAN's departure, King FERDINAND went into *Bohemia*, and there was crowned together with his wife, who a little before was deliuered of a daughter called ISABEL, which afterwards was married to SIGISMVND King of *Poland*: and being in peace King of *Boliemia*, he challenged to be King of *Hungary*. But knowing that IOHN SEPVSIVS Vaiuode of *Transiluania*, after the celebration of the sumptuous obsequies of King LEWES, notwithstanding FERDINAND's former election, aspiring to the kingdom, had made himselfe to be crowned King of *Hungary*; and at the same time had bestowed vpon those Lords which had assisted him in the action, the principall estates of that kingdom, to the end that being obliged to him for receiued benefits, they should not after their accustomed manner practise ought against him; FERDINAND made himself in *Bohemia* to be crowned King of *Hungary*, in the presence of Doctor STEPHEN, and other Hungarian Lords his friends, which after the death of king LEWES came to see him.

Iohn Sepusius Vaiuode of Transiluania crowned king of Hungary.

Ferdinand in Bohemia crowned king of Hungary.

After this coronation, FERDINAND hauing leuied an Army, presently marched therewith against IOHN SEPVSIVS: who by reason of the inequality, of their powers standing in some feare of him, departed from *Buda*, which after SOLIMANS departure was againe recouered by the Hungarians; and retired himself on the other side of the riuer *Tissa*, to *Toccay*, a place both by nature and Art very strong; where, sending to his friends in sundry parts for aide, he wrote two Letters, one to the Princes Electors, entreating them to giue no aide to FERDINAND against him: the other to the Emperor, therein exhibiting sundry complaints against FERDINAND. But FERDINAND pretending the kingdome of *Hungary* in right to be his;

Ferdinand entring Hungary with an army against Iohn Sepusius, taketh Buda.

marching forward, with his Army, without any resistance took *Buda*, and other principall places in that kingdom: and being vnwilling to giue his enemy time to recouer heart and courage, he without any great difficulty, passing the riuer *Tissa*, vpon a bridge made of boates brought thither for that purpose vpon carts, went to seeke him at *Toccay*; and within sight of the castle making an Alt, made VALENE TYRAC Generall of his Army; who in the day of battaile diuided the Cauallery of *Stiria* and *Austria* into two squadrons, in the middest betweene which he raunged his maine Battaillion, which of both the one and other Army, were Hungarian footemen. Which order when FERENCE BODO, who was Generall of King IOHNS Army perceiued, he marshalling his troupes in the like manner, perswaded King IOHN with certaine troupes of choise horse, to withdraw himselfe to some place from the Army, where he might, notwithstanding any sinister accident, saue himselfe. After whose example PHYLE BARCHIT a Seruian, one of the chiefest Captaines of king FERDINAND'S Army, retired himselfe to a close place, a good distance from the Army; with a determination to charge his enemies in flanke. To be briefe, the two Armies ioyned in a battaile, wherein for a space the fight was very doubtfull: for the left wing of King IOHNS battaile charging the right of the Stirian horse, and gallantly ouerbearing them, had put king FERDINAND'S people to rout, had not the men at Armes of *Austria* in rescuing them, with such furie charged the enemy, that they were constrained to retire fighting.

The battaile of Toccay Fought betweene Iohn and Ferdinand, both pretending to be King of Hungary.

In the meane time the footemen, which of either side were almost all Hungarians, fought with such obstinacie, that it was hard to iudge whether partie should haue the better. So as, if BARCHIT with his troupe, which vntill then lay close in an Ambuscado, had not risen and suddenly charged at vnawares, FERDINAND (as the report went) had had the worst of the bargaine; but BARCHIT giuing a fresh charge, BODO, notwithstanding that he that day, shewed himselfe no lesse a valiant Souldier then a prudent Captaine, often attempting in vaine to haue rallied his squadrons, being ouerborne by his enemy, was taken prisoner together with many other very excellent Captaines: and their campe being assaulted, their Ordinance and Colours were likewise lost; and the whole troupes were so much disordered, that they running away, left all their baggage to the Austrians. Which when King IOHN perceiued, he as fast as his horse could beare him, fled: and not holding himselfe in safetie in his owne countrie, he fled into *Poland*, where by IEROM LASKY a Noble-man of that countrey he was honorably entertained. And FERDINAND'S Captaines entring *Transsiuania*, all the countrie, together with what in *Hungary* held for him, without any resistance yeelded to be at his deuotion. But forasmuch as BODO, vpon promise of liberty, would not renounce his oath made to king IOHN, and so beare Armes against him, he was by king FERDINAND'S commandement cast into a dungeon, where of griefe and sorrow he died miserably.

King Iohn flieth into Poland.

After this victory FERDINAND made himselfe together with his wife in *Alba Regalis*, to be solemnly crowned king of *Hungary* by the Archbishop of *Strigonium*, who forsaking king IOHN came to FERDINAND, bringing with him the Crowne of STEPHEN king of *Hungary*, which amongst the Hungarians was held in great veneration. Shortly after, FERDINAND leauing STEPHEN BATOR for Viceroy of that kingdome (to be assisted by the Bishop of *Strigonium*) went to *Bohemia*, and thence into *Austria*, where vpon the first day of August in the yeere 1527. his Queene bare him a son, who was christened MAXIMILIAN, and in processe of time comming to be Emperour was called MAXIMILIAN the Second. FERDINAND hauing so happily gotten the kingdome of *Hungary*, was very earnest with his brother CHARLES the Emperour to release Pope CLEMENT the Seuenth, taken prisoner by the Duke of *Burbon* Generall of the Emperours Army in *Italy*, the same yeere, vpon the sixt day of May, a fatall day in antient time in *Rome*: which he did to the end to auoide further cause of discontentment amongst the Christian Princes: for the greatnes of the house and state of *Austria* being growne odious and suspect to all Christendome, it seemed that by long detaining the Pope, the hatred and ill will conceiued against it, would daily encrease: which reasons induced the Emperour after seuen moneths imprisonment to set Pope CLEMENT at liberty, although vpon hard conditions.

Stephen Viceroy of Hungary for King Ferdinand.

Pope Clement the Seuenth released out of prison.

King IOHN after the battaile of *Toccay*, being expulsed his kingdom, fled as we haue said to IEROME LASKY, a Noble-man of great account among the Polonians, by whom he was most honorably entertained, with the consent of SIGISMVND King of *Polonia*, who notwithstanding their affinity was nothing pleased with FERDINAND'S greatnes. To be briefe, IEROM LASKY counselling king IOHN to craue aid of SOLIMAN the Emperor of the Turks, went

went himselfe Ambassadour (King SIGISMVND winking therat) to *Constantinople*, where he so behaued himselfe amongst the Bashaes, that SOLIMAN taking IOHN into his protection, with promise to restore him to his kingdom, proclaimed war against *Hungary*. Wherwith FERDINAND seeing himself destitute of sufficient forces to withstand the Turkish power; and that by reason of the wars amongst the Christians, chiefly in *Italy*, he could not haue such ayd from his brother the Emperour as the necessity of the cause required, he was much grieued: neuertheless to cleere himselfe from blame, acquainting the Emperour with all matters, he sought meanes to obtaine of SOLIMAN (according as LADISLAVS and LEWES, Kings of *Hungarie* had done) truce for some yeeres; and to that effect sent IOHN OBERDANSK, a very wise man, to *Constantinople*; who after many practices could bring no other answer from SOLIMAN, but that if FERDINAND did not restore IOHN to the kingdom of *Hungaria*, he would make him to know how much the Turks power was to be feared: with which answer, OBERDANSK being driuen out of *Constantinople* returned into *Hungary*; where relating SOLIMANS proud answere to the Councell, he went to *Spire* to FERDINAND, who at that time was busied at the Diet, about matters of Religion.

John Sepusius seeth to the Turke for ayde.

Ferdinand seeth to the Turke for truce, but in vaine.

FERDINAND, vpon this answere, standing in great doubt of the Turkes forces, made all the prouision that the breuity of the time would permit: but the yeere 1529 being come, in the beginning of the Spring, SOLIMAN commanding his Bashaes to draw his Forces to an head, came in person with 140000. men to *Belgrade*; where, by meanes of his fauourite LEWES GRITTI, sonne to ANDREVV GRITTI (at that time Duke of *Venice*) and of ABRAIM Basha, gently receiuing IOHN with many other Hungarian Lords, he againe promised to restore him to his Kingdome: wherwith IOHN being very ioyfull, with many his friends followed the Turkish Armie; which marching from *Belgrade* was already before *Buda*. Those in *Buda* being in extream feare, presently yeelded to SOLIMAN; who entring the City, sought with as great speed to haue had the fortresse, guarded by THOMAS NADASKY a Captaine for FERDINAND; who valiantly resisting the enemy, was within few dayes (to the great reproach of Christian Souldiers) betraied by those Germanes which FERDINAND left there in garrison: who perceiuing that the enemy with Mines & other Military stratagems, sought to force the place, willing to prouide for themselues, and to the end that NADASKY should be no impediment vnto them, bound him, and then yeelding to SOLIMAN, with their liues and goods saued, gaue vp the Fortresse. Whereinto when the Turke came, knowing the treason of the Souldiers, and moued with a noble disdaine, he presently set NADASKY at liberty, and made his Souldiers cut all those in pieces which had committed so shamefull a villany, making no conscience to break his faith with men so base and so vnworthy to liue.

Soliman with an Army of 140000. men entereth Hungarie.

Soliman contrary to his promise, put to the sword all the Souldiers in the Castle of Buda.

SOLIMAN hauing (without effusion of bloud) gotten the citie of *Buda*, presently sent his Army towards *Vienna* in *Austria*; and comming before the same, vpon the six and twentith day of September that present yeere, he besieged the citie in fiue parts; hauing first by the way taken *Altenburgh* and the fiue Churches. From thence with great speed he made his horse troupes to ouerrun the countrey as farre as *Lintz*, (many miles distant from *Vienna*); where doing much harme, and loden with bootie, and many prisoners, they returned to the campe; which being diuided into many parts, continually infested *Vienna*. The Count Palatine of *Rhine*, with many other excellent Captaines, being therein for the defence thereof in the behalfe of FERDINAND, vsed all meanes to frustrate the enemies attempts; who besieging the City by land, had intelligence that the Fleet which came vp the Riuer *Danubius* with great store of Ordinance to batter the City, was for the most part by WOLFANG of *Oder* Gouernour of *Poson*, beaten and sunke in *Danow*, which then was swolne extraordinarily high, by reason of much rain which fell at that time. Whereof when SOLIMAN was certified, he with the rest of the Artillerie which escaped WOLFANGS furie, so beat *Vienna*, vpon the fifteenth day of October, that he misst but little to haue taken it: but he was repulsed by the valour of those which had the guard thereof.

Vienna besieged by Soliman.

SOLIMAN lost at the assault in this one day thirty thousand Turkes, with many famous Captains: who thinking with himselfe, that if he should haue the like successe in two other assaults, he should haue a small Army remaining; hearing withall that FERDINAND came with a great Army to succor them, and that he was not farre off, he resolued to retire from that enterprise; sending word vnto them of *Vienna*, that if they would yeeld, he would not enter in to the City, and their goods should be saued, giuing them a perpetuall exemption, for that he was not come to doe them any harme; but only to meet with FERDINAND, to end the

Solimans losse at the assault of Vienna.

quarrell for the possession of the kingdome of *Hungary* by battaile: whereat, the people of of *Vienna* made a scorne; so that the day following being the thirtith day of the siege, he was constrained (after that he had giuen many fierce assaults) to retire with the losse of 80000. men; *and the sooner, hauing intelligence that* FERDINAND *with a great number of* Bohemians and Moraians came to the reliefe thereof. Which making him to doubt that his people being weakned with the wars, would be vnapt to make head against FERDINAND's fresh troups he resolued to raise his siege and to depart. And being departed with so great losse of his people, and hauing in vaine sought to allure those of *Vienna* to giue vp the City vpon composition, he went to *Buda*; where confirming King IOHN King of *Hungary*, calling him his friend and vassaile, and leauing LEVVES GRITTI with him for his counsellor, he with a determination to return againe the next Spring with greater forces, leading with him about 4000 captiues, returned to *Constantinople*.

Soliman raiseth his siege from before Vienna.

Shortly after SOLIMAN's departure, FERDINAND came to *Vienna*: from whence aduertising his brother the Emperor of all what had happened, he tooke order for the reedifying of the City, which together with all the countrie round about was in a manner wholly ruined, and then shortly after returned into *Germany*, very ioyfull for the news of the peace concluded between the Christian Princes, hoping that the Emperor being free from warres, would now haue suppressed LVTHER's supposed heresie, which daily encreasing, was in such manner dispersed, that many Princes of that countrey were of his opinion; by reason whereof there was nothing but Councels in *Germany* concerning Religion: which to abolish was FERDINAND's chiefest care. But the yeere one thousand fiue hundred thirty, being comn, and CHARLES being with the Imperiall Diademe, by the Pope solemnly crowned in *Bologna* in *Italie*, vpon Saint MATTHIAS the Apostles day (an auspicious day to him) and afterwards going into *Germany*, and there celebrating the *Ausburgh* Diet, he took such order, that FERDINAND by the Electors (after some contradiction) was chosen King of the Romanes; who being crowned in *Aken*, and the Emperor being gone into *Flanders* to visite those Countries, hee went for feare of SEPVSIVS to *Vienna*: for SEPVSIVS by the counsell of LEVVES GRITTI, daily incensed the Turkes against FERDINAND, who in the end of the yeere comming into *Hungary*, spoiled such countries as held for him: but King IOHN being desirous to bring those troubles to an end, he in such manner solicited GRITTI to be an intercessor for him, that SOLIMAN in the yeere one thousand fiue hundred thirty two, much displeased with FERDINAND, proclaimed open warre against *Hungary*; and comming shortly after thither with an Army of three hundred thousand men, he committed such spoiles in the countrie, that more could not be done. Which FERDINAND vnderstanding (who at that time was with the Emperor at the Diet at *Ratisbone* about matters of Religion) was greatly troubled: and hauing no sufficient power to resist the Turkes forces, imploring aide of all the Potentates in Christendome, he (by the Emperors meanes) obtained some of the Germane Princes: and the Emperour causing a great number of his footemen to come into *Germany*, resolued with the assistance of other Christian Princes, in person to ioyne with him; particularly with the aide of Pope CLEMENT the Seuenth, who with nine thousand men paid; sent his Nephew the Cardinall HIPPOLITO *de Medicis*, with all the succours that possibly in time of such discord (especially between *France* and *Italy*) could be gotten. And in such sort the matter was handled, that the Emperour and his brother FERDINAND hauing ninety thousand foote-men, and thirty thousand horse, taking their way towards *Vienna*, resolued to fight with SOLIMAN; who proudly reiecting FERDINANDS Ambassadors sent to treate with him of a league, he with such furie assailed in many parts, such places as held for FERDINAND in *Hungary*, that he did infinite harme; for besides the desolation of townes, he in person with great furie bent his forces against the City of *Guinz*: The charge of which siege, was giuen to ABRAIM Bassa, Captain generall of the Turkes Army; who vnderstanding that NICHOLISSA (a man well knowne to him) was Gouernor within the Towne, he sent to perswade him not to hold so weake a place against him, promising him all honest conditions: but NICHOLISSA, who was a souldier, hauing resolued either to die or winne honor in that seruice, answered him courteously that he could not doe it: whereupon the place was battered many daies, and valiantly defended, but the Turkes had no great Ordinance; SOLIMAN giuing it out that he came only to fight a battaile against the Christians, and therefore had brought none but field peeces.

Soliman came into Hungary with 300000 men.

ABRAIM, seeing what difficulty there was to force this place, he drew NICHOLISSA to

to his Campe vpon a safe conduct: where hauing much commended his valour, he laid before him the great danger wherein he was, if he attended the great Ordinance which was neere, perswading him by the friendship that was betwixt them, to yeeld him the place, the which he must for his honour take. The gouernor seemed to esteeeme his words little, telling him that his garrison was strong, and that he had many Germanes and Spaniards within the place, who would not accept of any accord: but through the importunity of ABRAIM, he suffered some few Turkes to enter, to giue him some satisfaction for his honor, and so *Guinz* was brauely defended against this mighty Army: and ABRAIM retired to SOLIMAN's Campe, from whence he dismissed FERDINAND's Ambassadors; to whom he wrote that he was come into *Hungary*, to reuenge the wrong done vnto IOHN his friend and tributary, and that he would be soone with him to giue him battaile: wherewith he was not much troubled.

Guinz freed from the Turkish Army.

LEVVES GRITTI (left in *Hungary* with SEPVSIVS after the siege of *Vienna*) likewise assailing *Strigonium*, and making incursions by his Captaines into the countrey, did put the Hungars in such feare, that many of them abandoning their houses, retired to the Christians Army lying intrenched without the walles of *Vienna*; whither it was thought that SOLIMAN in the end would haue come: but he failing of his purpose to get the City of *Guinz*, and fearing the Emperors fortune; after that he had harried the countrey, and taken many prisoners, retired to the other side of the Riuer *Mura* into *Carinthia*; and from thence leading his Army in great disorder, and with dishonor to *Belgrado*; and there not holding himselfe fully in safety, hee shortly after went to *Constantinople*; being first greatly annoyed by the Christian Cauallery, which then did followe his Campe to *Belgrado*, and did often fall vpon his rereward.

SOLIMAN being departed out of *Hungary*, FERDINAND vsed all meanes to draw the Emperour to attempt the recouery of *Buda*; but for as much as he could not perswade him to stay in that Countrey, he obtained of him to leaue the Italian foot-men, together with Cardinall HIPPOLITO there in Garrison, against the Turkes: but they vnwilling to stay any longer, mutyning, by the perswasion of one MARKE *da Volterra* putting themselues in order, in a great rage returned into *Italie*: with which their departure FERDINAND was so discontented, that comming to a composition with IOHN SEPVSIVS, he granted him during his life, peaceably to enioy such part of *Hungary* as then was at his deuotion; by reason whereof the wars for that time being ended in *Hungary*, FERDINAND bent his forces against the Lantzgraue PHILIP: who being an enemy to the house of *Austria*, induced VLRICH Duke of *Wittembergh* (assisted (by FRANCIS the French King) to take Armes against FERDINAND, for the recouery of his estate taken from him by the Emperor, and giuen to FERDINAND at the Diet at *Ratisbone*; in which action the Duke so valiantly behaued himselfe, that to FERDINAND's great losse and preiudice, he recouered his Duchie: in whose behalfe sundry Princes in *Germany* carried themselues so towards the Emperor and FERDINAND, that they permitted the Duke peaceably to enioy his estate: Yet vpon condition, that from thenceforth the Duke should neuer take Armes against FERDINAND or the house of *Austria*.

The Emperor Charles leyes the ways against the Turk in Hungary to go to war against christians in Italy.

After this peace, FERDINAND receiued Letters from LEVVES GRITTI, importing a request; which was, that if FERDINAND would be content to permit GRITTI during his life to enioy the Kingdome of *Hungary*, he would so deal with SOLIMAN, that hee should confirm the same after GRITTI his decease to FERDINAND and his heirs: which his demand, refused by FERDINAND, did much offend GRITTI, who had been sent into *Hungary* by SOLIMAN who fauoured him very much, to the end hee might assist IOHN SEPVSIO as his Protector, and haue a care of the confines of that Kingdome against FERDINAND and the incursions of the Christians, giuing him full authority both in peace and warre. LEVVES GRITTI parted in great pomp; SOLIMAN hauing giuen him certain companies of Ianisaries, with seuen thousand other souldiers, bringing with him two Hungarian Captains his friends, who were in SOLIMAN's pay; called IOHN DOCCIA and VRBAN BACCIANI, with two companies of horse for his guard.

Lewes Gritti sent by Soliman into Hungary.

Being come into *Transiluania*, he made a publick proclamation, that as absolute Commissioner for SOLIMAN he was comn into that Kingdome to compound all differences. AMARIGO Bishop of *Varradine* was Gouerner of *Transiluania* for King IOHN SEPVSIO, a Noble Gentleman, endued with many vertues, of great iudgement and generally beloued of the people, with whom he had great credit; who came not to meet and honour GRITTI as he

thought he was bound, representing the person of SOLIMAN. IOHN DOCCIA, one of his Hungarian Captains hated this Bishop of *Varradine*, of whom hee had spoken much euill in their voyage, and that he was in secret a capital enemy to SOLIMAN and all his ministers; whereof hee had alwaies shewed effects, speaking much of his haughtinesse and pride: And GRITTI, seeing the Bishop stay long before he came vnto him, did easily beleeue his malitious suggestion; who being of himself proud by nature, and very glorious, desired to be honoured at his first entrance into the Kingdome: whereupon, he grew much discontented with the Bishop; which DOCCIA perceiuing, hee thought it then time to bee reuenged of AMARIGO; telling him, that he should neuer gouern freely during this mans life, offring to go and kill him, or to bring him bound: whereto GRITTI consented. AMARIGO was then vpon the way to meet with GRITTI, marching softly with 12000 men to do him honour: for, the season of the yeer was very hot, which caused DOCCIA to breed more iealousie in GRITTI, saying, that he came for no good intent with such forces: whereupon he grew into choler, and gaue him order to go and do the effect; so as, taking with him some companies of horse, he came in the night to the Bishops Tent, his people lying scattered abroad, and cut off his head. Then going to horseback, hee returned and presented it to GRITTI; whose choler beeing now past, and he better aduised, repented the fact. The Bishops Tent with some others were spoiled by the Turks; and his people rising at the noise, found him dead, and vnderstood the manner: so as he being greatly allied in that Country, many of the chief Barons conspired against GRITTI, and resolued to be reuenged for that Noble Prelate: for whose death all the Transiluanians were so much grieued, that they ran generally to Arms without calling; so as in an Instant there was an Army of neer 40000 men, horse and foot. GRITTI hearing heer-of, retired himself to *Mega*, into which he was receiued with some difficulty, where he meant to defend himself. The Army coming, the multitude ran rashly to giue an assault without battery, but they were repulst with losse. MIALATO (who was Generall of this Army, and a great friend to AMARIGO) resolued to take it by siege, knowing they had no store of victuals. GRITTI seeing no succours come, both for that the Turkish Captains which liued on those frontiers, excused themselues that they could not leaue their charges without expresse commission from their Generall, who was farre off; and King IOHN (who hated him much, both for that he was come to be his competitor in the gouernment of the Realm, as also for his great cruelty committed vpon his Gouerner, and so worthy a man) in words made shew that he would assist him, and began to leuie men to send him; but they came not in time.

The Bishop of Varradine slaine by order from Lewes Gritti.

The death of Lewes Gritti.

GRITTI seeing himself thus abandoned, and all things desperate, fell sick and had recourse to the Moldauians who were in the Camp, intreating them to receiue him and his sonnes into their Quarter; which, PETER their Prince promised: so as, coming forth at a little Port the next night, he was encountred by MIALATO and the friends of AMARIGO, who laying hold on him, they led him to the Generals Tent, where they caused his head to be cut off by a hangman; his children were taken, and (as some think) were secretly put to death by PETER the Moldauian. DOCCIA (who was the cause of this foule fact) was tormented and cruelly slain, with most of the Turks. Some write, that when as the hangman stript GRITTI, he found in his breeches a bag of iewels, to the value of 100000 crowns. This death of GRITTI was pleasing to many, especially to FERDINAND, for that he might now with more facility contend against King IOHN, his enemy, being no more supported by him.

After the death of GRITTI, King IOHN entred into *Transiluania*, and within fewe daies became Lord thereof: but being still molested by FERDINAND, hee was forced to sue to SOLIMAN for aid; who, hearing of the miserable death of GRITTI, was much displeased: but being certified that K. IOHN had no hand in it, and supposing that King FERDINAND had been the author, he sent MAHOMET IAIA GOLI, an old expert souldier and wise, to defend the Frontiers of King IOHN against FERDINAND; who being very diligent, had in short time taken many places, ioyning with the Sangiac of *Bosna*, FERDINAND being vnable to resist him for his many hinderances. Among others, they took a Castle in the Prouince of *Posega* called *Essechio*, very commodious for the passage of the Riuer of *Draua*, to enter into *Hungary*, the which he fortified very well, and manned with a good garrison: from whence he made incursions into FERDINAND's Countrey, notwithstanding that there was a truce betwixt SOLIMAN and him, made before the coming of GRITTI; whereby hee was content that IOHN SEPVSIO should be called King, and enioy that which he held, during his life. FERDINAND seeing the spoils which the Turks made, and beeing importuned by his subiects,

The Turke enters into Hungary.

subiects, he drew an Army together of eight thousand horse, and sixteen thousand foot, and gaue the charge of Generall to IOHN CATTIANIER an old souldier, who had won much honour at the defence of *Vienna*; and the Earl of *Lodron* was Generall of all the foot. This Army marching towards the enemy, being much staid vpon the way by their great Ordinance, they began to growe in distresse for victuals, their Commissaries failing them; yet being a little supplied, they marcht towards the enemy, their foot companies being much decaied: yet the yonger men cried out to fight; whereto the Generall CATTIANIER consented: so as they marched neer vnto the enemy lying at *Essechio*, where there passed many skirmishes betwixt the two Armies.

Ferdinand feeds an Army against the Turk

The Turk, seeing the Christian Army in great distresse of victuals, would not suffer his soldiers to go out of their Camp: wherefore the Commanders consulting together, they resolued to rise and march to *Ermando*, a Castle ten miles off, whereas MAHOMET had drawne together much victuall, the which they thought would satisfie their hunger; but hauing yeelded, they found little corn and some wine, which would not suffice the Army two daies: wherefore they resolued to passe the riuer of *Bodrego*, and to go to *Valpiano*, where they heard there was great store of victuals. The Turks pursued them, and annoyed them continually with skirmishes, and the Christian Army grew into a generall amazement. At night the Captains went to councell, to consult what course they should take, and which way they should go. CATTIANIER was of opinion they should part that night towards *Valpiano*, a place of safety not farre off, where was store of victuals to refresh the Army, giuing order for the troops to march away at midnight: but there fell out great disorder, diuerse troops going away vpon the first watch before the word was giuen, euery company taking his owne way. CATTIANIER hearing this, was much amazed; and thinking that all the troops had taken the same course, he went away vnarmed and without his baggage. They write, that these infortunate newes being delinered to the Earl of *Lodron* (who slept, being oppressed with toil and watching) he returned to his rest vntill that some of his Captains awaked him, assuring him that their Generall was fled: wherewith this valiant man being troubled, he stood for a time in doubt, and could not beleiue that a man practised in so many wars, and who had neuer yet deserued the name of a base coward, should with so great impiety do an act contrary to his honour. Then calling the Captains and chief of the companies together, he comforted them, and exhorted them either to dy gloriously, or to winne perpetuall honour by the victory: and being intreated by them all to take charge of the Army, he gaue order for their march, that they might recouer *Valpiano* if it were possible. Being ready to march, at the break of day they discouered the enemies troops, with whom they continually maintained skirmish, and continued their march: but being oppressed still with fresh troops of Turks, hauing lost many men, the footmen being tired with fighting, and almost dead with hunger, they were in a manner all cut in pieces. Count LODOVVICK, being sore wounded, retired himself into a narrow lake adioyning, with three companies that remained: beeing oppressed with his hurt, and intreated by the Turks to yeeld, hee submitted himself.

The flight of Cattianier.

The Christians ouerthrowne by the Turks.

MAHOMET, growne proud with this victory, sent the Earl of *Ladron*'s head, and many of the chief Captains, with a great number of their noses which were slain, vnto SOLIMAN. FERDINAND, hearing of this infortunate successe, was wonderfully grieued, considering that it hapned by the basenes of his Generall, and other fugitiue Captains who were growne a scorn both to women and children. CATTIANIER, hearing heerof, wrote to FERDINAND, that he vnderstood his honour was much blemished in Court by his aduersaries; desiring, his Majesty would be pleased to giue him a safe conduct to come to Court to justifie himself; the cause of this great ruine proceeding not from him, but from the Commissaries who had not according to their duties brought victuals to the Camp. FERDINAND granted his desire, and CATTIANIER came; but he had such cold entertainment from the King and the whole Court, that he repented his coming. He spake much in his owne excuse: but not able to defend his going from the Army, and hauing giuen no signe to depart, the rest were slain, euery man called him a base Traitor. FERDINAND hauing committed him to custody to punish him as he deserued, fearing with the losse of his honour, his life would bee in question, he made an escape by night, and fled to MAHOMET; who receiued him kindely, promising him great entertainment if he would bring *Austria* vnder SOLIMAN's command: the which hauing promised, he parted and went to NICHOLAS SADEINIO, a man of great power in that Country, seeking to drawe him to serue the Turk: but NICHOLAS, hauing giuen him

The death of the Earle of Ladron.

him good words, slew him. Hauing cut off his head, he carried it to FERDINAND, making an ample relation of his wicked designe: for the which the King honoured him much, and rewarded him with the estate of CATTIANIER.

Peter, *Prince of Moldauia, inconstant and faithlesse.*

About this time 1538, PETER gouerned in *Valachia* or *Moldauia*: he was nephew to DRACOLA, who had made the league with King MATTHIAS against AMVRATH. This PETER although he were a Christian of the Greek Church, yet was he a man of an ill disposition, faithlesse, inconstant, greedy of spoil, and without any conscience, to make his owne estate great. He was Tributary to SOLIMAN: but he carried himself so, that when any occasion was offred whereby he might annoy him for his owne good, he had no respect so as hee might do it couertly, or haue any colour to excuse it. He had friendship with King IOHN, and likewise with FERDINAND, and yet he laid wait to murder them. He assaulted FERDINAND'S Camp traiterously, neer to *Brassouia*: for which, King IOHN gaue him great thanks, thinking he had done it for his relief. PETER (who neuer took Arms but for his owne profit) growne proud by that former victory and the artillery which he had taken, soon after he inuaded *Transiluania*, took many places, and spoiled the Countrey. King IOHN sent to expostulate with him, why he did him wrong vnder the colour of friendship; requiring restitution. The Moldauian answered, that he meant to be his friend; whereof he had giuen him good proof when he relieued him against FERDINAND. And if hee had made vse of VESTRICK, it was to secure CIZOVIO, against whom FERDINAND had a practice. He inuaded the confines of *Poland* often: but at the last he was encountred by IOHN Earle of *Tornau* a valiant Captaine who fought with him, and ouerthrew his Army, and took forty peeces of Ordinance with FERDINANDS Armes; he himselfe was wounded and fled into his countrey. King SIGISMVND *was importuned by his subiects to make warre against him, and to ruine him*, the

Soliman *hated* Peter *Prince of Moldauia.*

which he would not doe without SOLIMANS leaue, being his tributary; who at that time hated PETER much, for that vpon his faith, LEVVES GRITTI had gone forth, and was slain, and also he had murdered his innocent children with great cruelty. And moreouer he paid not his tribute duely.

They write, that SOLIMAN took this request of SIGISMVND very kindely, shewing him such respect: to whom he made this answer. That he knew well the deserts of the Moldauian, but it did belong to him as well to punish his seditious and wicked tributaries, as to defend the good; and soon after he entred *Valachia* with an Armie, but PETER fled out of the countrie: whereupon SOLIMAN made STEPHEN his brother, Prince in his place; and then returned, freeing both King IOHN and FERDINAND *from the fear of his Armes.* PETER being fled into *Cimouia* with his wife and children and chiefest treasure, King IOHN (who hated him very much) went to besiege the place; which being very strong, and well furnished with men and victuals, continued foure months, vntill that he had withdrawne the Transiluanians who were his subiects: whereat PETER being amazed, and seeing the danger, yeelded himself and the place. King IOHN (who was pitifull by nature) although he knew his treacherous disposition, yet had he compassion of his miserable state, and receiued him curteously. Soon after, SOLIMAN wrote his Letters to King IOHN to send PETER to *Constantinople:* to whom IOHN made an humble relation in what manner PETER had yeelded, and that he had promised him his life; beseeching him, that, as he was a Noble and generous Emperor, he would not suffer him, being his vassall and tributary, to fail of the faith he had giuen to that wretch, promising so to keep him as STEPHEN should haue no cause to fear. But SOLIMAN was not so satisfied, sending sharper Letters for him; and King IOHN, fearing to incense him, resolued to send him; but in such sort, that SOLIMAN, being a generous Prince, should bee forced to vse him with all clemency: and therefore being well accompanied, hee wrote, *that he had sent him as an Ambassador, not as a prisoner*; recommending him much. SOLIMAM vpon his submission, and the faith which King IOHN his friend had giuen him, was moued to mercy, and confined him onely to *Pera*. STEPHEN his brother, who raigned in his place in *Moldauia*, began to growe odious to all his subiects for his couetous disposition and cruell extortion of money; whereupon they slue him, which gaue good hope to PETER to recouer his Country again: but the Nobility made choice of a young man called ALEXIVS, of the same house of DRACOLA. But soon after, those Noble-men which are called Boiari, who made choice of him, cut off his head, and sent it to PETER, who was vpon the confines with an Army of Turks, to restore him into his estate; who by degrees put all those traiterous Boiari to death.

Peter *restored to his Country.*

In

In the beginning of the yeer 1538, DEVELS ASSEMBER (a man of great account in *Bohemia*) seeing the negligence of SEPVSIVS his people, gathered together certain companies of foot and and horse; and going towards the Countries guarded by the Turks garrisons, particularly to the City of *Toccay*, situate on the other side of the riuer *Tissa*, there hauing easily surprised those which had it in guard, in fewe houres took it: and hauing almost sacked it, he went through to the Citadel against a squadron of the Turks horse, who vnderstanding of the surprise of *Toccay*, came to relieue the garrison: and coming to blowes with them, hee so distressed them, that they were constrained to retire; whereupon, returning to the City, and making an end of sacking it, loaden with the spoil, and hauing gotten certain peeces of artillery, he returned: whereat FERDINAND greatly rejoycing, bestowed many gifts vpon him. The Emperor, the Pope, and the Venecians being ioyned together in league against the Turk, he was comprised in the number of the confederats, in the yeer one thousand fiue hundred thirty nine. FERDINAND helping his brother the Emperor to suppresse the Gantois, which rebelled against him, and tired with the continuall warres of *Hungary*, he came to an agreement with King IOHN, vpon condition, that each of them should continue in possession of what he held in *Hungary*, and that IOHN should freely enioy the title of king: and if that IOHN should haue no heires, that then the kingdome should fall to FERDINAND and his heires: prouided alwaies that king FERDINAND should conceale this agreement from SOLIMAN, of whose displeasure IOHN stood highly in feare.

The matter was not so secretly handled, but that SOLIMAN had full notice of all their agreement. Whereupon being angry with IOHN, he often times charged him with ingratitude; and had it not been for his friends, and (that which did more import) the warre with the Persians, he had without doubt troubled him for it: who either for feare of SOLIMAN, or vpon some other occasion, being a while after displeased with FERDINAND, he took to wife ISABEL, the daughter of SIGISMVND King of *Poland*; who within few moneths appearing to be with childe, induced him to seeke to driue STEPHEN MAIALTO and BAILASSO out of *Transiluania*, both gouernors of that Prouince: the one of which, which was MAIALTO, notwithstanding that he knew that SOLIMAN deadly hated him; yet he sundry times instantly sued to haue been by him crowned King of *Transiluania*: whereof IOHN being aduertised by SOLIMAN himselfe, who hated traitors and treason wonderfully; he sent to king IOHN the Letters which MAIALTO had written, blaming him for his carelesnes, to haue giuen the gouernement of his Prouinces to so faithlesse a man, exhorting him to repaire it, and to be more aduised hereafter when he should haue any occasion to make choice of the like gouernors: And to MAIALTO (whom he hated for the death of LEWES GRITTI, and the Turkes which were slaine with him) he gaue a sowre answere, more by his countenance then his words; MAIALTO seeing himselfe reiected by SOLIMAN, and his treachery discouered to King IOHN, he entred into practice with King FERDINAND, who easily entertained it, by meanes of THOMAS NADASKY, brother in law to MAIALTO: who being receiued into FERDINAD'S protection, were assisted by him against King IOHN; but neither of them being of equall power to him, they were constrained, the one which was BAILASSO, to retire himselfe; and the other being in *Megest* (a most strong place) was by King IOHN'S souldiers besieged: but King IOHN vnderstood that his wife Queen ISABEL in the meane time whilest he was about *Megest* had borne him a son.

During this siege, King IOHN lay at *Sabino*, being fallen into the relapse of a former sicknesse; The Captaines of the Army whom the King fauored most (being but a daies iourney off) came to him to reioyce with him. Vpon this happy newes of hauing a successor to his kingdom, the king would needs be brought forth of his bed vnto the banquett, where eating more then was fitte, in the regard of the feuer which had newly left him, his stomack hauing no strength to digest it, he fell againe into a feuer, whereof he died. By his testament (contrary to the Accord made with FERDINAND) he left his sonne heire to his kingdome; giuing him for tutors PETER VICENTO his kinsman, whom he had left for his Viceroy in *Buda* with the Queen; and Frier GEORGE Bishop of *Varradine* a man very faithfull and wise, vnder the protection of SOLIMAN. Who being nobly born in *Croatia*, after some time spent in the seruice of King IOHN, became a Monk in *Buda*, where hee had not long remained, but waxing weary of the Monasticall life, he retaining still the habit, went out of the Couent, and returned to the seruice of IOHN in *Polonia*: to whom (being expulst his kingdome by FERDINAND, and remaining with IEROM LASKY) he did many seruices of importance, so as being very highly

highly respected by him, he created him after the recouery of *Transiluania*, and the rest of *Hungary*, Bishop of *Varadin*; and at his death, left him together with the Queen (mother vnto the childe) Gouerner of the Kingdome: who in the yeer 1540, compounding with MAIALTO, in the name of the Queen refused to stand to the agreement made betwen IOHN and FERDINAND; and temporising with him, leuied certain companies of horse and foot: and to the end to be in the more safety, suing to SOLIMAN for aid, as to the Protector of the pupill, hee together with the Queen and the yong King retired to *Buda*: wherewith FERDINAND beeing highly offended, and therewith hoping to recouer that Kingdome, he leuied an Army: and in the mean time, sending Ambassadors to SOLIMAN, hee offered to giue him that tribute which King IOHN was wont to pay; but he first perswaded Queen ISABELL, that she contenting herself in peace to enioy *Transiluania*, should resigne the rest to him, according to the agreement made between him and her husband. But seeing that hee could obtain neither the one nor the other of his demands, he sent LEONARD VELSCH one of his Captains, with a great number of men of war, to molest the Queen. VELSCH, entring the Countrey of the yong King, went from *Strigonium* to *Visegard*, which he took without any difficulty; and, hauing taken it, staid there certain daies to refresh his Army.

Then passing the riuer *Dannby*, and with the like celerity hauing taken *Pesthe* and *Vaccia*, he presented himselfe before *Buda*; wherein VALENTINE DVRAC (who in former time had serued FERDINAND) lay then in Garrison. This DVRAC to his great credite, withstanding VELSCH, defended the City, vntill that constrained by the Turkish souldiers, sent by the Saniacque of *Belgrado* to the reliefe of the young King, VELSCH retired to *Visgard*: where hauing in few daies space taken the Citadel, and garrisonized it, in the name of King FERDINAND; and wintred his souldiers in the same place, without any molestation by the Turkes, vntill the end of that yeer: in the yeer one thousand fiue hundred forty four, the Turks took the field with such furie, as hauing suddenly taken *Vaccia*, they sundry times attempted *Pesthe*; where being resisted by the valour of the defendants, they departed, fearing that FERDINAND's Army (which being much increased, was come to make head against them) would haue defeated them, whose assaults they could not so well auoid; but being in ill plight, they lost many of their Arierguard. By reason of which good successe, FERDINAND hoping to haue taken *Buda*, gathered together 40000 men, which he sent vnder the conduct of WILLIAM ROCKENDOLPH, a Captaine of great worth, to take that City. ROCKENDOLPH comming thither, gaue many attempts: but being euer valiantly repulsed by the besieged, he saw that by assault he could not take the City; he therefore resolued to try what he could doe by siege: and besieging it round, he so kept victuals from the City, that had not Frier GEORGE vsed great diligence, the City doubtlesse had yeelded. Neuertheless ROCKENDOLPH with words and threatnings frustrating the deuices of some seditious persons, continued the siege, till it was freed by SOLIMAN.

Rockendolph *sent by* Ferdinand *to attempt Buda.*

The Queen, being thus distrest in *Buda*, sent her Ambassadors to SOLIMAN to craue aid; who calling them into his presence, said vnto them, that hee had inuested King IOHN in that Realm of *Hungary*, the which should passe to his heirs; and that hee would, his promise should hould perpetually, as long as the heirs should remain obedient to him, and perform that whereunto they were bound: wherefore he confirmed his vassall and tributrry. STEPHEN the pupill, giuing to the Ambassadors the Ensignes of the confirmation of friendship with the Infant; which were, a round shield, an iron mace with the handle of gold, a Semitar with a scabberd enriched with iewels, and a long robe of crimsin velues and gold; saying, that by those Ensignes which he sent him, he took him into his protection. These Ambassadors being thus happily dispatcht, LASCO, sent by FERDINAND, arriued, and demanded the inuestiture of that Kingdome for him, with an offer of tribute, shewing the agreement which hee had made with King IOHN; but he could not be heard: and for that hee did often name the Emperour CHARLS, magnifying his power, SOLIMAN disdaining it, caused him to be put in prison. SOLIMAN vnderstanding that *Buda* was in great distresse, sent MAHOMET Basha with many men of warre, and a great quantity of victuals, to the relief thereof; promising to follow himself in person, as within fewe daies after hee did. Which much troubled ROCKENDOLPH, that they forced him to retire into the Ile of *Comer*: for, MAHOMET hauing victualled *Buda*, and being incamped within sight of FERDINAND's Army, after many skirmishes he so much prouoked his enemies, that they joyned with him in battell; wherein, after sundry accidents, ROCKENDOLPH being ouerthrowne, was constrained to flee, and many of

Rockendolph *ouerthrowne & put to flight by* Mahomet.

of his Captains were taken prisoners. And MAHOMET Basha, sending to visit the yong king and Queen mother, perswaded her to hope well of SOLIMAN the great Turk; who, coming from *Adrianople* into *Hungary*, shortly after came to the Camp, bringing with him a great number of souldiers, with a resolution to free himself from troubles, and wholly to put FERDINAND out of all hope euer to recouer that estate.

SOLIMAN being come neere vnto *Buda*, he sent vnto the infant king three goodly horses, with their furnitures of gold, set with iewels, and three Royall Robes of Gold, and to euery Hungarian Baron a Robe with a chaine of Gold: by his Embassadors he sent word vnto the Queene that he should send the childe with those Barons, vnto the Campe, excusing him that he came not to see her, being not the custome of the Ottomans to see women in another house; neither would he in respect of her honor (being young and beautifull, the daughter of a King his friend, and the wife of his confederate) that she should goe into his campe. The Queene (they say) was much amazed, fearing for her son: but FRIER GEORGE perswaded her to send him speedily, least she should shew any distrust of that great Emperour. Being brought to SOLIMANS pauilion he embraced him louingly; the Hungarian Barons were honoured, and dined with the Basha: but in the meane time SOLIMAN had giuen order, that some of his captaines (making shew to visit the city) should seise vpon a port and draw in their men; the which they did before it was discouered: whereupon they disarmed the citizens, and lodged their troupes, but with great modestie and shewes of friendship.

SOLIMAN being aduertised that the city was at his command, he sent the Infant back vnto the Queene, but retained fiue of the Barons, which were FRIER GEORGE, PETER VICCHIO, VALENTINE STEPHANIO, VERBESIO the head Chancelor, and VRBAN BASHIANO who had the guard of the city. The Queene seeing the city taken by fraud, and her Barons deteyned, sent humbly to intreate SOLOMAN that he would not blemish his great name of clemency and magnaminity, but obserue the faith giuen, and send back her faithfull Barons, who had alwaies deserued well of his greatnes and of the Turkish name. SOLIMAN was three daies in counsell touching this action. Some perswaded him to put the Barons to death and seise vpon the whole state. But ROSTAM Bashaw his son in-law whom he fauored much, was of a milder disposition, aduising him to restore vnto the Queene the city and the Barons, and that SOLIMAN being a iust Prince should not vniustly take from that poore pupill his kingdom, seeing that the father was his tributary and the Queene had offered it for her son: that he should remember he had taken the Infant into his protection, and had confirmed him in that Realme with the vsuall ensignes and ornaments; the which if he should now take awaie, he should purchase himselfe perpetuall infamie with the world, to haue by fraude vsurped the Realme of a poore pupil, who had recommended himselfe vnto him, and had been confirmed by him; giuing many other reasons to the like effect. SOLIMAN took a middle course, sending word vnto the Queene, that she should part from *Buda*, for that he meant to hold it as a Bulwark against FERDINAND; and that she should go and raigne at *Lippa* beyond the riuer of *Tiuisco*; that he would receiue nothing of that kingdome, but his ordinary tribute, and defend the city and castle at his owne charge; whereupon all the Barons were sent back, but VALENTINE whom she could not obtaine by any suite: yet he promised he should haue no harme, and withal he assured that the young king should be no sooner able to gouerne, but he would restore whatsoeuer belonged to him and was in his power.

The city of Buda in the power of Soliman.

The Queene departed from *Buda* to *Lippa* with her son and all her Royall furniture, accompanied with all her Barons, except VALENTINE, cursing the infidelity of such a Tirant, and repenting in her hart, that she had not accepted the conditions offered by FERDINAND, to giue the prouince of *Sepusia*, and other places which he had taken, where she might haue liued with more quiet of minde, then to haue her son king of the whole Realme, subiect to so perfidious a Barbarian, as she might doubt hourely he would depriue him. She said that this happened for her sins, to haue rather trusted in the friendship of a cruel Mahometan then in a Christian King, who was milde, iust, and of the same faith: but she durst not discouer her thoughts. FERDINAND hearing of the defeat of his Army; in fear of some greater losse, beeing also sorry for the losse of *Buda*, a place of great importance for the defense of Christendome, he resolued to send Ambassadors presently to conquering SOLIMAN, with conditions of peace, who were dispatched vnto him with very rich Presents; and falling down the riuer of *Dannow*, they came to the Camp lying before *Buda*, and were honourably entertained by ROSTAN Basha, and brought into the presence of SOLIMAN: to whom they deliuered their Ambas-

The Queene departeth out of Buda.

Conditions propounded by Ferdinand *to* Soliman.

sage, requiring in the name of FERDINAND, that he would grant him the Realm of *Hungary* for the same tribute which King IOHN had paid; promising to satisfie the Queen in the behalf of her son; shewing also that the said K. IOHN moued in his conscience, who told him he had no title to that Kingdom, hauing vniustly vsurpt it, had promised it him after his death; whereof they produced the contract: by reason whereof, FERDINAND made war.

Solimans answer to the Ambassadors.

After two daies pause, SOLIMAN gaue answer to the Ambassadors by ROSTAN, that hee was content to giue peace to FERDINAND whensoeuer he should restore the Forts, Cities, and places in *Hungary*; and for that he had been often prouoked to war, and spent much, yet he would impose no other penalty, but the paiment of a small tribute yeerly for the Arch-duchy of *Austria*, and that he should quit his pretensions to *Hungary*; threatning, that if FERDINAND did not accept of these conditions of peace, he would not fail to take those places by Arms which were vniustly vsurped. The Ambassadors said, that FERDINAND could not resolue to accept of these conditions without the priuity of the Emperor his brother, and therfore they craued some time of truce that he might write to him, and receiue his answer. But SOLIMAN knew well that their designe was onely to win time, to the end that winter might approach, and the war be deferrd; assuring himself, that FERDINAND would neuer accept of such vnreasonable conditions, and therefore hee would not grant any truce. After twentie daies stay at *Buda* he retired to *Constantinople*; hauing giuen charge to the Sangiac of *Belgrado* to make an incursion into *Austria*, and to put all to fire and sword; and hee commanded CACON Generall of the Aduenturers to spoil *Moravia*: but God had compassion of his people; for, there fell such abundance of rain, that they could not do any thing to annoy the Christians.

Marano treacherously surprised.

This yeer 1542, King FERDINAND lost *Marano*, a place of great importance, and a Port of the sea vpon the Adriatick Gulf, neer to *Aquilegia* and the confines of the Venecians: it was treacherously surprised by BELTRANIO SACCHIA of *Vdena* who pretended to be a great friend vnto the gouernour, promising to bring him two barkes of corne, whereof the Castle was in want: by which colour he brought in diuerse souldiers and became master of the Castle, and put the gouernour his wife and sonne in prison: but soon after, SACCHIA himself was shut out of the Castle by his companion TVRCHETTO *da Naue*, and forced to flee to *Venice*. It was besieged by FERDINAND'S forces which lay at *Gradisca* and thereabouts. TVRCHETTO did pretend to hold it for the French King, sending to PETER STROZZI (who was then leuying of men for the King) to send him some troops. FERDINAND, beeing aduertised heerof, caused men to be leuied in the County of *Tirroll* and the bordering places, for the recouery of *Marano*, sending also a little Army of Barks, besieging it by sea and land. Hauing after a long siege reduced the Castle to extremity for want of victuals, in the end there appeared certain Venecian Gallies; who gaue the Commander to vnderstand, that they should depart from thence, for that the Segnory of *Venice* had bought the place of the French: and so the Venecians entred presently, and it was yeelded vp vnto them.

The Emperors Ambassador complaining heerof to the State, they answered that they had bought *Marano* (that is to say, the circuit as it stands in the water, not meddling with the firm land) to auoid a greater scandall, the French King being else resolued to deliuer it to the Turk; which they hoped FERDINAND being a wise Prince would not take in ill part. And thus *Marano* continued in the hands of the Venecians, and doth to this day.

This yeer 1543, there was a great Assembly of Princes and Noble-men at *Noremberg*, where they conferred touching the aiding of FERDINAND in his Turkish warres; so as they had drawn together from the Noble-men and free Cities 30000 foot and 7000 horse, all Germans. CONRAD HESSIVS commanded the foot, and THEODORICK VOLFANGO the horse; and IOACHIM Marquesse of *Brandenburgh* was Generall. Coming to *Vienna*, the Gouernor of *Stiria* came to them with ten thousand horse; and their were almost 15000 Hungarians on horseback, vnder the command of PETER PERENO, who had alwaies commanded the old bands. The Councell being now assembled at *Trent*, King FERDINAND sent his Ambassadors thither to demand aid: whereupon Pope PAVL sent him 3000 foot commanded by ALEXANDER VITELLI and SFORZA PALLAVICINO: and fearing the Turk, he had great forces on the frontiers, before commaded by the Marquess of *Marignian*.

Feildmarshals preparation against the Turk.

The Army being assembled at *Vienna*, they marched in good order along the banks of the riuer of *Dannow*, and went to besiege *Pesta* neer vnto *Buda*; where were many encounters and skirmishes, with great losse of either side, but especially of the Turks. The Towne was battered, and a furious assault giuen by the Italians and the Hungarians: but in the end they were repulst with the losse of 700 men. It is written by VLLOA, that vpon their retreit a Ianizary cried vnto them in the Italian Tongue, saying; You valiant Italians, retire and saue your selues, and let come those cowardly Dutch-men: for, we desire to drawe the wine out of their heads, and to giue you all possible respects. After this repulse, the Commanders and Councell hearing of the coming of ACCOMAT Sangiack of *Belgrado*, and winter growing on, they resolued to retire the Army, and returne to *Vienna*, much against the will of the Hungarians, the Marquesse of *Marignas* and *Vitelli*; who perswaded them to batter it again the next day without giuing any assault, to the end it should not seem that the amazement of the former dayes successe had made them depart: which done, they withdrew their artillery; and the Armie marcht away in good order, being sometimes annoyed by the Turk, but still to their losse: and thus ended that shamefull enterprise.

Pesta besieged, and the Christians repulst.

The words of a Ianizary.

The end of the war of Pesta.

At this time PETER PERENO, a Noble-man of *Hungary*, of great account, who had alwaies commanded the Hungarian horse, and done great seruice, being accused that hee practised to make himself King of *Hungary*, was by FERDINAND'S commission taken in the Castle of *Strigonium* by LESCANO a Spaniard, and giuen to MARIGNAN, who conducted him to *Vienna*; where he was put in prison, and could not be admitted to iustifie himself publikely. Which much discontented the Hungarians, seeing he was a valiant Captain, greatly beloued of them; som thinking he was falsly accused by such as were neer FERDINAND and enui'd him.

Pereno imprisoned by Ferdinand.

FERDINAND, imploying himself to the affairs of *Germany*, vsed all means to hinder the meeting of the Princes of *Germany* in *Smalcald*, with the Ambassadors of the free Towns, who (as the fame went) were assembled to the prejudice of the Emperor. Which for that he could not effect, he assaied to make peace between the Emperor and the French King, notwithstanding that both in the one and the other he found great difficulty: neuertheless, hee so handled the matter, that in the beginning of the next yeer they agreeing vpon sundry conditions, in the yeer 1544 the articles of peace were confirmed by them both.

Peace between the Emperor & the French King.

In the beginning of the yeer 1545, FERDINAND sent his Ambassadors to the Councell of *Trent*, to the end that the disagreement in matters of religion in *Germany* might bee reconciled according to the Emperors desire: but hee seeing the ill will which the Assembly at *Smalcald* bare to the Emperor, and that the same increased, by his Letters hee perswaded each of them to quietnes: which perswasions taking no effect, the Emperor came from *Flanders* into *Germany*; where he obtained aid from the Duke of *Florence*, the Duke of *Ferrara*, and from euery Potentate in *Italy* some, but chiefly from Pope PAVL: who seeing that the warre should bee waged against the Lutherans, coutemners of his Holinesse, sent him twelue thousand footmen and six hundred horse, commanded by his nephew OCTAVIVS FARNESE the Emperors son-in-law, with his brother the Cardinall ALEXANDER FARNESE, Legate *à Latere* for his Vncle the Pope. With which supplies, the Emperor hauing in the yeer 1546 and 1547 distressed his enemies, he restored the Duke of *Bruinswick* to his estate; who from the yeer 1543, had by the Lantzgraue, and IOHN FREDERICK Duke of *Saxony*, liued depriued of his duchy: and notwithstanding the promise made to Duke MAVRICE, assuring him that the Lantzgraue should be restored to his Countries; yet he neuertheless was likewise taken prisoner the same day that according to the agreement they spake together; so as *Germany* being in short space in quiet, Duke IOHN FREDERICK was depriued of the dignity of Elector, and together with many other Captains of the league committed to prison in the yeer one thousand, fiue hundred, forty seuen.

This Pope sent 12000 foot and 600 horse to aid the Emperor against the Protestants.

In the yeer 1545 SOLIMAN came again into *Hungary* with a great Army, sending to besiege *Valponie*, a Town belonging to PETER PERENO (who at that time was prisoner with FERDINAND) in the which his wife was, with a garrison of Hungarians: but she yeelded the place vpon good conditions, the which were duely obserued. After which, they besieged *Sole*, another Town belonging to this Lady; the which was valiantly defended, and many Turks slain: but being forced in the end by their continuall assaults to retire into the Castle, they offered to compound. ACCOMAT who commanded that Army, disdaining that so little a place should make such resistance, said, that he would accept of no other conditions, but discretion: whereupon, yeelding they were all slain, to terrifie the rest. SOLIMAN being come to *Buda*, he sent to besiege *Strigonium*: in the which, SALAMANCA and LESCANO, two Spaniards, commanded for FERDINAND; the one hauing charge of the City, the other of the Castle: where, after many exploits of warre and assaults giuen, the Commanders began to faint, and resolued to yeeld (as it was thought) to saue the wealth which they had gatherd together; which

Soliman comes into Hungary.

Valpanie taken.

Strigonium taken.

the ſouldiers diſcouering, cried out, that they might yet defend it valiantly; but they could not preuail: whereupon, the Town was yeelded to SOLIMAN, vpon condition to haue their liberties and liues.

Tatta yeelded to the Turks.

From thence the Turks went to *Tatta*, a Caſtle neer to *Gomora*, the which was commanded by HANNIBALL TASSO of *Bologna*, and ANTIO a German, with a garriſon of 800 men; who deſpairing to defend ſo ſmall a place againſt ſo great an Army, yeelded it without fight, being ſuffred to depart freely. The Earle of *Torneillo*, who commanded in *Gomora*, put theſe two Captains in priſon, and cut off TASSO's head, leauing ANTIO to FERDINAND's cenſure, who referred him to the ſame Sentence which *Torneillo* had giuen of the Italian Captain: and ſo they died both of one death. Then the Turks went to beſiege *Alba Regalis*; which they battered, and gaue diuerſe aſſaults: but in the end it was yeelded to the Turks by the wilfulnes of the Citizens, contrary to the will of the Commander and ſouldiers, vpon condition to haue their goods and liberties: the like was granted to the Italians and Germans, but not to the Hungarians; and they departed without the loſſe of any thing. After which, the Turk retired with his Army to *Conſtantinople*.

Alba Regalis taken.

FERDINAND went againſt the Bohemians, which in the behalf of the Duke of *Saxony* had rebelled againſt him: and being comn into the Kingdome, after much reſiſtance and apparant danger of his perſon, he at length got the Caſtle of *Prague*; wherein being entred, hee put the Bohemians in ſuch fear, that, notwithſtanding the many difficulties, yet hee ſubdued them in ſuch manner, that they yeelded themſelues abſolutely to his mercy. And ſo hauing accompliſhed this enterpriſe, he ſent his eldeſt ſoune MAXIMILIAN with certain gallant troops of horſe to the aid of his brother the Emperor; and hee himſelf in the mean time neuer deſiſted, together with Duke MAVRICE, to trouble Duke IOHN FREDERICK. In the day of the battell beyond the Riuer *Albis*, he not onely aſſiſted his brother with his forces, but with certain very good troops of horſe came thither in perſon; where hee ſhewed himſelf no leſſe a valiant man at Arms, than a moſt prudent Commander. After which victory, returning into *Bohemia*, he celebrated the obſequies of his wife ANNE, who in the beginning of the yeer died in childe-bed: which obſequies he could no ſooner ſolemnize, by reaſon of the wars in *Germany*, and the inſurrections in *Hungary*.

FERDINAND, hauing ended the wars of *Bohemia*, and holpen his brother to ſuppreſſe his enemies, in the yeer 1548, houlding a Synode with the Emperor in *Auſburgh*, there were fifteen *Inſtitutions* publiſhed appertaining to religion, with expreſſe order, that the ſame ſhould be obſerued till the diſſolution of the Councell of *Trent*; which ordinance was called an *Interim*: wherein was contained what was commanded to be beleeued till the determination of the ſaid Councell. After which publication, the Emperor deſirous that his ſon PHILP, Prince of *Spain*, ſhould be acknowledged by the Netherlanders for their legitimate and naturall Lord, he married his daughter MARY to MAXIMILIAN Arch-duke of *Auſtria*, eldeſt ſon to his brother FERDINAND, to the end that they ſhould make their reſidence in *Spain* vntill the return of PHILIP: and purchaſing a diſpenſation from the Pope, hee publiſhing the nuptials, ſent him into *Spain*, accompanied by the Cardinall of *Trent*, and the Earle of *Manſfelt*, and many other of the German and Bohemian Nobility. But firſt, before his departure, he obtained for him of his father FERDINAND the Kingdome of *Bohemia*, to the end that hee ſhould come into *Spain* with the greater dignity; where, as Gouerner of thoſe Countries, he remained till the return of Prince PHILIP.

Ferdinand gaue Bohemia to his ſon Maximilian.

In the yeer 1551, FERDINAND receiu'd Letters from SOLIMAN the great Turk; wherein ſhewing himſelfe diſcontent both with FERDINAND and the Emperor, for that ANDREVV DORIA had taken the town of *Africa* from DRAGVT RAIS a Pirat, he proteſted, that if it were not rendred, he would cruelly reuenge the injury don to his Captain DRAGVT. Whereto FERDINAND made anſwer, that for as much as Pirates were not compriſed in the Articles of agreement, neither hee nor his brother were bound to any thing. With which anſwer diſpatching the meſſenger, in the moneth of May hee ſent IOHN BAPTISTA CASTALDO into *Tranſiluania*, to aſſiſt Frier GEORGE againſt Queen ISABELL; who hauing in former time drawne great part of the Tranſiluanians to her deuotion, and ſought to preſerue that Prouince for her ſonne, fell at open variance with the Frier: who, ambitiouſly deſiring to continue his gouernment, gaue FERDINAND to vnderſtand, that the Queen hoping by the Turks means to hold that Country, was again riſen againſt him, and ſought to driue him out of that eſtate: which for that he knew to be very preiudiciall to all Chriſtendom, he had aduertiſed him thereof; therewith entreating him, that for the preſeruation of the countrey, he would be pleaſed to relieue him againſt the Queens inuaſions, which daily troubled him.

Caſtaldo ſent to aid Frier George againſt the Queen.

FERDINAND, induced by theſe reaſons, ſent (as before is ſaid) *Caſtaldo* to the Frier: who as his Lieutenant General comming to *Agria*, leuied 5700 foote-men, and 1700 horſe; with which paſſing the riuer *Tiſſa*, he went to *Debrezen*; where finding *Andrew Bator*; and *Thomas Nacladi*, principall Lords of that kingdome, he went into *Tranſiluania*: where hauing for the ſpace of three moneths beſieged *Coloſuarre* in the behalfe of the Frier, he was aduertiſed that the Frier through a new compoſition with the Queen, hauing taken *Alba Iulia*, was retired from the warres; and that he had neuertheleſſe ſent him word, that if he would meet him at *Egnet*, he would ſpeake with him. Whither *Caſtaldo* being come, after many diſcourſes and treaties paſt between them, obtaining of the Frier the Citie of *Alba Iulia* to winter his people in; he had word from the Queen, that ſhe would come to an agreement with FERDINAND, according to the couenants made with her husband: ſo that after many conuentions, comming to *Coloſuarre*, whither were already come the moſt part of the Lords of that kingdome, *Iſabel* in the name of her ſonne renounced, and gaue vp the kingdome and eſtate of *Hungary* to *Caſtaldo*, who in the name of FERDINAND accepted the ſame. After which renunciation, ſhe granted to the moſt inſatiable Frier all his demands, which were vnreaſonable, together with the Archbiſhoprick of *Strigonium*, being at that time voide. *Caſtaldo* accommodating that Prouince according to the order receiued from FERDINAND, and as he thought moſt expedient, celebrated the nuptials between one of FERDINANDS daughters, and *Iohn*, at the firſt called *Stephen*, the Queenes ſonne. But the ambitious Frier, not content with the agreement, by the meanes of a Frenchman, who was a ſpie for the Turke in that kingdome, he acquainted *Soliman* with the whole agreement and compoſition made between FERDINAND and the Queen. Wherewith *Soliman* being highly diſpleaſed, ſhortly after ſent the Beglerbey of *Grecia*; who paſſing with great celerity to *Belgrado*, came to *Beche*, and tooke it, with *Bekerque* and *Senate*: and hauing without any reſiſtance, vpon compoſition taken *Lippa*, he went without any oppoſition made by the Chriſtians, to *Themeſuar*; where encamping himſelfe, he vnderſtood that *Caſtaldos* Armie was come. Who with much adoe, hauing induced Frier *George*, then made Treaſorer of that kingdome, and Vaiuode of *Tranſiluania*, to leuie forces againſt the Turke, he brought it ſo to paſſe that he conſtrained the Beglerbey to raiſe his ſiege from before *Themeſuarre*; notwithſtanding that the Frier euer endeuored all that he could to hinder *Caſtaldo's* proceedings.

Lippa taken by Caſtaldo.

The Frier vnderſtanding of the Turkes departure, went to *Lippa*; where he ſtayed not long, til by Pope *Iulio* at the requeſt of FERDINAND, he was made Cardinall; yet he ſought to croſſe *Caſtaldos* deſignes, and to betray him and FERDINAND's whole Army into the hands of the Turkes: hoping by this meanes, not onely to reconcile himſelfe to *Soliman*, but to become abſolute Lord of *Tranſiluania*. Whoſe wicked practice being made fruſtrate, *Caſtaldo* continued the ſiege of *Lippa*: which after many skirmiſhes and aſſaults, comming into *Caſtaldos* power, was giuen in prey to the Souldiers, who loaden with ſpoyle, preſently beſieged the Fortreſſe; about which hauing ſpent ſome daies, they had taken the ſame, together with *Oliman* Gouernor thereof, if the Friers villany had not fruſtrated *Caſtaldo's* purpoſe; Who deſiring by theſe meanes to obtaine the Turkes good will, dealt ſo, that he ſet *Oliman* at liberty: wherewith *Caſtaldo* being infinitely diſpleaſed, ſought to abate the Friers authority: but failing of his purpoſe, he diſſembled the matter.

Meanwyfed by Caſtaldo to trap Frier George.

Winter being come, FERDINAND's forces leauing *Tranſiluania* (he being vnwilling they ſhould remaine there) ſtayed vpon the frontiers of the enemy. After whoſe departure CASTALDO conducting the Artillery into the kingdom, diſcouered to SFORZA PALLAVICINO that FERDINAND had commanded Frier GEORGE ſhould be put to death; but being vnable, without great circumſpection, to bring it to effect, he willed PALLAVICINO to be in a readineſſe vntill he gaue him further direction. In the meane time repairing to the Citadel at *Lippa*, he ſtayed neere to *Varadin*: and ſending his Army before, he ioyned with the Frier riding together in one Coach to *Buiſe*, in which place being againe ſolicited by FERDINAND to make away the Frier. CASTALDO ſpeedily wrote to SFORCE PALLAVICINO that as ſoone as hee might, he ſhould with his troupes come to conferre with him, about what courſe was to be taken in that buſineſſe. Wherupon PALLAVICINO comming to *Buiſe*, and hauing laid the plot for the Friers diſpatch, he went to ſeeke him iuſt at the time when he ſhould haue ſaid Maſſe: with whom CASTALDO holding a long diſcourſe ſhewed,

ed him ener a good countenance, notwithstanding that he was in all occasions croſt by him: and his inſolency was ſuch, that he forbare not openly to negociate with the Turkes. Whereupon CASTALDO directing thoſe which ſhould kill him, in what manner they ſhould diſpatch him; he appointed his ſecretary MARC ANTONIO FERRARI of *Alexandria* (vnder colour to get the Friers hand to certain Letters which SFORZA PALLAVICINO ſhould beare to FERDINAND) to come to him, vpon the eighteenth day of December, the ſame yeere. Who coming in the company of *Pallauicino* into the Caſtle with certaine Harguebuziers, and preſenting the Letters to the Frier, to the end he ſhould ſubſcribe them, after that the Frier had aduiſedly read them, ſtooping downe to write vpon a little table which was in the chamber, *Ferrari* drawing his poynard ſtabbed him twice; which being of no ſufficient force to kill him, it behoued *Pallauicino* (who vpon the noyſe ranne into the chamber) to ſet his helping hand to the worke: for the Frier was a gallant ſtrong fellow; who turning to him that ſtabbed him, threw him to the ground, and therewith made ſo great a noyſe, that *Pallauicino* comming into the chamber and ſeeing *Ferrari* downe, ſetting hand to his ſword, gaue the Frier ſuch a blow on his head, that he cleft the ſame in two: an act truely worthy of great reprehenſion, if the behauior of the man had not deſerued it. For Frier *George* was endued with ſuch excellency of wit, and therwith was of ſo generous a ſpirit, and ſo diligent in all matters of importance, that FERDINAND himſelfe (who cauſed him to be ſlaine) would often ſay openly, that he enuyed the Vayuode for nothing, but Frier *George*.

The death of Frier George.

The Frier dying in this manner ſuddenly, *Caſtaldo* impriſoned his great friend *Francis Thendi*, who to eſcape from FERDINANDS forces, had after the Turkiſh manner clad himſelfe in Scarlet, whoſe impriſonment was a great helpe to *Caſtaldo*: for *Thendi* being reconciled, was the cauſe that the *Sicoli*, a moſt fierce people of *Tranſiluania*, yeelded obedience to the King of the Romanes; which people with others, through *Caſtaldo's* endeuour, within fewe daies ſubmitted themſelues. But in the yeer one thouſand fiue hundred forty two, *Soliman* vnderſtanding of the death of Frier *George*, ſent two Armies into *Tranſiluania*, to inuade the ſame in two ſeuerall places: where *Caſtaldo* thinking by fortifying the frontiers, to entertaine the Turkes vntill the comming of an Army out of *Germany*, he ſent Frier *Georges* treaſure to FERDINAND; and taking *Seghedin*, had ſundry ſupplies from the Lords of that kingdome; and fortifying *Lippa* and *Themeſuarre* he gathered thoſe men together which (to auoide the rage of the Turkes) came to his Campe.

The death of Cardinall *George* bred great rumors and diſcontents in *Tranſiluania*: the inhabitants being much affected to their King, imagined that the death of Frier *George* did not proceed of any treaty he had with the Turkes, but that FERDINAND taking away the dogge which kept the flock, he might (as they ſaid) with more eaſe afterward deuoure it: but in the Conſiſtory at *Rome*, they were much ſcandalized, and FERDINAND blamed to haue committed ſo great an exceſſe vpon a ſacred perſon, and of that eminency. The matter was much aggrauated: and although that FERDINAND was otherwiſe well reſpected, and held for a iuſt Prince, and of great bounty; yet the Pope would not abſolue him, being excommunicate, without the conſent of the Cardinalls: but making the truth appeare by his miniſters, and the danger wherein thoſe Realmes were, if he ſhould not haue vſed that preuention, in the end hee obtained abſolution, not without the contradiction of many Cardinalls, whereto the Popes facility was a great helpe: And not long after, *Sforza*, and all the reſt that were actors in the death of Frier *George*, were in like manner abſolued, but with farre greater difficulty.

FERDINAND vnable to ſend ſuch ſuccours as he had promiſed, by reaſon of the warres in *Germany* between his brother the Emperor and *Maurice* Duke of *Saxony*, perſwaded *Caſtaldo* to beare his fortune in the beſt manner that poſſibly he could; promiſing with all poſſible ſpeed to relieue him. Who perceiuing that the Moldauian, and *Mahomet* Baſha were with a great Army come into *Hungary*, to inuade *Tranſiluania*; he ſent *Felix* Earle of *Arco*, to defend the Caſtle of *Braſouia*. And obtaining great reliefe and victuals, from the City of *Zibanio*, he endeuored to reinforce his troupes, and to fortifie many places; but this nothing furthered FERDINAND'S proceedings: For by reaſon that the Articles of agreement were not obſerued to *Iſabel*, many of thoſe people rebelled againſt him, and after much contention, hee was conſtrained to come to blowes with them: For ſpending much time, both in loſing, and in recouering, the Turks daily conquered more and more. Who taking *Lippa*, and *Themeſuarre*, with many other places, by an order from *Mahomet*; the Baſha, together with the

the Baſha of *Buda*, marched to the Caſtle of *Drigall*; before which lay *Sforza Pallauicino* with ſix thouſand men, Germanes and others: who valiantly aſſaulting the Caſtle, was at vnawares ſet vpon by the Baſha; with whom comming to fight, and performing the office both of a valiant Souldier, and prudent Captaine, he was in the end ouerthrowne, and ſhortly after with many other Captaines taken priſoner, and brought (by a Turke which charging him in the flanke with his Cimitare had wounded him very ſore) to the Baſha: from whom he was afterwards ranſomed for a great ſumme of mony. After which, *Mahomet* to the great ſlaughter of his men, took *Salonch*, built by FERDINAND in a ſtrong place beyond the riuer *Tiſſa*; the loſſe wherof greatly troubled FERDINAND. Who ſeeing that his affaires notwithſtanding the valour and wiſedome of *Caſtaldo* daily went from ill to worſe, and vnderſtanding that the people of *Tranſiluania* were wholly reuolted to the Queene, greatly fauoured by *Mahomet* Baſha, and that they had often practiſed to kill *Caſtaldo*, he commanded him that notwithſtanding *Mahomets* retreit, deſpairing to take *Agria*, long attempted by his people, he ſhould retire. Which *Caſtaldo* putting in execution, placed the Spaniſh and Dutch ſouldiers in *Zibinio*, and other places neere adiacent: and hauing fortified *Deua*, after much prouiſion made, he went to *Alba Iulia* to winter the reſt of his Army. In the meane time, abſolution came from *Rome* for thoſe which kild Frier *George*. And the yeere 1553 being come, *Francis Thendi*, fauouring the Queenes cauſe, brought it ſo to paſſe, that notwithſtanding the many Councels, wherein *Caſtaldo* was euer preſent, a great number of the Lords of *Tranſiluania* in the behalfe of the Queene, tooke Armes againſt FERDINAND, and expulſing FERDINAND'S forces, reeſtabliſhed her, together with her ſonne in her eſtate.

Sforza Pallauicino wounded, ouerthrown and taken priſoner by the Turkes, before the Caſtle of Drigall.

That yeer being ended, and the yeer 1554 begun, FERDINAND ſent his Ambaſſadors to his Nephew *Philip* in *England*, to congratulate his mariage with *Mary* Queen of that Country, who ſucceeded her brother *Edward*. And in the yeere 1555 dyed *Ioane*, mother to FERDINAND, and the Emperor *Charles* the fift, in *Spaine*; whoſe death FERDINAND took very grieuouſly. In the meane time taking a truce with the Turke, who vpon an acknowledgement of a tribute, ſuffered him peaceably to enioy all that he held in *Hungary*. King FERDINAND (as ſome write) did vpon the concluſion of this truce yeeld to pay vnto the Turke a yeerely penſion of 30000. crownes, but not by way of tribute; for the confirmation whereof, he ſent his Ambaſſadors to *Conſtantinople*. But the Baſha of *Buda* had no will to peace: for in the beginning of the yeere, 1556 he complained of wrongs done vnto them by the Garriſons of *Sigeth*, *Babott*, and other neighbour places; whereupon he drew together 10000. men, and ſurpriſed *Caposuiuer* and *Babot* ſuſpecting no danger; with the like hope he went to *Sigeth*, but tarried not: yet he returned ſoone after with a great Army and began the ſiege. The towne was defended by valiant ſouldiars, vnder the command of *Marke Hornato* a worthie gentleman, and of a noble family. At that time FERDINAND was troubled with tumults in *Tranſiluania*, procured by *Peter Vicchius*: who not onely perſwaded *Soliman* to cauſe *Tranſiluania* to be reſtored vnto him, belonging vnto him as he ſaid by hereditary right; but he alſo diſſwaded all the ſubiects from their obedience to the young Vayuode. Moreouer *George Bebequius* infeſted the confines of *Agria*, taking certaine caſtles with the helpe of the Valacchians. FERDINAND being oppreſſed with ſo many enemies, he ſent to the Princes of *Germany* being aſſembled at *Ratisbone*, to craue aide, and in the meane time he leuied ſoldiers with his owne reuenues. His troupes being ready, the rendez vous was appointed at *Canitia* a towne in *Stiria*, where they reſolued to beſiege *Babot*, thereby to relieue *Sigeth*. The Turks left the ſiege, and went with all ſpeede to incounter the chriſtians, where notwithſtanding that they were more in number and had the aduantage of the gound, yet they were beaten and forced to retire with very great loſſe; wherein 300 Auſtrian horſe which they called the black bandes, did ſo charge the Turks in the retreat as they confeſſed they neuer dealt with more fearefull enemies.

Sigeth attempted in vaine by the Turks.

The Turkes put to Rout at Babot.

FERDINAND being aduertiſed of this incounter at *Babot* he did much honour the Earle of *Serine* and the other commanders: and being deſirous to finiſh the warres he leuied new troupes and made his ſon FERDINAND Generall of the Army, but before he could attaine to the Campe, the Turks had againe inueſted *Sigeth* with a new ſiege: aſſuring themſelues to carrie it, they planted their battailes, and vſed all perſwaſions and threats to draw them to yeeld, but the gouernour nor his ſouldiers would not be moued, although they were in ſome want of powder and victuals, but made daily ſallyes and returned with much honour, and great ſpoiles, which made the Baſha deſpaire of the euent, and reſolued to leaue it. They write that the beſieged ſhewed ſuch valour, as the Baſha wept, hearing that he had ſlaine but one chriſtian in fiue daies

The Turkes leaue Sigeth.

daies, and so he retired. The Arch-duke FERDINAND beeing come to *Canisia* to the Army, they took *Carioth*, *Babot*, Saint *Martins*, and diuerse other Townes in those parts: and the garrison of *Sigeth* being now at liberty, went as far as the walls of *Quinqueecclesia*, and brought away great spoils. *Charles Serotin*, a Baron of *Morauia*, was sent to refresh *Sigeth* with victualls, powder, and all kinde of warlike munition: the which hauing performed accordingly, he returned within few dayes to the Archduke; who hearing that the Turkes drew all their forces together, and seeing Winter approach, and diseases to creepe into his Armie, hauing freed *Sigeth* from Seege (which was the chiefe end of that expedition) he resolued to returne to *Vienna*, being also called home by Letters from FERDINAND his father, who receiued him ioifully about the end of *November*. In the Archdukes retreat, the Turkes (contrary to their vsuall custome) neuer followed, but like men amazed kept themselues within their defences: soone after *Soliman* made a truce with FERDINAND, but the affaires of *Transiluania* would not suffer it to hold.

Exploits of the Archduke Ferdinand in Hungary.

Truce made with the Turks.

There came a Turkish Embassador into *Transiluania*, who bringing (as hee sayd) hope of peace, they intreated FERDINAND to giue them leaue to treat with him. A conference then being appointed by his sufferance, the Turke deliuered a farre other charge then they expected: which was, that expelling FERDINAND's soldiers, they should presently receiue *Iohn*, (who was baptized by the name of *Stephen*) sonne to the first Vayuode, for their King: which being done *Soliman* would accept of their tribute, and vouchsafe them his fauour; but if they did otherwise, he would take reuenge of them. He did also write vnto *Andrew Battori*, a man of great credit amongst the Transiluanians, complaining that they had receiued forraine forces, who committed many insolencies, and that he would come with a great Army, to expel them, punishing them seuerely, if they did not obey his commandements. The Transiluanians being terrified with these threats, acquainted *Castaldo* withall: who came vnto the assembly of the Noble men; where he refuted all *Solimans* threats, perswading the Transiluanians, rather to dye honorably, then to liue basely in the Turkish seruitude. Wherefore, it was concluded to pay him the promised tribute, the which if he refused, then to command him to depart out of their confines; but the Ambassador seeing he could obtain no other thing, receiued the tribute and returned.

The Turke threatneth the Transiluanians.

After which, *Isabell* mother to *Iohn* the Vaiuode, expelling all that fauoured FERDINAND got the whole gouernment into her hands, partly through the peoples fauour, and partly relying vpon the Turks, and Polonians friendship: which she might effect the more easily, for that the plague had consumed many thousands of men, and made the whole countrey in a manner desolate. FERDINAND did forbeare to take Armes against her though iustly incensed, knowing that the king of *Poland* and other Princes, would treat with him about a peace.

CHARLES the Emperor hauing giuen vp the states of the Low Countries, the kingdoms of *Spaine*, and all his other kingdomes to his son *Philip*; FERDINAND sought to suppresse and extinguish the preaching of the Gospell in *Germany*; and receiuing Letters of his brothers renunciation made to his son, he infinitely commended his resolution.

That yeere being ended, and the yeere 1556 being come, he was aduertised that his brother the Emperour hauing renounced the Empire vnto him, was retired into *Spaine*, to leade a solitary life; for which yeelding him thankes by his Letters and Ambassadours, he went to *Viena* to make prouision for the warres, which (as it was said) *Soliman* would make in *Hungary*: where spending the rest of that yeer, he remained vntill the yeere 1557. In the beginning of which yeere, he interposed himselfe betweene King *Philip* and the Pope, perswading them to peace: for the Pope induced by his Nephew the Cardinall *Caraffa*, made warre against the King. And that yeere being ended, in the beginning of the yeere 1558, he was by the Electors according to the will of his brother *Charles*, chosen and proclaimed Emperor; no man but the Pope contradicting his election, who affirmed that the resignation made by the Emperour *Charles* could not be done without the Popes consent: but his exception being reiected, FERDINAND was chosen and proclaimed lawfull Emperour. Not long after, hee had newes that his brother *Charles* was departed out of this world: for whose death he with his whole Court were very sorie; neuertheless suppressing his griefe, he celebrated the exequies with great pompe, and presently sent his Ambassadours to King *Philip*, to condole the common losse. Soone after the decease of the Emperour *Charles*, in the beginning of the yeere 1559, FERDINAND vsed all his endeauour to make a peace betweene King *Philip*, and *Henry* the French King; which after many treaties being concluded, and an alliance made, he was exceeding glad, for that after seuentie

Peace betweene King Philip of Spaine and Henry of France.

tie yeeres continuall dissension, peace was now made betweene those two mighty kings, which was proclaimed through all Christendome. A little while after, in the beginning of the yeere 1560, FERDINAND was confirmed in the Empire by the new Pope, who willingly approued his election, and held it an vnworthie thing, after a peace so long desired, againe to bring *Italy* into new combustions: and so following the desire of that Prince, hee consented to the calling of a Counceil. In the yeere 1561 he made proclamation to all Prelates and Nations, of a Councell to be held the yeere following, wherein the Articles proponed by the Lutherans should be determined. And in the yeere 1562 a Councell was againe called, to be held in the city of *Trent*, whither FERDINAND sending the Prelates of his dominion, perswaded al the Princes of *Germany* to doe the like: and writing to his Nephew King PHILIP, and to the King of *Portugal*, and to all the other Princes of Christendome, he vsed such meanes that al the Princes according to his desire, sent the Bishops of their countries with their particular Ambassadours to that Councell, wherein the matters of greatest importance were handled concerning religion. In which time FERDINAND desiring that some one of his sons after his decease might succeede him in the Imperiall dignity, he called the Princes Electors to a Councell held at *Franckford*, where propounding to them his desire, he alleaged that in respect of the Turk it was requisite it should be so; and after the matter had been long debated, he obtained his purpose to his content: which being concluded, he made his son MAXIMILIAN within fewe daies after to be crowned King of the Romans. After which ceremonies, going to *Ispruch* to see his daughters, he vnderstood that the truce lately treated of with SOLIMAN, not only took effect for ten yeers, but that at his sute Don ALVARO *de Sande* was released out of prison, together with three other principall Knights, taken in the yeer one thousand, fiue hundred sixty, in the enterprise of *Tripoli*, by DRAGVT RAIS. At that time were great wars in *France* between the Papists and the Huguenots, which the Emperor sought to haue pacified: but that nation was so extremely incensed, that the Emperors perswasions could nothing preuail among them.

The Emp. confirmed by Pope Pius 4.

In the yeer 1564, the Councell of *Trent* being dissolued, FERDINAND came to *Vienna*; where falling sick of an Ague, and knowing by the vehemency of his disease that his life drew neer to an end, he sent for all his children, which then were dispersed into sundry places: to whom after he had giuen his blessing, together with many good exhortations, hee rendred his soule to God vpon the fift day of Iuly in the same yeer. He was a Prince by all men reputed to be of singular bounty and piety, and of a most gentle and pleasing disposition, not very strong of body, but repleniſhed with so much majesty, that whosoeuer saw him could not but respect him: for, being of a pleasing and affable condition, hee would most curteously incline himself to euery one that came to salute him. He was naturally merry, free from surfetting, and wore his beard rather short than long; and his hair so long, that it couered his eies, with some baudnes. He was in all his actions (prosperous or aduerse) alwaies constant, houlding all things to happen to him by the will of God. He confessed himself three or foure times in the yeer, and with great deuotion receiued the Communion, willing that euery one in his Court should doe the like: so that his house seemd to be rather a regular Monastery, than a Court of secular men. He left behinde him many children, and had in all fifteen; foure sonnes, and the rest daughters, which were married to sundry Princes in Christendome. ISABELL, which was his first, was giuen in marriage to SIGISMVND King of *Poland*: ANNE was wife to the Duke of *Bauier*; MARY, to the Duke of *Cleue*; MAGDALEN, a chaste Virgin; CATHERINE, to FRANCIS, Duke of *Mantoa*; ELENOR, to WILLIAM Duke of *Mantoa*: MARGARET was a Nun: BARBARA was married to ALFONSE the second Duke of *Ferrara*; VRSVLA a Virgin and a Nunne: HELEN liued but a little while; and IOAN was wife to FRANCIS the great Duke of *Tuscane*. Of sonnes, besides the Emperor MAXIMILIAN, he had FERDINAND and CHARLES, Arch-dukes of *Austria*, and IOHN, who died very yong. Hee had but one onely wife, and (as it was said) neuer before nor after knew any other woman but her; whom he loued so entirely, that he would not marry the second time. Hee much loued learned men, and gaue them great pensions for their maintenance. Hee neuer vndertook any warres but for religion; either against the Turk or the Lutherans, whom he vehemently persecuted.

The death of the Emperor Ferdinand.

FERDINAND hauing been King of *Hungary* and *Bohemia* foure and thirty yeers, and Emperor seuen; to the great grief of his people, and of all the Princes of Christendom, ended his daies: After whose decease, his obsequies being celebrated with great pomp, sundry funerall

Ora-

Orations were made by diuers learned men: and his body being carried through *Moravia* into *Bohemia*, was buried in *Prague* by his wife.

Ferdinand's speech to his son Maximilian.

FERDINAND seeing his end draw neere, called King MAXIMILIAN his sonne (who was to succeede him in the Empire) to whom he made a long speach, touching the gouernment of himselfe, and state, the which according to *Vilos's* relation, I haue presumed to set downe *Verbatim*, for that it deserues to be written in gold, for a perpetuall president for all Princes to imitate: his words were these. Deere son seeing it hath pleased his diuine maiesty to call me vnto him, and that my soule shall leaue these earthly spoiles, I haue thought good to impart some things vnto you, which I hold very necessary: the which I intreate you to heare with an attentiue eare, seeing I deliuer them with a ioyfull heart: know then sonne that I leaue this world ioyfully, for that I found my selfe in a lodging which was not firme nor constant, wherewith I was much troubled: I repent not the time that I haue liued, hauing imployed the whole course of my life in the seruice of god, and the increase of his holy faith: and I depart contented for that I leaue thee my son, in whom as in a liuely image of my body and soule, I trust, although I be dead, yet I shall in some sort liue, and that thou wilt imitate me in all my actions, according to my desire. The which I intreate thee to doe if thou louest me and thy selfe; and let it be thy chiefest study and care, to the end the world may know that thou art my son, and the strong pillar and firme support of the house of *Austria*: The which shall be easie when as thy counsels and actions, shall be squared by the rule of honesty and honor. Next if thou shalt set before thine eyes the reputation and glory of RODVLPHVS (a great Prince, the honor of our house, and an excellent Emperor) of FREDERICK thy great Grandfather, of MAXIMILIAN thy Grandfather; of *Charles* the Fift thine Vncle, inuincible Emperours; and of my self who am thy father; and if like a good childe, thou shalt imitate their famous and worthy deeds, they will make thee glorious in future ages: but if thou shalt doe the contrarie, thou shalt reape nothing but infamy and dishonor; For they which spring from noble and glorious Princes are held base and vnworthy, when as their actions doe not concurre with their progenitors whose deedes are not without great iudgement recorded in writing to posterity. It shall not be needful to tell thee what helpes the valiant and worthy deedes of our progenitors haue giuen to mee and the Emperour my brother, in the laborious course of our liues, for that our actions do shew them. Know then sonne, that I leaue thee a heauy burthen, that is the gouernment of the Empire and of my kingdomes: but if thou proueste a good and vertuous Prince, they will seeme light vnto thee: be then my son such a one, as thy subiects may not lament the losse of thy father: that is to saie, striue to exceede me in their good vsage and gouernment. And to the end (with the Empire and state which I leaue thee) thou maiest haue Armes to defend them, I will put thee in minde like a good father what thou art to doe, the which will be happie and valiant Armes. Those things which I loued in my life (if thou wilt shew thy self to be my son) do not contemne after my death: I recommend strictly vnto thee the worship of religion, reuerence to the Sea of *Rome*, honour to God, and iustice, if thou wilt haue thy gouernment continue long. Consider, all wisemen direct their actions to purchase fame in this world and eternall glory in that which is to come. I mean a good name, not by their vain glory, but that God may be honored, and by their good example of life and works, others (which shall succeede) may take example; Thou must consider that a good Prince may attaine to both. Seeke not that fame which he had that burnt DIANA'S Temple, or that of ALEXANDER, and IVLIVS CAESAR, which was so preiudiciall to the world. A good fame is purchased by good workes, not by bad; If thou wouldest truly attaine to that which all others seeke, striue rather to be called a good Prince then a great, haue a care rather to better, then to increase thine Empire, endeuoring to imitate such as gouerne their estates well, not those which got them or increased them: for that many seeking to gaine another mans, lose their owne: what the Prince is, such are his subiects: striue then to be such a one as thou wouldest haue thy people. If thou beest a gamester, all will play: if thou followest women, all will be luxurious; if ambitious euery man will seeke to rise, at what rate soeuer: and if thou beest superstitious thou shalt see superstition raigne. But if thou beest religious and a good Prince, O what profit will it bring thee? If thou wouldest free thy selfe from the heauie burthen of importunities, shew thy selfe to be much displeased with ambition. If thou canst doe this thou maiest call thy selfe happy: If thou shalt propound vertue for the reward of all thy labours, thou shalt neuer liue discontented, and thy subiects wil do the like. If thou canst attaine to this, thou maist sleepe securely: finally I put thee in minde that what thou art, such will thy subiects be: striue then to be good if thou wilt haue them good.

Princes should in their actions imitate their predecessors vertues.

The

What Princes chiefly want.

The greatest want we Princes haue, is of men that will tell vs the truth; wherefore giue liberty to all men, that they may admonish and reproue thee; and they that doe it freely, hold them for thy truest friends. As thou dost exceede other men in honor and dignity, so must thou exceede them in vertue. Remember sonne that a common-weale is not instituted for a King; but a King is ordained for a Common-weale: For that many Common-weales, haue flourished without a Prince; but no Prince hath continued long without a State. Striue rather to be beloued then feared, for that no State is long preserued by feare. Whilest thou art only feared, thou shalt haue as many enemies, as subiects: But if thou art beloued, thou shalt not neede any guarde, for that euery vassaile will be a Halberdier. If thou wilt be beloued, Loue; for that Loue is not purchased but with Loue. Loue thy subiects in such sort, as thou maiest alwaies preferre a generall good, before thine owne affections, or thy priuate intrest. Be such a friend to truth, as there may be more credit giuen to thy bare word, then to another mans Oath. Haue more care to gouerne thy selfe, bridling thine affections, then thy subiects; for if thou wilt not obey thy selfe, why shouldst thou be obeyed by others? Maintaine thy grauity in such sort as becomes a prince; and on the other side, be pleasing, courteous, and affable. Remember how other Princes haue liued, imitating the good, and flying the euill. Let nothing proceede out of thy mouth, that may be iniurious or dishoneſt. Punish no man, being angry; for choler giues no way to reason, and thou maist afterwards repent it. Be not carried away with the opinion of the Vulgar, but alwaies embrace the aduice of wise men: For, those Common-weales may iustly be called happy, which are gouerned by the wise. Gouerne thy subiects in such sort as all thy care may be, that no man shall exceede thee in good Gouernement, and iustice. Whilest thou art yong, set alwaies before thine eyes, that thou art not only a Prince and Pastor: but reuerence the Christian faith, making account that it is most necessary for Princes to follow it. Striue to seeme a Christian, not only in outward Ceremonies; but with Christian works. Offend not God, seeing thou hast sworne him to be thy Lord. With what face dareſt thou punish one that hath betrayed thee, if thou beest a Traytor to thy Lord? The more powerfull a Prince is, the more staied and circumspect he should be, not respecting what he may doe, but what he ought to doe; imagining that he stands vpon a high Tower, whereas all the World beholds him, and that no vice can be concealed. If thou maiest defend thy State without preiudice to thy subiects, hold it the best course; for that the Prince was ordained for the Common-wealth, and not the Common-wealth for the Prince. Remember CODRVS and OTHO, who (although they were Pagans) desired rather to die, then to defend their estates with the losse of humane blood. Hold it better to be a iust man, then an vniust Prince; for that a good Prince deserues a great reward, and a wicked merits grieuous punishment. If thou wilt be held a good Prince, striue to be like vnto God, not doing any thing which he would not doe. There are three things chiefly attributed vnto God, Power, Knowledge, and bounty; He that hath the first, and wants the rest, is no King but a Tyrant: Know that the difference betwixt a King and a Tyrant, is not in the name, but in the actions. If thou shalt doe the workes of a Tyrant, they may well, whileſt thou liueſt, tearme thee king, but when thou art dead, they will call thee Tyrant. Wouldst thou know the difference that ARISTOTLE sets betwixt a King and a Tyrant? A King affects the good of the Common-wealth; and a Tyrant seekes his owne profit. Endeuour to leaue thy kingdomes better then I now leaue them, and this shall be thy true glory. Consider there is a contract and conditions betwixt the Prince and the people: if thou doeſt not that which thou oughtst vnto thy subiects, they are not bound to performe their duties vnto thee; with what face canst thou demand thy rents, if thou dost not pay them? Remember that they are men and not beasts, and thou art a sheapheard of men, and not of sheepe. Seeing that all men learne the Art whereby they liue, why shouldst not thou learn the Art to become a good Prince? the which is the most excellent of all others. Be contented with the name of King or Prince, not striuing to be so; for it may be they will call thee Tyrant: For he is no true Prince, to whom a kingdome commeth by succession, but he who by his actions striues to be so. He is a free King which gouernes and commands himselfe, and the other is a slaue, who cannot restraine and bridle his affections. If thou vaunteſt thy selfe to be free, why shouldst thou obey thy passions, which is the most infamous and brutish seruitude of all other. I haue seene many free-men serue, and many slaues to be serued: A slaue is a seruant by force, and cannot be blamed if he be so, seeing it is not in his owne power; but a vicious man, who is a voluntary slaue, ought not to be put in the number of men: Wherefore loue liberty, and learne to be truely a King. Be so carefull of the good gouernement of thy sub-

ſubiects, as thou maiſt neuer ſleepe one whole night without it: Studie not how to paſſe away thy time; but how to looſe it. Barbarous Kings, eſpecially in *Perſia*, maintained their Maieſty by hiding themſelues from their ſubiects; but thou on the other ſide (following my example) ſhalt keepe thy gates alwaies open to the poore, rather then the rich; for they haue more neede of thy fauor then theſe. In thy anſweres follow the aduice of ARISTOTLE, Thoſe which be good and milde giue thy ſelfe: the bitter and ſowre leaue vnto thy Miniſters, and let no man depart from thee iuſtly diſcontented. What thou haſt to giue, giue it ſpeedily and cheerefully, of thine owne free will; and giue them no cauſe to thanke others, for the fauors which thou thy ſelfe doeſt them. Baniſh from thee ſuch as ſeeke out new meanes to oppreſſe and grieue thy ſubiects, and remember that the poore, not the rich, pay tributes and exactions. Be ſo deſirous to doe good, as thou maiſt thinke to haue loſt that day, wherein thou haſt not aſſiſted ſom one. Honor the good and vertuous, more then the rich and powerfull, and thou ſhalt make all men to follow vertue. Admit no idle men into thy kingdomes, for they will breede a world of miſchiefes. Be tractable to pardon thine owne iniuries; for, if an equall to thy ſelfe hath done it, thou canſt not take reuenge, without preiudice to thy ſubiects and his, who haue not offended: If a priuate man doth thee wrong, the greater thy power is to reuenge, the better will thy clemency appeare. Let thy exerciſes be honeſt, holy, good, and profitable to the Common-wealth. O how well it becomes a Prince, to heare the afflictions and grieuances of his ſubiects, and to redreſſe them! Imitate not thoſe who vnburthen themſelues, all they can, of matters of iuſtice; for it is thy chiefe office. Think alwaies of the meanes, by the which thou maiſt gouerne thy ſubiects: endeuor alwaies to know the nature and manners, not only of thine owne ſubiects, but alſo of ſtrangers. Be alwaies in peace and friendſhippe with thy neighbors; contend not with them, leſt it breede thee warre and diſcord. Learne rather by Hiſtories, then by experience, how dangerous and pernicious warre is: Let this be a ſpeciall remembrance vnto thee, that thou neuer vndertake warre, for hatred, or priuate intereſt; and when thou ſhalt be forced vnto it, let it not be ſo much for thy ſelfe as for thy ſubiects. Conſider firſt of all (which will be moſt commodious) whether to vndertake it, or leaue it; and being forced vnto it, let it bee with extreme neceſſity. But firſt endeuour to make an accord: for, peace is better then iuſt warre; from the which thou muſt endeuor to flie, if it were for no other reſpect, but for the honor of the name of a Chriſtian, being much oppoſite vnto it. Make war againſt Turks and Infidels; for otherwiſe they will not only make Chriſtians ſlaues, and force them by torments to deny the faith of Chriſt, but alſo ruine Chriſtendome, and prophane the Temples of Chriſt: But let it neuer come into thy minde, to make warre againſt them, for thine owne priuate intereſt, or for Ambition. Conſider, that vnder this colour of making warre againſt Infidels, there lurkes much poyſon: and when thou haſt conquered them, labor to conuert them to the faith of Chriſt, principally by good workes; For, with what face canſt thou aduiſe them to becom Chriſtians, if thou and thine in your actions be worſe then Infidels? It will be no great matter to conquer the Moores and Turkes, if they ſhall ſee Chriſtian vertues to ſhine in thee and thine, wherefore with theſe labor to conuert them: It imports much whether thy conuerſation be good or bad, and with whom thou doſt conuerſe; therefore ſtriue alwaies to draw into thy company good and vertuous men, and chaſe away the wicked and vicious, which may corrupt thee and be very hurtfull. Loue them which reproue thee freely, and hate ſuch as flatter thee. Doe not obſerue what company is moſt pleaſing vnto thee: but what will be moſt behooueſull for thee; for there is no beaſt ſo venemous. nor creature ſo pernicious and uhrtfull about a Prince, as flatterers, and ambitious perſons: For, the vulgar ſort, who know not the diſpoſition of their Prince, doe alwaies thinke that he is like vnto his fauorites; if they be vertuous, they hold him for vertuous; if wicked and vicious, they eſteeme him the like: Conſider then how carefull thou oughteſt to be in making choice of ſuch as ſhall conuerſe with thee; chiefly make choice of a Confeſſor that is ſincere, pure, incorrupt, of good life and fame, and not ambitious. The principall part of the good gouernement of thy kingdome conſiſts, in that thou beeſt good: and the ſecond, that thou prouide good Miniſters; wherefore conſider well how thou giueſt thy Offices, thy Benefices and thy Biſhoppericks; there is none worthy of any adminiſtration in the Common-weale, but he that takes it by conſtraint, and againſt his will. Wherefore it would be very profitable vnto thee, neuer to giue any Office, Benefice or Biſhopperick, to him that ſeekes it, but to him that being vertuous, and full of baſhfulneſſe, will not ſue for any thing. And know for certaine, that ſuch as ſeek them, are inſufficient to gouerne them; for either they know what they demand, or not. If they know not, they deſerue it not; and if they know and demand it, they diſcouer themſelues to be proud, ambitious, and wicked. Neuer commit matter of iuſtice, but to men that are vncorrupt and good, and who accept them being intreated: for, committing them to others, thy ſubiects ſhall ſuffer oppreſſion; for there is nothing more pernicious, then to haue couetous iudges, who affect gouernement to oppreſſe the people. Let the iudges keepe their reſidence; and forget not ſometimes to ouerſee them, rewarding the good and puniſhing the badde; where I would not haue thee vſe clemency, nor with thy ſeruants, which ſhall forget their duties: but puniſh them with more rigour then other men, both for that they are more bound to be good, being neere vnto thee; as alſo for that part of the infamy redounds vpon thee. Puniſh falſe-witneſſes and ſcandalous accuſers by TALION's Law. In making of Lawes, haue more reſpect vnto the publike good, then to thine owne particular. What thou ſhalt ſee profitable to thy ſubiects, do it before they intreate thee. Be diligent and reſolute in that thou haſt to doe, leſt in the action thou loſeſt the occaſion, and in the benefit the thankes. Striue euer to purchaſe a good name rather then riches or great eſtates: for, the one, wicked men attaine vnto by money; but the other good men only purchaſe by vertue. Loue and feare God, who will teach thee all the reſt, and guide thee in all thy actions. I haue long deſired to ſpeake this vnto thee, but I neuer had oportunity; wherefore I intreate thee (deere ſonne) ſo to imprint it in thine heart, that thou maiſt neuer forget it. Laſtly, I commend vnto thee thy brethren, ſiſters, and kinſfolkes: intreate them in ſuch ſort, as they may not be diſgraced, their old father being dead, nor growe proude ſeeing their brother Emperor. Moreouer I recommend vnto thee my old ſeruants, to whom my long cares, my troubles, warres, affaires, and my long infirmitie, haue been the cauſe of much toyle. And if they ſerued me faithfully vnto death, it is reaſon they ſhould be rewarded: and although my bodie remaines in the graue with the Wormes, yet will I be alwaies mindefull of them before God. Herein thou ſhalt ſhew thy ſelfe a good ſonne, rewarding thoſe which ſerued thy Father. Aboue all things I will put thee in mind, and hold it for good aduice, Be euer in peace and league with PHILIP King of *Spaine*, my Nephew, and thy Cozen, and ſonne to that father whom I loued much; from whom thou maiſt alwaies receiue good aſſiſtance. And when it ſhall be fit for thee to make a league with him againſt Infidels; I exhort you to doe it, for that with your two forces, you may with more facility ruine the common Enemy. I commend vnto you your brethren, whom I haue enioyned to be obedient vnto you. Loue them, and liue in Peace and Charitie, like good brethren: It ſhall bee a great ioy vnto mee, and my bleſſing ſhall bee with thee, and with you all together, with the Grace of our Lord GOD: to whom I giue infinite thankes, that hee hath done mee this fauour, that I might ſpeake this vnto thee, and bleſſe thee with my hand, as I doe.

THE LIFE OF MAXIMILIAN, SECOND OF THAT NAME, AND HVNDRETH AND SEVENTEENTH ROMAN EMPEROR.

(*k*)

THE ARGVMENT.

HIS life containeth little else, but the Countries, Parentage and Noble descent of Maximilian, *with his acts in the warres in Germany against the Lantzgraue, his going into Spaine to gouerne the same for King* Philip, *his assumption to the Imperiall dignity, with his warres with the Turkes at Sigeth, and the Election of his sonne* Rodulph *for King of the Romanes, with some other occurrents concerning the Turkish Warres.*

THE house of *Austria*, amongst the chiefe houses of *Germany*, is euery way very Noble, and hath beene so of long time (as it euidently appeareth) not only through the hereditary succession of the Empire, from the father to the sonne, in tenne Emperours, from the yeere 1273, at what time RODVLPH the First was chosen Emperour of the Germanes; but also in that it hath since that time in short space, with admirable felicity, not only in *Germany* enlarged the small confines of *Habspurge* and *Hassia* (the antient inheritance thereof) but through the singular protection of the heauens, it hath by inheritance attained to the kingdomes of *Bohemia*, and *Hungary*, the Duchie of *Austria*, the Countie of *Flanders*, with the estates of the lower *Germany*, the kingdoms of *Spain*, with all those countries of the East and West *Indies* (to the wonder of the World, by CHRISTOPHER COLVMBVS a Genowaies, and AMERICVS VESPVSIVS, a Florentine, newly found and discouered; which for their greatnesse, and the nouelty of the action, are called the new world) together with the kingdomes of *Sicilia* and *Naples*; and lastly the Duchie of *Milan*, farre excelling all the other Dukedomes in Christendome. Of which family, in the yeer of our Lord, one thousand fiue hundred twenty seuen, the Emperour MAXIMILIAN the Second of that name, borne in the Citty of *Vienna* in *Austria*, had to his father FERDINAND, brother to the Emperor CHARLES the Fift, sonne of PHILIP the First, King of *Spaine*, Nephew to MAXIMILIAN the First, son of FREDERICK the Third, Emperours of the Almaines: his mother was ANNE the daughter of LADISLAAS King of *Hungary* and of *Bohemia*, Nephew of the great SIGISMVND, sonne of CASSIMIER King of *Poland*, and sister to that LEVVES which through the vnaduised counsell of PAVLVS TOMOREVS Archbishoppe of *Colossa*, in the yeere of our Lord one thousand fiue hundred twenty six, comming to a battaile with SOLIMAN King of

The dominions of the house of Austria.

The linage of the Emperor Maximilian.

of the Turkes, was not onely through the innumerable multitude of the Ottomans lamentably ouerthrowne; but also when hee sought to haue saued himselfe from his enemies; was (through the weightinesse of his Armour, wherewith hee was oppressed, and the stumbling of his Horse, which fell vpon him in a passage ouer a Marrish or Fenne) most miserably drowned.

This Emperour shewing euen from his infancy the excellency of his wit, was by his father the Emperour FERDINAND committed to very learned men, by them to be instructed in good Literature, but chiefly in variety of tongues; wherein in short space he so much profited, that he not only spake Latin very elegantly, Spanish, French, Italian, Dutch, Hungarish, and Bohemish; but also very perfectly attained to the knowledge of the Sciences, particularly the Mathematicks. So that all men did confidently hope that he would proue no way inferior to his progenitors. And he no sooner came to yeeres fit to beare Armes, but that he sundry times gaue no lesse testimony and proofe of his noble valour, seeking to imitate his Grandfather MAXIMILIAN whose name he bare: which he expressly manifested when in the yeere one thousand fiue hundred fifty six, in the warres which his Vncle the Emperour CHARLES the Fift made against IOHN FREDERICK Duke of *Saxony*, and PHILIP Lantzgraue of *Hessen*, he went to that warre, sent thither by his father with the commaund of twelue thousand horse; hauing before that time, been euer present in the warres which his father had with the Turkes. In that seruice of his Vncle the Emperour CHARLES, he so nobly behaued himselfe, that he therin sundry times deserued to be compared with his Grandfather MAXIMILIAN; for he constantly enduring, with the greatnesse of his minde, all those wants and fortunes which the troubles of the wars bring with them, was euer the first man in all seruices, wherein he made no lesse shew of a valiant man at Armes, then of a discreete Chiefetaine: which made him so deerly beloued by his Vncle the Emperour, that the ciuill warre being ended (which continued little lesse then two yeers) he considering that his sonne PHILIP Prince of *Spaine* was to be inuested in the County of *Flanders*, together with the Prouinces of the lower *Germany*, and being vnwilling that *Spaine* should remaine without some man of authority to gouern the same, fearing the pride of that Nation ordinarily desirous of nouelties; notwithstanding that he was his Nephew, yet by the dispensation of Pope PAVL the Third, he made him his sonne in law, giuing him his daughter MARY to wife, and therewith made him gouernour of those kingdomes. And those nuptiall rites being celebrated, MAXIMILIAN in the yeer one thousand fiue hundred forty eight, went into *Spaine*, being first by his father FERDINAND King of the Romanes, made King of *Bohemia*, to whom the Lords of that kingdome sware obedience as to their king and naturall Lord.

Before his comming into *Spaine*, passing through *Italy*, he was by all the Italian Princes visited and highly honoured; and being arriued at the City of *Genoa*, and there shortly after embarked in the Gallies of Prince DORIA, he passed to *Barcelona*: whence taking his way towards *Vailledolit*, where the Spanish Court then lay, he was in the name of his espouse and of his cosin-Germane oftentimes visited by the principall Lords of *Spaine*.

Finally, within few daies after his comming to the Court, hauing with applause of the Spanish Nation celebrated his nuptials, he was settled in the gouernement of those kingdomes, in the absence of Prince PHILIP: which he with great quietnesse, to the contentment of that people gouerned, vntill that in the beginning of the yeer one thousand fiue hundred fifty one, the Emperor CHARLES summoned a Councell to be held in *Ausburgh*; whither being by his father sent for, he came from *Spaine* into *Germany*, hauing first left the gouernement of those kingdomes to his wife Queen MARY, and to the Councell royall: and staying there till the end of the Councell, he went with his father the king of the Romanes to *Vienna*: where making his abode till the beginning of the yeere one thousand fiue hundred fifty two, and then passing from *Germany* againe into *Spaine*, to bring his wife into his Countries, he came from *Barcelona*, (after that he had been molested by the French fleete) to *Genoa*; and from thence comming to *Trent*, he went to *Ausburgh*, where by the Emperor CHARLES the Fift, he was kindely receiued, and together with his wife was by the Germane Princes much honoured; but particularly by his father, who then absolutely resigned vnto him the gouernement of the kingdome of *Bohemia*: which to the great contentment of the Bohemians hee euer after gouerned so long as hee liued.

From thence in the same yeer he sent great troups of men to the Emperor, for his wars against MAVRICE Duke of *Saxony*, who by reason of the imprisonment of the Lantzgraue

PHILIP warring against the Emperour, was proclaimed traitor: but it was not long before the Emperor was freed from that trouble. And MAXIMILIAN recalling his forces, peaceably applied himselfe to the gouernment of *Bohemia*, without that any matter of moment happened; vntill that in the yeere 1554, he together with his father sent his Ambassadours to congratulate the marriage of his cosin King PHILIP with the daughter of King HENRY the Eight, then by the death of her brother EDVVARD, Queene of *England*.

In the yeere 1558, he was present at the Coronation of his father, who by the Emperour CHARLES the fift was adopted Emperour, and accepted by the Princes of *Germany*. Afterwards taking his way with his father towards *Viena*, he returned into *Bohemia*; where within a while after, vnderstanding of the death of his Vncle and father in law the Emperor CHARLS, he with great pomp celebrating his Obsequies, sent Ambassadors to his cosin PHILIP to condole the death of the deceased Emperour. In which actions ending the yeere present and next following; in the yeere 1560, after foure moneths vacancie, IOHN ANGELO DE MEDICIS being chosen Pope, and called PIVS the fourth, he sent his Ambassadors to yeeld his obedience to the Church of *Rome*. And in the yeere 1562, FERDINAND desiring that his sonne MAXIMILIAN should succeede him in the Empire, assembled a Councell in *Franckford*; where proponing to the Electors his determination, he so handled the matter, that by the generall consent and good will of all men, MAXIMILIAN was chosen and crowned King of the Romanes; with great applause of the Germanes and the Italians, who for his rare qualities dearely loued him. Then being according to his fathers desire created his successor, he departed towards *Viena*, first visiting his sisters which were in *Isprvch*, where he remained vntill the yeere 1564, in which yeere his father dyed; whose Obsequies hee together with his brothers sumptuously celebrated. After which, hee receiued Ambassadors from the Princes, which as to the successiue Emperour and King of *Hungary* and *Bohemia* came to doe him honour: amongst many which came, were the Ambassadors of *Spaine* and of *Portugall*; MAXIMILIAN being then receiued and accepted by the Christians for lawful Emperour.

Maximilian chosen and crowned King of the Romans.

Hauing scarce finished his fathers obsequies, newes came of new combustions. The Vaiuode of *Transiluania*, who was comprehended in the Turks peace and restrained with the hope of a royall affinity, continued for a time quiet: but now either thinking that FERDINAND's peace had been dissolued by death, or incraged by the ill aduice of some lewd persons, or else prouoked by his neighbours iniuries, he surprised *Satmaria*, by a notable stratagem. MELCHIOR BALASSVS was gouernour thereof for FERDINAND, a valiant man and actiue, who in former times, had taken many townes from the Vaiuode vpon the confines of *Transiluania*. Hauing taken the towne, the Castle (although it were very strong) made small resistance: where the gouernour lost his goods, and his wife and children were led into captiuity. BALASSVS (being sore wounded) escaped, and after his recouery he surprised *Debreim*, a towne of good note belonging to the Transiluanians: and hauing spoiled it he set it on fire. The newes of the losse of *Satmaria* was vnexpected to MAXIMILIAN, and the more troublesome for that hee was then diuerted with other cares. The Vaiuode was not ignorant that it would be displeasing vnto CESAR, pretending that he had done nothing against the peace, laying all the blame vpon the Emperors gouernors, especially vpon BALASSVS; affirming that the beginning of all iniuries sprang from them, who oppressed his subiects with vnaccustomed tributes, and daily incursions; adding that he had often complained, but could finde no remedy: wherefore it was no wonder, if he had found some meanes to reuenge those iniuries and to repaire the losses. MAXIMILIAN holding it not fit to indure this insolencie, sent for LAZARVS SVENDIE, a Baron of *Swethland*, a man of great experience in Armes, wise, vigilant, and valiant, to whom he committed the charge of the Transiluanian warre. But for that he was ignorant of the state of *Hungary*, he had giuen him for assistants ANDREVV BATTORI, MELCHIOR BALASSVS, and GABRIEL PERENE, men well acquainted with the enemies affaires. SVENDI marcht presently into the countrie of *Sepusio*, from whence he sent to intreate MAXIMILIAN to giue him leaue to manage that warre at his will, and not be compelled alwaies to send to his maiesty; lest before a resolution should be taken, a good oportunity might be lost. Hereupon the King of *Poland* sent his Embassadors to let the Emperor vnderstand how much he was grieued with this war, the Transiluanian being so neere allied vnto him: wherefore he laboured to haue a surceasse of Armes, and the offence remitted. The Emperor gaue him good words, but staied not his warlike preparation.

Satmar taken by the Transiluanians.

Lazarus Suendie generall in the Transilvanian war.

This

This yeere LAZARVS SVENDIE, went to besiege the Castle of *Toccai*, a place strong both by nature and art, standing vpon the confines of *Transiluania* and *Hungary*: The which FERDINAND had giuen to a Nobleman of *Hungary*, for his good deserts; who dying recommended it, and the guard of his young son to FRANCIS MENETVS. This man of a tutor became a Tirant: he fled to the Transiluanian and deliuered both the the Castle and Pupil into his hands. This Castle being battered, and MENETVS the Traitor slaine, they yeelded vpon condition to depart with their swords, and not to beare Armes against the Emperor. After which he recouered *Satmaria*, the which the Transiluanian had abandoned distrusting his owne forces; After which he took *Erdod* (the which FERDINAND had often attempted in vaine) with diuerse other places.

Toccai besieged and taken by Suendie.

Satmar recouered by Suendie.

The Vaiuode finding himselfe too weake to cope with MAXIMILIAN, he craued aide from the Turk, who being busie at the siege of *Malta*, he sent STEPHEN BATTORI (who afterwards was King of *Polonia*) with other Embassadours to the Emperour to sue for peace; the King of *Poland* did the like, and SOLIMAN sent a Renegado to *Viena* to expostulate the wrongs done vnto his tributarie, and to finde some meanes of reconcilement. But CESAR was not ignorant, that this was a practice to stay the course of SVENDIE's prosperous successe, and daunt the mindes of the Hungarians with a hope of peace: but for that it should not seeme that he hindred the conclusion of a peace, he commanded his Army to forbeare from spoile, but vpon this condition that all the townes on this side the mountaines should be his. This was of hard digestion to the Vaiuode: wherefore he incensed SOLIMAN, who being returned from *Malta* with losse and dishonor, resolued to transport the war into *Hungary*, and to imploy all his forces against the Emperor; hereupon he sends a new Embassage to *Viena*, for the tribute which had been long vnpaid: complaining much of the wrong done vnto the Vaiuode his client; saying it was not lawfull for him to make a peace with the Emperor, without his priuity, commanding restitution of all that had been taken from him, and withall he renounc't the peace, which he had obserued with FERDINAND. MAXIMILIAN gaue him good reasons for non paiment of the tribute; that the peace had been violated by the Vaiuode and not by him; that all the places did neuer belong to the Transiluanian, but to his predecessors, from whom they had been violently taken away: whereupon SOLIMAN resolued to besiege *Iulia*. This yeere the Vaiuode (in the absence of SVENDIE, who was gon to *Viena* concerning the warres) went to besiege *Erdod* with the helpe of the Turks: the which being battered, and valiantly defended, in the end they yelded vpon composition to depart with bagge and baggage, but they were all treacherously slaine by the Turks.

The Transiluanian sue for peace.

Soliman renewes the war in Hungary.

This sommer 1565 AVGVSTVS Elector of *Saxony* sent 1000 Saxon horses to SVENDIES Camp, promising to entertaine them for fiue moneths, with whom there ioyned 350 Noblemen and Gentlemen. The Turkish and Transiluanian Embassadours were still in *Viena* treating of a peace, desirous as it seemed to protract time; yet SVENDIE did often aduise the Emperor by his Letters, not to trust their faire words, nor to be abused by their false promises: but new Embassadours comming from SOLIMAN and the Turkes hauing retired their Camp, the Emperor commanded his Generall to forbeare from al hostile attempts. At that time the Earle of SALVI gouernour of *Iauerin*, had an enterprise vpon *Alba Regalis* which hee had a great hope to surprise, by meanes of some of the towne: but the Emperour commanded him to surceasse, and retire, so as his credulity made the enterprise frustrate, and the Turks discouered the conspiracie, and put 40 of the citizens cruelly to death.

The treaty continued still at *Viena*, and the Emperour sent an Embassador to *Constantinople* to conclude a peace with SOLIMAN, who detained him there vntill the yeere 1567. In the mean time the Basha of *Buda* made an incursion towards *Iauerin* and carried away great spoiles. It appeared by probable coniectures that the Turks made shew of a peace outwardly, but prepared for warre. The which a Turk of good note being acquainted with the secret counsels of the Basha of *Buda*, confessed freely, being taken, and that SOLIMAN would come the next yeere with a great Army to besiege *Iulia* & *Sigeth*. STEPHEN BATTORI one of the Transiluanian Embassadors was yet in *Viena*, who at that time had the wife & children of BALASSVS (being taken at *Satmar* as we haue said) in prison: wherefore BALASSVS made great suite vnto the Emperour to detaine him vntill his wife and children were set at liberty; CESAR importuned BATTORI very much, but he could not preuaile, and BATTORI refusing to stay any longer was dismissed: whereat BALASSVS being much discontented, the Emperor told him that there was a great difference betwixt their qualities, for they were Captiues taken in

warr, and hee was an Ambassadour, whom he might not stay, without doing wrong vnto his dignitie.

A Diet called at Ausburg.

After his departure, the Emperor imploid all his care to make prouision for the Turkish warres: and being vnable to incounter SOLIMAN with his owne forces, he assembled a Diet at *Ausburge*, this yeer vpon the tenth of March, to consult with the Princes of the Empire, touching the Turkish warres, and many other things concerning the Empire. In the meane time MAXIMILIAN was full of cares, the fame of the Turkish warre increasing daily, and it was said the *Transiluanians* gathered together great forces. The Princes being assembled; ALBERT Duke of *Bauaria*, speaking in the Emperours name, promised, that touching matters of Religion, there should be nothing changed, so as the Princes would endeuour to expell all strange opinions which had crept into the Empire: That the publike Peace confirmed by so many Edicts, should be obserued: That such as had been proscribed for the fact at Herbipolis, *should be punisht, and iustice done to euery man in the Imperiall Chamber.* But laying aside all other things, he perswaded them, first to consider of aide against the Turkes: whereupon they promised to entertaine twelue thousand horse, and twenty thousand foote, for eight moneths; and moreouer to pay foure thousand horse, for two yeeres and a halfe: which the Emperour accepted very thankefully. At the same time the Arch-duke CHARLES, called an assembly of Hungarians, at *Possonia*, and of Austrians at *Vienna*; whereas euery house promised to giue a Florine: and the Nobility and Gentry, were so willing to contribute to these Turkish warres, as he that had but one hundred crownes of yeerely rent, was content to maintaine a horse, and the Nobility in generall promised to goe in person, if CÆSAR or any of his brethren should be there. The Pope, with the Princes of *Italie*, and the French king, were solicited for aide in this warre.

The Princes of the Empire aide Emperor against the Turke.

At the Assembly at *Ausburge*, GROMBVCH, with his confederats, who had slaine the Bishoppe of Herbipolis, and afterwards surprised the City, and spoiled it in hostile manner, troubling the peace of *Franconia*, was by a new proscription condemned by a generall consent of all the orders of the Empire. IOHN FREDERICK Duke of *Saxony*, sent his deputies, and lawiers to pleade for GROMBARCH, and to vrge an abolition of the first proscription; among which HENRY HVSAN a famous lawier was the chiefe: who being partly disswaded by his friends, and partly terrified with the weightinesse of the cause, left it; and sought to perswade the Duke by his Letters to relinquish their protection; but hee could not bee diuerted.

Grombach proscribed against at Ausburg.

In the interim, the Transiluanian Vaiuode slept not: for hauing prepared himselfe to Armes, he perswaded the Nobility of *Hungary*, to fall from their allegeance, writing Letters, by the which he said he was inioyned by the Turkish Emperor, to perswade all the orders of *Hungary* to yeeld him faith and obedience, whereon, and their good agreement, the hope and health of afflicted *Hungary* depended; and by that only meanes, the Turkish Army might be kept from their confines: and alleaging many other reasons, in the end he perswaded them, to meete at an assembly at *Torda*; or to send foure deputies with full authority. These Letters being diuulged in *Hungary*, SVENDIVS made an answere vnto them, whereby he discouered the Vaiuodes impostures, and gaue the World to vnderstand, that CÆSAR had alwaies sought for Peace with the Turke and Transiluanian; but it succeeded not, chiefly by this mans slanders, and ambition, who had often broken the peace, the which CÆSAR had so strictly obserued, as he had neglected many good occasions to aduance his affaires. Moreouer if there were no hope left of any future Peace, yet the Hungarians should not feare that CÆSAR would leaue them; who being assisted first by God, and then by the Germanes, and all forraine Princes, should haue power sufficient to resist all their enemies attempts, perswading them not to faile in their obedience both to their King and Countrey, the warre being not onely iust, and lawfull, but most necessarie; and therefore they should not doubt of the happy euent. Lastly, he commaunded them all in the Emperours name, not to haue any commerce with the Transiluanian.

Sueudius answeres to the Transiluanians Letters.

The Transiluanian, what he could not get by faire meanes, he sought to attaine vnto by force: and the Turkes omitting no opportunity, surprised *Aiuat* by *Scalado*, in the absence of the Gouernor, and part of the Garrison, where they slew all the Cittizens and Souldiers most cruelly. They thought to haue gotten *Sigeth* with the like policy; but the Earl of *Serin* repulsed them with great slaughter: and afterwards, making an incursion into the Turks Countrey, he slue so great a num ber of them, that he returned to *Sigeth* with two carts full of their heads.

Aiuat taken by the Turkes.

SVENDIVS

SVENDIVS besieged *Huſt* in vain, the Transiluanian coming with 20000 men to relieue it, but not without great slaughter of his people; whereas SVENDIVS took certain Turkish ensigns with much Ordinance. The Basha of *Buda* likewise besieged *Palotta*; which hee had brought, by continuall battery, to extreme necessity, the Gouerner being wounded, but yet would not yeeld. And thus, when all humane help did seem to fail, God deliuered them miraculously. There were come to *Iaverine* twelue companies of Germans; whereof 900 horse with ninety carts were sent out for forrage on the foureteenth of Iune: which the Turkish Scouts seeing afar of, and thinking them to be farre more in number, they returned amazed to the Camp; telling them, there was a great Army coming to relieue the Besieged: wherewith they were so terrified, that they presently left it, and departed in such haste, that they left behinde them their tents, much ordinance, powder, and other munition.

Palotta besieged by the Turks in vain.

In the mean time, the Earl of *Solmes*, going out of *Iaverine*, besieged *Vesperine*; the which he *soon took, putting a garrison of Turks to the sword. The like he did to Totisa*, being siue German leagues from *Iaverine*: he also took *Gesteso*, with diuerse other Forts vpon that Confine; the Turks being all fled to *Strigonium*, the which the Earle meant to besiege: but, acquainting MAXIMILIAN therewith, he would not suffer him to attempt so great a City with so small an Army, hearing that SOLIMAN was ready to march.

Exploits of the Earl of Solmes.

In the beginning of Iuly, SOLIMAN hauing all things ready for the warre, he commanded the Basha of *Buda* to cast a bridge ouer the riuer of *Drave*, being very swift: the which hauing often attempted in vain, he sent word to SOLIMAN, that it could not be done; whereupon, he sent him a halter, commanding he should be hangd if it were not finished against his coming. The Basha terrified heerwith, setting 25000 men on work, finished his bridge in tenne dayes; where SOLIMAN passed an Army of 200000 men, the which he diuided into three. The one he sent to *Alba Regalis*, the other to *Sigeth*, and the third to spoil the Countrey. Vpon the way the Vaiuode of *Transiluania* mette him with rich Presents, giuing him great thanks for his assistance.

Soliman passes Drave with 200000 men.

SOLIMAN, hauing passed the riuer *Drave*, resolued to besiege *Sigeth* and *Iiula*. *Sigeth* is a Town strong both by nature and art, seated in a Marish: *it was commanded by the Earle of Serin*, hauing 1800 foot, 200 horse, 150 Citizens, with great store of Ordinance and munition. The Gouerner, seeing the Turks forces approach, called all the souldiers and citizens together, making an Oration vnto them, to incourage them to constancy and resolution. After which, he took an oath to liue and dy with them, and neuer to forsake them: the like did all the souldiers to him, swearing to obey him, and to liue and dy with him. The Turks hauing planted their Camp, they presently attempted the new Town; the which, for that it could no longer be defended, he caused to be burnt. They then planted their Ordinance in three parts, and raised three Mounts which ouer-lookt the wals. SOLIMAN, seeing this siege very bloody, sought to tempt the Earl with gifts and promise of great rewards; offering him the gouernment of *Illiria*, and the possession of *Croatia*, if he would yeeld him the Castle: but, finding him constant, he tried him by another means. A Trumpetter which serued the Earls sonne, was by chance taken by the Turks: him SOLIMAN sent into the Castle to tell the Earle that his sonne was a prisoner, and to perswade him to yeeld the Castle if he would preserue his sonnes life. But the Earl, neither by the hope of great reward, nor the infortunate accident of his sonne (although it were false) could not be wonne; respecting more his Countries liberty, and his faith giuen to the Emperor, than his sonnes safety, left by this fact hee should lay a foule stain vpon his former deserts. This not succeeding, SOLIMAN goes to force, commanding many assaults to be giuen, not with small troops, but with whole armies, one seconding another; so as the besieged being oppressed with multitudes, and their forces and spirits spent with continuall fighting, towards night they were forced to retire into the Castle: the which the Turks attempted twice in vain, setting fire in one part of it which was diuided from the other, there beeing a bridge betwixt them.

Sigeth besieged by the Turke.

The besieged seeing all about them on fire, and themselues brought to despair, they resolued to open the gates, and to salie forth among their enemies, and there to dy fighting; whereunto the Earl incouraged them by a long speech, concluding it with these words: Knowe then, that our Emperor, our Country, and all *Europe*, look vpon vs, and are witnesses of our valor or basenes. Think, that heer an occasion is offred vs, either to vanquish or to dy gloriously. Heer, necessity hath set the bounds of our labour, whereas euery man, possest with a certain despair betwixt victory and death, must endeauour to vanquish; or if God will not suffer it, it is better to

The Earl of Serins speech to his souldiers.

fall fighting than fleeing: wherefore going to this warre, remember you carry, in your hands, immortall fame, religion, liberty (which no good man loseth but with his life) and your country which bare you and bred you vp: wherefore endeauor that you fall not vnreuenged nor taken, or be slaughtered like sheep; but may leaue to the enemy a bloudy and mournfull victory: whereto the souldiers gaue a ioyfull consent, all vowing to dy with their Commander.

A singular example of constancy in a wife.

At this time there fell out a memorable accident. One of the souldiers, preparing himself to fight and dy, hauing a wife of a Noble family & very fair, resolued to kill her lest she should be subiect to the lusts and reproaches of the Turks: which his wife perceiuing, shee intreated him to forbear; saying, that it was a wicked thing for a husband to imbrue his hands in the blood of his wife whom hee had loued so much; but it was more vnworthy, if a good and chaste wife should leaue her husband in the extremity of danger. I knowe, quoth she, I haue sworn neuer to forsake thee: wherfore I will be thy companion in death, that whom loue in life hath ioyned together, death may not part; whereupon she put on mans apparell, and her husband gaue her Armes wherewith she ioyned herselfe to her husband.

The Duke of Serin prepares to sally forth.

The Earl of *Serin*, seeing his men in Arms, attired himself in his richest robes, as if hee had been going to some solemn feast, putting 200 crowns in his pocket, the which he said should be a reward for some Barbarian to bury him. After which, he put the keies of the Castle in his bosome, saying; With these the Emperor put me in trust, and whil'st I breathe no man shall take them from me. He would not couer his body with any Arms; saying, that he had no need of them seeing, hee desired nothing but a fair death by wounds. He made choice of the sharpest of his swords, saying; With this sword I first wonne my honour, and whatsoeuer I enioy, and with it I will willingly bear whatsoeuer God hath decreed of me, where I shall finde an end of danger or of life. So, hauing a great Standard carried before him, calling vpon the Name of IESVS, he commanded the gates to be opened, crying out; Follow mee noble souldiers, as you haue done euer, and let vs perform this last work of mortall men: and so, thrusting into the midst of their enemies, they made a great slaughter vpon the bridge. The Earle was shot thorough, and fell as he came on the land: of 300 there were not foure which came aliue into the enemies power; and the woman (of whom we made mention) fighting valiantly, died by her husbands side. Thus *Sigeth* fell into the Turks hands; but *they had no great cause to joy of it*: for, the Earl hauing laid a traine of powder, a great number of Turks being gotten into it, the Castle was blowne vp; wherewith there were three thousand men slain, and many others sore wounded.

Sigeth taken by the Turks.

Solimans death

During this siege, SOLIMAN died of an Apoplexy, the seuenth of September; the which, MAHOMET Basha concealed from the knowledge of the Army: and, lest it should be discouered, he slue his physician, and such as had attended him. In the meane time hee caused the trumpets and musick to sound after the accustomed manner, his diet to bee prepared, and his guards to bee set before his tent as if hee had been liuing, vntill the comming of SELIM his sonne.

Maximilians preparation against the Turk.

Whil'st that SOLIMAN was at *Sigeth*, MAXIMILIAN had drawne a great Army together at *Vienna*, whereof he made his brother FERDINAND Generall, and the Earl of *Suarzenburgh* his Lieutenant: wherein he was assisted by the Pope and many Princes. Many Noble-men came out of *England* to serue in this warre at their owne charge. From *France* cam the Duke of *Guise*, the Earl of *Brissack*, *Lansack*, *S. Croise*, and many other Noble-men. The Duke of *Ferrara* sent 400 Gentlemen and 300 shot; the Florentine, 3000 foot; the Duke of *Sauoye*, 400 harquebusiers on horseback; and other Princes did the like: neither did some Princes of *Germany* faile to send voluntary supplies; so as the whole Armie consisted of fourescore thousand men.

Whil'st that SOLIMAN was busie before *Sigeth*, he sent BARTHA Basha to the siege of *Iulia*, a strong Castle vpon the confines of *Transiluania*, he hauing in his Army 80000 men; Transiluanians, Moldauians, Turks and Tartarians. The Gouerners name of the Castle was LADISLAVS SERETZIN, by whose inconstancy and treachery it was yeelded fiue dayes before *Sigeth*, vpon certain conditions, but not obserued: for, the garrison marching away, the Turks lying in ambush fell vpon them; who making resistance for a while, in the end they were oppresst by multitudes, and in a manner all slain; onely some fewe (which would not consent to the yeelding of the Castle) escaped miraculously. SERETZIN was taken aliue, and carried captiue to *Belgrade*; who afterwards was put to a most cruell death in *Constantinople*.

SOLIMAN's third Army lay neer to *Iauerine* to infest the Emperors Camp; so as there were daily

daily skirmishes betwixt them, in one of the which MAHOMET Basha of *Alba Regalis* comming to charge the Imperialls was taken prisoner by George THVRIGER: who presenting him to the Emperour, hee rewarded him with a chaine of gold, and gaue him the honour of knight-hood. There was a Spaniard then present, who hauing conuersed much in the Turkes court, had heard this Basha bragge, that he alone would subdue the Germane King: the which he denied not, but with an vndaunted minde answered, that such was the fortune of warre, he had not onely spoken this, but might haue done it, but now he was a slaue, and could not doe any thing.

Mahomet Basha taken coming to charge the Emperors campe.

The Vauoid of Transiluania, required to haue the Castle of *Iulia*, which *Bartha* Basha had taken, restored vnto him, for that it did belong to Transiluania; the which the Basha promised to doe, if he would pay him 400000 crownes, for the charges of that siege: which the Vauoide being not able to performe, it continued in the Turks power.

SELIM comming to the Army was proclaimed Emperour of the Turks, and then retired towards *Constantinople*: vpon whose departure *Iauerin* was by chance set on fire, wherewith the whole towne except the Temple, the Palace, and some few other buildings was consumed: but the Emperor knowing it to be an excellent bulwark against the enemy, caused it to be repaired; & seeing the Turks retired, he dissolued his Camp, and went to *Viena*, leauing the Earle of *Solmes* gouernour of *Iauerin*.

SELIM left *Bartha* Basha in *Hungary* with a great number of Tartarians, who committed vnspeakeable cruelties. The Vauoid had drawne part of them vnto him, to the siege of *Toccay*, whereas SVENDIVS lay sick, hauing formerly prouided for the siege, and receiued succours from the Emperour; but the Vauoide hearing that the Tartarians spoiled his countrey, he raised his siege to relieue his subiects. The Emperor being returned to *Viena*, he assembled the estates and obtained a yeerely ayd of 138000 crownes against the Turk, and for the repairing of *Iauerin* 13000. Then he gaue Letters to AVGVSTVS Elector of *Saxony*, to execute the sentence giuen against IOHN FREDERICK Duke of *Saxony*, who had vndertaken the protection of WILLIAM GRAMBATH and others condemned by the Emperour: whereupon the Saxon souldiers who had serued in *Hungary* were commanded to prepare for the siege of the Castle of *Gotha*; whither AVGVSTVS went with his forces, being accompanied by the Emperors commissioners, commanding all gentlemen, citizens, and countrey men, in the Emperors name to leaue him, and to returne to their houses, vpon paine of losse of life and goods, and absoluing them from their oath vnto the Duke; but these perswasions could not moue them to leaue him: whereupon they prest the siege, so as on the thirteenth of Aprill the Castle was yeelded, and IOHN FREDERICK became a prison to the Emperour. In the Castle *Grombachius* (being seuenty three yeers old) with seuenteene more of his confederates were taken, and all publikely executed.

1567.

Gotha taken, & Grombach with his companions executed.

The 12 of May there was a Diet ended at *Ratisbone*: where although that neither the Emperor nor any of the Princes of the Empire were present, except ALBERT Duke of *Bauaria*, who represented the Emperors person, yet it was decreed that the contribution promised at the Diet of *Ausburg* for three yeares should be paied in two; That the defences of the towne of *Gotha*, and the Castle of *Grimensteine* should be rased, and that the Elector AVGVSTVS should be paid for that expedition.

MAXIMILIAN hearing that SELIM the Ottoman Emperour was tractable to a peace if it were required, he sent his Embassadors to *Constantinople*; where after some treaty it was concluded: and then they returned to *Viena*, accompanied with an Embassadour from SELIM. A peace was made for 8 yeares, vpon these conditions: That euery one should hold what he had gotteen by warre; That the Vauoide should be comprehended; that the bordering countrie men who paied rents both to the Turke and CESAR, should now pay onely to the Turks, and performe their workes onely to them; and the tribute or pension of 30000 Hungarian duckets which FERDINAND did yearly pay, should in like manner be paied by MAXIMILIAN to SELIM. This peace was very pleasing to all Christendome, and did much increase the Emperors power in Transiluania by the helpe of SVENDIVS.

A peace concluded with Selim.

The conditions of peace with Selim.

In the yeere 1570, the cruell warre, which had continued long betwixt the Kings of Denmarke and SVETHEN, was compounded by the mediation of MAXIMILIAN, the French King and the Princes Electors of *Germany*, who sending their Embassadours to a treaty at *Selina* in *Pomerania*, a peace was concluded to the content of both the Kings. And about the same time died IOHN SIGISMVND, the Vaiuode of Transiluania (who had formerly beene called STEPHEN)

A peace betwixt the Kings of Denmarke and Swethen.

STEPHEN) being but 30 yeeres olde: his father was IOHN Earle of *Sibinia* (whom after the death of King LEVVES, the Barons of *Hungary* had choſen for their King, contrary to the will of the Emperour FERDINAND) his mother was ISABEL daughter to SIGISMVND King of *Poland*; during his life time he vſurped the title of a King: and ſtudying for innouations, with the Turks aid he ingaged *Hungary* in many miſeries. STEPHEN BATTORI (who was afterwards called to the Kingdom of *Polonia*) ſucceeded him, CASPAR BECSSIVS (whom IOHN had appointed for his ſucceſſor) being rejected, and driuen out of *Tranſiluania*: but ſeeking to raiſe vp a ſedition againſt STEPHEN, with the Emperors help he was vanquiſhed and baniſht for euer; and STEPHEN gouernd that Prouince being ſeparated from *Hungary*, with more quiet and peace.

1575. Rodulph choſen king of Hungary, of Bohemia, and of the Romans.

The peace continued ſtill in *Hungary*; and RODVLPHVS, eldeſt ſon to the Emperor MAXIMILIAN, was choſen King of *Hungary* with his fathers conſent, who willingly yeelded the Kingdome to him. And in the yeer 1575 hee was declared and crowned King of *Bohemia* in *Prague* with great ſolemnity, hauing receiued the Diademe of *Hungary* three yeers before at *Poſſonia*. After this, the Emperor calling a Diet at *Ratiſbone*, RODVLPHVS was choſen King of the Romans with a joynt conſent of all the Electors; and by his fathers deſire was on the firſt of Nouember, one thouſand fiue hundred ſeuenty fiue, crowned in the Cathedrall Church at *Ratiſbone* with accuſtomed ceremonies.

Controuerſie for the Kingdome of Poland.

HENRY the French King, who had retired himſelf ſecretly out of *Polonia*, was now by a publike decree rejected: whereupon, they called an Aſſembly at *Warſauia*, for the chuſing of a new King; in which, the high Chancellor, with the greateſt part of the Counſellers, made choice of the Emperor MAXIMILIAN: and ſome others, with a great part of the Nobility (diſſenting from the Councell) deſired to haue a King iſſued from the *Poland* blood; and therefore they made ANNE, ſiſter to the deceaſed King, a Virgin almoſt fifty yeers ould, their Queen; giuing her for husband STEPHEN BATTORI Prince of *Tranſiluania*, and proclaimed him King. Preſently ſome write Letters to MAXIMILIAN, and perſwade him not to accept of the Kingdome of *Poland*, relying vpon the ſuffrages of a fewe Senators and Noblemen. On the other ſide, they which had choſen MAXIMILIAN, ſent to diſſwade the Prince of *Tranſiluania* from accepting of that Kingdome; whereof the Emperor MAXIMILIAN was choſen lawfull King by the generall conſent of the Senate of *Polonia*, *Lituania*, and all *Pruſſia*. Such as fauoured MAXIMILIAN, ſent to intreat him to make haſte and come into the Kingdome before that STEPHEN BATTORI ſhould get poſſeſſion: but (whether preſaging his death at hand, or buſied with the affairs of the Empire, or vſing his naturall floweneſſe) he ſought delaies, requiring a more ample reſolution touching the heads of his election. The Ambaſſadors told him there was danger in delay, and importuned him to ſet downe a certaine day for his coming into *Polonia*, and that he ſhould ſignifie ſo much by his Ambaſſadors to the Nobility aſſembled at *Leouitia*. CÆSAR found new delaies for his iourny, and propounded new conditions; requiring, that the Virgin ANNE, who onely remained of the family of the Iagelons (which the Polonians honoured ſo much) might be maried to his ſon ERNESTVS, and he to be crowned King in his place.

Whil'ſt time was ſpent in theſe differences, Letters came from the Aſſembly at *Leouitia*; whereby they complained much of his delay, the which was very preiudiciall to his affaires; and gaue him to vnderſtand, that vnleſſe he came ſpeedily, they ſhould bee forced to giue the kingdome to him that came firſt: whereupon, the Emperor ſent Letters to the Eſtates which were to meet at *Marſauia*, propounding conditions touching the marriage of ERNEST with ANNE; requiring in the mean time, that nothing ſhould be decreed that might preiudice his lawfull election.

Stephen Batori crowned K. of Poland.

In the mean time, STEPHEN BATTORI, being called out of *Tranſiluania* by the Noblemen of his faction, poſted ſpeedily into *Polonia*; and, taking ANNE to wife, was crowned in *Cracouia*, the firſt of May, hauing firſt taken an oath to obſerue all the rights, priuiledges and liberties, as they had been obſerued by CASIMIER and other Kings his Predeceſſors; adding withall, that if he ſhould violate them in any part, he ſhould then loſe all the right he had in the Kingdome, and the Noble-men ſhould be freed from the faith and obedience which they did owe him as their lawfull King.

During this, the Emperor MAXIMILIAN called a Diet at *Ratiſbone*, whither the Noblemen of *Poland* ſent Ambaſſadors to him after the Coronation of King STEPHEN; intreating him, that ſeeing amidſt the diuiſions of Noble-men, and factious Citizens, he could not attain to

to that kingdome, he ſhould take it in good part, the Realme being now come vnto a king, who was his friend, and deuoted vnto him: to whom he anſwered, that it ſhould plainely appeare, that he would not ſo eaſily renounce the right which hee thought he had by this election. At this Diet the Emperour confirmed FRANCIS *de Medicis*, with the conſent of theſe Princes, in the title of great Duke of *Tuſcane*, the which Pope PIVS the Fift had graunted to COSMO the Great in the yeare 1566.

The death of the Emperor Maximilian.

MAXIMILIAN (liuing but few moneths after the election of his ſon to be King of Romanes) departed this life on the twelfth of October in the yeere 1577. He left great teſtimonies of his wiſedome, piety, and vertues, worthy of an excellent Emperor: he had often that ſymbol of ABRAHAM in his mouth, *Dominus prouidebit*, and did much blame them which made fortune a goddeſſe. He condemned thoſe Princes which would commande ouer the beliefe of their ſubiects, affirming that there was no greater ſinne then to force mens conſciencies: for (ſaid he) they that wreſt the ſoule, whil'ſt they couet after heauen, loſe earth. He deſired to ſuppreſſe all controuerſies of religion: He was mercifull to his enemies, and louing to his faithfull ſeruants: he honoured and reſpected Princes and Noblemen: he was an enemy to intemperance: he loued naturall Philoſophie, ſpake many tongues readily, of an exquiſite iudgement, admirable of memory, eloquent, graue, and ponderous in his ſpeach; An obſeruer of equity and bounty, a ſeuere cenſurer of couetouſnes, and much delighted in gardening: he conferred oft of the holy ſcriptures, of the immortality of the ſoule, and of the reſurrection from the dead.

To conclude, he was a Prince ful of al pietie & bounty: and if the troubles & ciuil wars in *Germany* had not croſt his good reſolutions, and weakned his power, he would haue left nothing vnattempted to haue ruined the Ottoman Empire. Hee was of an ordinary ſtature, his countenance full of grauitie, and his head ſomewhat balde. He was a great fauorer of Learning, and learned-men, to whom he gaue great penſions, and eſpecially to Mathematicians, and Antiquaries, being greatly delighted in thoſe faculties. He was very actiue of his body: by AVGVSTA MARIA daughter to CHARLES the Fift, and his coſin-germane, he had ſixteen children, whereof tenne were liuing. Of his foure daughters, ISABEL was married to her Vncle PHILIP King of *Spaine*, MARY was wife to CHARLES the Ninth, the French King. ANNE and ELENOR were then but children. His ſonnes were RODVLPH and MATHIAS, both Emperours; ALBERTVS, a Cardinal and Arch-biſhoppe of *Toledo* (but afterwards renouncing his Eccleſiaſticall dignities, he married with ISABELLA *Infanta* of *Spaine*, in whoſe right he is duke of *Brabant*, Earle of *Flanders*, &c.) ERNESTVS, MAXIMILIAN, and VENCESLAVS. He had but one wife, after whoſe deceaſe he would not marry any other. Hee was, blindely, very Religious: and reſpecting much the greatneſſe of the Pope, hee endeuoured alſo to haue drawne all the Princes of *Germany* to haue done the like.

THE

THE LIFE OF RODVLPH, THE SECOND OF THAT NAME, AND HVNDRETH AND EIGHTEENTH ROMANE EMPEROVR.

(*)



HE Imperial dignity (being in a manner made hereditarie to the house of *Austria*) after the death of MAXIMILIAN the Second of that name, was by a generall consent of all the Electors, confirmed to his son RODVLPH, King of *Bohemia*, and *Hungary*; chosen a little before King of Romanes, at his fathers intreaty. At his first entrance, he gaue great hopes to restore the Empire to her auncient dignity and splendor, and to recouer such countries as had beene vsurped from the Empire: But he was a prince of too soft a spirit, and loued peace and ease, referring the gouernment of affaires to his Counsellors. He liued much in the Castle of *Prague*, and was much delighted in the gathering together of pretious stones, and the exquisite setting and working of them. He bid Armes Adue, yet he valiantly protected *Hungary*, *Bohemia*, *Austria*, and other prouinces. Presently after his coronation (for the better settling of his new dignitie) he sent to the Pope to be confirmed by him, and to intreat him to declare him the eldest son of the Church. Then calling a Diet at *Ratisbone*, he imployed all his credit and meanes, to haue matters concerning the Romane Religion reformed, pressing the Princes of *Germany* to consent to his new reformation. After this, he sent an Embassadour to the Ottoman Emperour, to haue a confirmation of the truce made betweene him and his father MAXIMILIAN, and in the meane time hee perswaded his brother MATHIAS (who was gon into the Nether-lands, with hope to make himselfe Lord of those prouinces) to abandon that enterprise, and to returne into *Germany*; shewing him, how dishonorable it would be if through his fault, the troubles of those countreys should be increased: But his perswasions could not preuaile against his resolution: yet soone after (being discontented with the estates of those countries) leauing them he returned (with little honor) into *Germany*.

Sal entine *Elector of Cullen marries and resignes his Bishopricks.*

This yeere SALENTINE B. of *Paddeborne*, and Elector of *Cullen*, a iust man, and valiant, more fit for war then to make a priest, being the last which remained of the house of the Earls of *Isenburg*, married a daughter of the Earle of *Aremburg*, and gaue ouer both his Bishopricks. HENRY Duke of *Saxony* and Archbishop of *Breme* succeeded him in that of *Paddeborne*, vpon condition that he should euery yere keep his court three moneths in the diocesse of *Paddeborne*; as much in *Osnaburg*; and six moneths in *Breme*. And to the Electorship of *Cullen*, succeeded GEBARDVS TRVCHSESIVS sonne to WILLIAM Baron of *Walbourg*. STEPHEN BATTORI going to bee king of *Polonia*, had left his brother CHRISTOPHER to succeede him in Transiluania: who being worne with continuall infirmities, died, leauing SIGISMVND his sonne to succeede him, the which was confirmed by the consent of all the estates: and STEPHEN BATTORI, King of *Polonia*, sent an Ambassador to AMVRATH the Turk, to intreat him, that (seeing *Transiluania* was tributary to the Turk) he would suffer SIGISMVND to injoy it, as other Princes before him had done; and if any thing were attempted to the contrary, he said he could not abandon his kinsman and his countrey: but AMVRATH yeelded easily vnto it for King STEPHEN's sake, who at that time was in war with the Muscouite touching *Liuonia* which he detained. And the Muscouite in the mean time sent Ambassadors to the Emperor RODVLPH, and to the Bishop of *Rome*, promising succours against the Turk, the common enemy of the Christian Name; hoping by this means, that he should easily obtain a peace with the King of *Poland*.

Sigismund Battori *chosen Prince of Transiluania.*

TRVCHSIS, hauing succeeded SALENTINE in the Archbishoprick of *Cullen* (as wee haue said) in processe of time resolued to take a wife, and yet retain his Electorall dignity and Archbishoprick: whereupon he married ANNE, daughter to GEORGE Earle of *Mansfeld*. The marriage was secretly consummated at *Bona*, in the presence of her brother & sister; which marriage bred great confusion in *Germany*. The marriage thus consummated, TRVCHSIS left *Bona*: and hauing drawne some horse and foot together, he seised vpon *Marpourge*, and tied his subiects to him by a new oath. Then he called an Assembly of the Estates of *Westphalia* and *Cullen*: to whom the Elector and the other Palatines, with the Lantzgraue of *Hesse*, sent their Ambassadors: and LEVVES Elector Palatine laboured faithfully with the Emperour, with the Chapter, and with the Senate of *Cullen*, for the retaining of TRVCHSIS his dignity; which others did oppose strongly: and the Earl of *Aremberge* seised vpon *Bona*, in the name of the Chapter; whereupon TRVCHSIS flew to Arms, and craued aid of his friends. In the mean time, the Pope sent down ANDREVV, Cardinall of *Austria*, to depriue TRVCHSIS of his Electorship of *Cullen*, and to giue power to the Chapter to chuse another; but the Elector Palatine would not suffer them to passe: whereupon, afterwards the Pope by a publike decree made in *Rome*, dated in April, in the yeer 1583, declared the said GEBHARD TRVCHSIS to be a notorious Heretick, periured, fallen from his Archiepiscopall dignity, and vncapeable of all spirituall charge: and soon after, ERNEST of *Bauaria*, sonne to ALBERT Duke of *Bauaria*, was chosen by the mediation of the Pope, the Emperor, the Duke of *Parma*, and others. Whereupon, the war grew hot betwixt them, either of them fortifying himself with his friends: but ERNEST still kept possession, and liues at this day.

Ernest of Bauaria chosen Arch-bishop of Cullen.

In the beginning of this yeer, Pope GREGORY the Thirteenth took vpon him to reform the Calendar, for that there was some small difference or distance, the yeer being not precisely fitted, equal to the course of the Sunne; so as in the beginning this little error did produce many discommodities: whereupon the Pope, desiring to haue the honour of this reformation, published his Bull for the adding of ten daies. The Emperor, being at a Diet at *Ausburg*, propounded the publication of this new Calendar: which the Protestant Princes reiected; not for that it was rashly done and needlesse, but for that the Bishop of *Rome* had ordained it without the priuity of the Emperor to whom that office did belong, nor with the consent of the Princes of the Empire; the Elector of *Saxony* grauely admonishing them to haue a care, lest vnder this colour of reforming the Calendar, they did not giue to the Pope a new iurisdiction and commanding power ouer the maiesty of the Empire and the Emperor himself. Wherefore, when as none of the Princes or Cities which imbraced the Confession of *Ausburg*, would allow of this Calendar in *Germany*, he commanded that the old form, obserued in the Imperiall Chamber, should be for that yeer kept.

The Kalendar corrected by Pope Gregory the 13.

The protestant princes in Germany refuse to admit the new Kalendar.

In the yeer 1584, there was a truce concluded betwixt AMVRATH who had succeeded SELIM his father, and the Emperor RODVLPH, the which was to continue for nine yeers. The Emperor sent his Ambassadors with Presents, who came first to *Buda*, where they concluded this truce with SINAN Basha; and then they went to *Constantinople* to haue it confirmed. In the mean time, ten thousand Turks entred vpon the confins of *Carniola*, where they committed great spoils, and carried many poor Christians into slauery: but they were pursued by two thousand Christians, who ouerthrew them and put them to flight, freeing all the captiues; in which conflict there were foure thousand Turks slain. AMVRATH was somewhat mooued heerwith: but, being duely informed that the wrong proceeded from the Turks, hee was soon pacified, and held them worthily slain; saying, that hee would not haue his people attempt any thing vpon the confines of *Hungary* that might trouble the peace; commanding the Bashaes of *Buda* and *Temesuarre*, very strictly, to contain their bordering souldiers in their duties: the like he required from the Christians.

A truce betwixt the Emperor and the Turk.

A controuersie compounded.

This yeer 1585, the Citizens of *Magdebourg* were in great controuersie with their Archbishop touching the ecclesiasticall and politicall iurisdiction, and for one of the Cities gates ioyning to the Bishops Palace, by which he did vsually come in and go out at his pleasure. The Electors of *Saxony* and *Brandenburgh* by their intercession compounded these quarels; whereby it was concluded, that the City should haue free exercise of the religion of the Confession of *Ausburg*, with diuerse other priuiledges, and the Archbishoppe should haue the gate opened whensoeuer he would enter; but the keies should be kept by one of the Senators, and the Porter should bee appointed by the Senate; who should enter into bonds, both to the Archbishop and to the Senate, to giue free egresse and regresse to either party, and at all times when need should require, without any preiudice to the other party; but yet so as no Counsellors nor Ministers should be admitted, vnlesse either the archbishop, or the administrator, were there in person.

Competitors for the Crowne of Poland.

STEPHEN BATTORI king of *Polonia*, dying this yeere 1587, the Nobilitie met at *Varsouia*, for the chusing of a new king. There were many Competitors for the Kingdome; namely, ERNESTVS, MATHIAS, and MAXIMILIAN brethren, Arch-dukes of *Austria*, recommended by the Emperor RODVLPH their brother, by the king of *Spain*, the Pope and other Princes, whom also many Noblemen (enemies to SAMOSCIVS the Chancellor) did fauour. The second was SIGISMVND, king of *Swethland*, grand-child by the mothers side to IAGELON king of *Poland*. THEODORE, great Duke of *Muscouy*, did much affect this neighbor kingdome. Some would haue one PIASTVS, a Noble-man of *Polonia* chosen; and other desired to haue SIGISMVND, brothers son to the deceased King: yea, there were some which gaue their voices to ALEXANDER FARNESE for his singular vertue, and glorious exploits.

After much contention, in the end the Nobility was divided into two parts: the one made choice of SIGISMVND of *Swethland*, the other, of MAXIMILIAN of *Austria*, the Emperors brother: so as either of them chalenging the kingdome they fell to Armes; but the Swethen being a young Prince of one and twentie yeeres of age preuailed: being supported by the Chancellor SAMOSCIVS who was very powerfull, he came into *Poland*, and was crowned in *Cracouia* this yeere in December.

Maximilian of Austria besiegeth Cracouia.

The yeere following, the Arch-duke MAXIMILIAN seeking to get the possession of the Kingdome, came speedily with 16000 foot and horse, and planted his Camp within sight of *Craconia*, requiring to be admitted and crowned. The Cracouians who fauoured the Swethen would not receiue him, but sent vnto the other to hasten his comming, and in the meane time they fortified their City, burnt their suburbes, and salied forth daily. During the siege many Germanes died: and MAXIMILIAN hearing, that the King of *Swethen* was come to *Petricouia*, he raised his Campe, and marcht to meete with him, to decide their quarrell by a battaile; but either knowing by the way, that the Swethen was farre stronger, hauing thirty thousand men in his army, or for some other consideration, he changed his aduice, and returned to *Cracouia*, which he attempted againe in vaine: and SAMOSCIVS the Chancellor followed him with a thousand two hundred choice men; the report whereof, did so terrifie the Army, as MAXIMILIAN retired to the confines of *Silesia*, putting himselfe into the towne of *Pitsense*; whither SAMOSCIVS pursued him, and besieged the towne: where MAXIMILIAN (no longer able to defend himselfe) was forced to yeeld, and so was carried backe Captiue into *Polonia*.

Maximilian taken prisoners by the Polonians.

MAXIMILIAN being committed to custodie, the Bohemians did expostulate with the Polonians, for the breach of the League which was betwixt them, for that during the peace betwixt both the kingdomes, the Polonians had entred in hostile manner, into *Silesia*, and had besieged their friend MAXIMILIAN, and carried him out of the prouince captiue, for whose disgrace many Princes were grieued.

Notwithstanding the truce betwixt the Emperour RODVLPH and AMVRATH the Third, yet the Turkes did often breake it: and this yeere they hauing gathered together their bordering troupes at *Capanum*, vpon the lake of *Paletta*, meant therewith to inuade the confines of the Christians, but they thought it fittest to preuent them: whereupon they set vpon the Castle, and forced it, wherein they took 190 men of special note, 70 women, with a great number of ordinary souldiers, whom they carried away Captiue; but ALI Basha the motiue of all these broiles escaped: whom AMVRATH afterwards without any respect of affinity (hauing married his sister) caused to be hanged, for that he had broken the truce with the Christians.

Capanum taken by the Christians from the Turkes.

But

But this execution did not terrifie them from making incursions, spoiling some townes and many villages.

GEORGE SERIN sonne to Count NICHOLAS, imitating his fathers glory, was sent against them, of whom he made a great slaughter; the which was the more grieuous to the Ottoman Emperour, for that there perished many choice souldiers and excellent Captaines: whereat being incensed, he rewarded the Gouernour of *Sigeth*, the author of this expedition, as he had done ALI Basha. Afterwards SINAN Basha to reuenge these former losses, and to wipe away the ignominy, had gathered together ten thousand men, horse and foote, meaning to spoile all *Hungary*. Neere vnto *Sixa*, CLAVDIVS RVSSELVS opposed himselfe with one thousand seuen hundred men, with whom the Gouernour of *Agria* ioyned, and both together set vpon the Enemy, and put them to flight; in the which there were three thousand Turkes slaine and drowned; all their Waggons, with great store of victuals, and thirty Ensignes were taken. This victory was not so pleasing to the Emperor as was expected: for notwithstanding that he had a faithlesse peace with the Turkes, and knew well that they gouerned their counsels by the euent of things, and would willingly imbrace all occasions to annoy the Christians, yet he would not be the cause, the truce should be infringed: Wherefore he dismist all the Captains from their charges, pardoning the soldiers; but when he vnderstood that the beginning of these wrongs proceeded from the Turkes, hee allowed of their excuse. AMVRATH depriued SINAN Basha of all his goods, and committed him to prison in *Constantinople*.

The Turkes defeated by the Christians.

The question betwixt King SIGISMVND and the Arch-duke MAXIMILIAN, being a prisoner, was yet treated of in *Poland* by Cardinall ALDOBRANDINO Legate for the Pope, and the Ambassadors for either party. There were manie difficulties, and still new did arise; but in the end, by the diligence and care of those Ambassadors, a Peace was concluded betwixt the *Polonians* and the house of *Austria*, vpon certaine conditions, which the Emperour should confirme by oath, and so SIGISMVND the Third enioyed the kingdome quietly. After which, there being an Assembly of the States called, the Emperour sent his Ambassadour, who complained much of a Decree made the yeere before, wherein it was mentioned, that no man, hereafter, in the election of a new King of *Poland*, should presume to name or recommend any one of the house of *Austria*; if he did, he should be (*ipso facto*) infamous, requiring that this ignominious exclusion (the like whereof had not beene seene in any other Nation) might be abolished: Which done MAXIMILIAN should take the oath he had promised, and the Emperour, with the whole house of *Austria* would suffer them to leuie men, and to buy victuals in their Countries, if *Poland* should be inuaded by the Turke. Whereunto the King answered; that hauing conferred with his Councell he would satisfie him; in the meane time he could not conceale, that he had been aduertised from the Turkes Court, and by the Ambassadours of other Kings, that the Emperour had prest the Turke to make warre against *Poland*, being a most fit time; the Noblemen there being then in factions, that they had no firme peace with the Princes of *Germany*, nor with the Muscouite, neither had they any store of money to leuie and entertaine strangers.

A peace betwixt Sigismund of Poland, and Maximilian & he set at liberty.

When the Ambassador had excused all this, he afterwards receiued his answere: That the Polonians had been forced to make that constitution concerning the house of *Austria*, to auoide greater daungers. But if the King of *Spaine*, and MAXIMILIAN would performe the promised Oath, they would doe that which was iust and fit for the dignitie of the Common-wealth; that the Decree did onely concerne MAXIMILIAN; but if the other Arch-dukes and his kinse-menne did support him, then it should extend to the whole house of *Austria*. Thus the Ambassadour took his leaue, and departed with a sowre answere: notwithstanding afterwards these houses were throughly reconciled, by reason that King SIGISMVND married with ANNE of *Austria*, who was daughter to the Arch-duke CHARLES.

1592. Amurath renews the warre in Hungary.

The truce continued still in *Hungary* with AMVRATH, to the great content of the subiects, and AMVRATH was well pleased to haue prolonged it eight yeeres more: but hauing made a peace with the Persian, his Bashaes perswaded him to imbrace the occasion, and to send a good Army against the Christians, they being now ingaged in ciuil warres. This counsell pleased AMVRATH and his sonne, whereupon hee commanded preparations to bee made both by sea and land. In the beginning of the yeere they entred vnexpected, and forced diuerse townes. After which the Army turned to *Camisa*: but they were repulst, and put

to flight by the garrison, losing in a manner all the fruites of their former victory. AMVRATH (being importuned by his sonne and others) sent ASSAN Basha with a strong Army into *Croatia*, where at the first hee tooke *Castronitium* by treason: after which hee went to *Vehicium* the Metropolitan City of *Croatia*, the which after some small battery yeelded; after which he put to flight ERDOD with fifty thousand men, lying betwixt *Vehitium* and *Carolostad*.

The Turkes proceede into Croatia.

This Army in *Croatia* increased daily; which strooke a great terror into all *Hungary*, *Bauaria*, *Bohemia*, *Stiria*, *Carinthia*, *Morauia*, *Silesia*, and all the neighbour prouinces. The Emperor assembled the states of *Silesia* and *Morauia*, acquainted them with the danger, and perswaded them to ioyne all their forces, to resist this barbarous enemy, although he did not doubt but AMVRATH would disauow this warre, and the breach of the truce; yet hee knew that the Turks property was, that hauing once taken any townes neuer to restore them: wherefore hee sought by all meanes, to get aid to resist this tyrant. On the sixteenth of July the Turks came with a forraging troupe to *Senderine*, thinking to surprise it in a misse: but they were discouered, and some few daies after, the gouernour of *Agria* meeting them but with small troupes and forces, they put him to flight, hauing lost in a manner all his footemen.

The Turkes slaine by a policy at Sisseck.

In July, ASSAN Basha, growne proud with this successe, laid siege to *Sisseck*, a Monastery standing betwixt the riuer of *Saue* and *Colapa*, it beeing defended by a Chanon of *Agria*, with a good garrison: this he battered six dayes together with foure and twenty peeces of Ordinance: but it was valiantly defended, and he was forced to retire with shame and losse. Hauing lodged his Army not far off, he attempted the Chanon with promises of reward, giuing him to vnderstand that hee knew well in what estate they were. The Chanon wondred who should discouer their secrets to the enemy; yet hee brought in his Messenger and shewed them the whole Monasterie, being very carefull to discouer the traytor: In the end, hee findes it was the Steward, whereupon taking him and the Turke, hee cast them secretly into the Riuer. ASSAN wondring at the long staie of his Messenger, sent to know if anie violence were offered him. The Chanon answered, hee had sent him away presently with a kinde answere, and if any accident had happened vnto him vpon the way, he was not acquainted with it; adding withall, that seeing there was but little hope to defend the place against the Turkes forces, hee would treat with the Basha to yeeld it, so as hee would send some honourable persons, the which (for that it concern'd his reputation much) should receiue the place, and withall appointed a day for the deliuerie. The Basha was glad of this answere, making choice of a troupe of the better sort to goe into the Monasterie; in the meane time the Chanon planted his Ordinance, and couered it that the enemy might not see it, lodging his garrison armed in secret places, that when a signe were giuen they might fall out vpon the enemy.

The Turkes came on, all richly attired, and riding three in a ranke; whereof fiftie were receiued in at the great gate: but presently the herse was let downe, and the Ordinance discharged vpon them, and at the same instant the garrison salied forth vpon such as stayed without, and such as could escape, made what haste they could to returne, cursing their entertainment at *Sisseck*. The Basha wrote proud Letters to the Chanon, that he would not giue ouer the siege til he had taken the place, and that he would slay him aliue to the reproach of Christendome. But the Chanon was not much moued with his threats, neither did the Basha any memorable thing there this yeere.

The Christians slaine in their Camp by the Turkes at Carolstade.

The Beglerby of *Greece* entred *Hungary* with a great Army: hee attempted *Toggay* a strong Castle in vaine; from which he attempted *Gomorrha* seated in a mariish, and easily to be defended. ASSAN Basha was still in *Croatia* and *Carinthia*, putting all to fire and sword. In September newes came to the Emperours court, that *Canisa* was straightly besieged with an Army of 160000 Turkes, yet there was good hope for that the Christian Army increased daily, the Arch-duke ERNEST being made General. The Camp lay then at *Carolostadium*, where the Turks came to view the Army from the top of a hill; and the Christians sending out 50 horse to discouer the enemies Army, found no more then what they had seene on the hill, so as the Christians slept securely without feare of any enemy; who came and charged them so suddenly as they had scarce leisure to put on their Armes: The fight was long and furious, and the slaughter great on either side: but the Christians being oppresst with multitudes fell in the same place where they fought, so as in all there scarce escaped fourescore: the commanders and Captaines

Captaines fled betimes: but afterwards they lost their heads, as a iust reward for their basenes.

This victory was great, yet purchased with much bloud: for many write the Turkes lost 12000 men. All the neighbour prouinces were so terrified herewith, as they abandoned their townes.

The Emperour craues aide against the Turke.

The Emperour sent to all the Princes, and Imperiall townes, laying before them the danger wherein *Germany* stood, vnlesse the enemy were presently repulst from their borders. The Princes of *Germany*, both to obey the Emperour, and to preuent the danger of the Christian Common-wealth, did presently giue order for the leuying of men and money; and the Pope, the King of *Spaine*, the Princes of *Italy*, and others did contribute bountifully to so necessarie a warre. The citizens of *Aix*, of the reformed religon, did not onely enioy the free exercise thereof, but also required to be admitted into the Senate, contrary to an edict, made by a generall consent, whereby none but Romane Catholikes might be admitted to be Consuls; whereupon the auntient Magistrates complained vnto the Emperour; who enioyned them strictly to reduce their Common-wealth to the auntient forme. The new Consuls and Senators pretended that the peace of religion was infringed, and imployed all the Princes and orders of the Confession of *Ausburg*: the Emperour taking aduice hereupon at a Diet at *Ausburg*, commissioners were sent to *Aix*, who hearing both parties, and leauing the cause vndecided, made relation vnto the Emperour, who gaue a seuere sentence against the accused, disannulling all that had beene done, and reducing the gouernment to the same estate it was in the yeere 1560: That they should pay all the charges of the suit, the Emperour referring to himselfe the penalty for the offence committed &c. The execution of which sentence, they of the reformed religion laboured to stay, by the mediation of the protestant Princes.

The Emperours seuere censure against the citizens of Aix.

The Turks beseiged Sisseck.

This yeere the Turkes came againe to beseige the monastery of *Sisseck*, with 30000 men. ASSAN Basha (who was there Generall) planted his Ordinance, and battered it furiously tenne dayes together, so as the beseiged were brought to that distresse, as they had small hope to defend it any longer. The most resolute did incourage the rest: so as in the end they resolued to attend all extreames, rather then to yeeld themselues to assured death and shame. They aduertised the Bishop of *Agria*, and the gouernour, of their desperate estate; whereupon the Christians hauing drawne an Army of 5000 men together, after much consultation of the danger, in the end they resolued to charge the enemie. The two Armies ioyned: and although the Turkes exceeded them farre in numbers, yet God gaue strength vnto the Christians, who defeated them, and put them to flight: their Camp, baggage, ordinance and munition was taken, and carried to *Sisseck*. They write that there were eighteene thousand slaine, amongst which ASSAN Basha was one, with many morre of speciall note. And of the Christians there died not aboue fiftie two.

The Christians victory at Sisseck.

The Emperor sends to Amurath.

The Emperour being aduertised of the victory at *Sisseck*, he wrote vnto AMVRATH concerning this expedition, and to know whether he would continue the truce and peace, which had hitherto beene kept betwixt them, or that he would hereafter proceede by Armes: and withall he sent a present to the Sultan, according to the vsuall manner, commanding his Embassadour to stay at *Commorrha*, vpon the confines of *Hungary*, with the present vntill the returne of his messenger: and if that AMVRATH would continue the peace, he should proceede; if not, then come back to the Emperor. In the meane time newes came vnto the christians camp, that SIMAN Basha had receiued commandement from AMVRATH, to inuade *Hungary* with forty thousand men, to reuenge their late losse: that he should not be moued with CÆSARS Embassie, and if he should by chance meete with the Donatiue, he should take it away and distribute it among the soldiers, and so proceed in the action.

The Turke proclaimes war against the Emperor.

At this time the Turkish Emperor proclaimed warre against the Emperour both in *Constantinople* and at *Buda*: he gaue the charge of this warre to MAHOMET Basha of *Temesuarre* and to the Beglerby of *Greece*; SIMAN Basha being chiefe Generall. SIMAN marcht with his troupes to *Buda*, and the Beglerby led his Army by *Croatia*, meaning to beseige the monastery of *Sisseck*, which they had twice attempted with great losse and shame, but now they battered it with such fury, as in the end they tooke it, almost in sight of the christian Army, who were not able to relieue them. The defendants were all cut in pieces, and the Monk was flaid aliue and then consumed to ashes.

Sisseck taken by the Turkes.

The Emperour being aduertised of the denouncing of this war, resolued also to Armes, and to prouide all things necessary for his defence; and the rather for that he was giuen to vnderstand,

stand that his Legier Embassador at *Constantinople* was kept in chaines, and his seruants miserably torne in pieces. SINAN, after the taking of *Sisseck*, went to *Vesperine*: the which hauing battered some dayes, the garrison finding themselues vnable to resist so great a power, by night fled out at a Posterne gate; whom the Turkes discouering followed, and slew many of them. Thence he went to *Palotta*: where hauing batterd down the vpper part of the Castle, the Gouerner compounded for himself and the garrison, to depart with their liues & liberty: hauing plighted their faiths, the enemy being admitted into the Castle, this periured Barbarian taking the Gouernor and two others, they slue the rest. The garrison of *Pappa* had the like successe.

Vesperine taken by the Turks.

Palotta taken.

The Emperor, hauing by his spies discouered the enemies strength, leuied new forces, and commanded his Captains to draw all their men into one head; where vpon a muster ther were found to be 18000 able and resolute men, besides the Hungarians and the horsemen. The Army, hauing passed the *Dannow*, incountered the enemy, and slue some thousands of them, freeing an infinite number of Christian captiues. The Turks made haste to besiege *Tatta*. MELCHIOR REDER with a good troop of horse charged them vpon the way, and slue many, freeing many Christians of all Ages. These two victories strook a great terror into the enemy. The Commanders of the Christian Army went to Councell touching the managing of this warre: in the end, after some diuersity of opinions, they resolued to besiege *Alba Regalis*; whither they marcht as secretly as they could, and took the suburbs: but the Basha of *Buda*, beeing aduertised heerof, posted thither with an Army of 20000 men, who came marching directly towards the Christians Camp, who resolued to attend them, and to fight with them; wherein God gaue them a speedy and an easie victory: for, the Turks lost, in fighting and fleeing, 16000 men, and as some write but 12000; whereof the Basha of *Buda* was one, and SINAN their Generall was sore wounded: there were taken 40 of the enemies ensignes. Hauing gathered together the spoils, they took counsell for the continuing of the siege: but winter growing on, there being no great store of powder and shot in their Camp, and the Town hauing a strong garison, they thought it fit to draw their men into good Towns to winter.

Alba Regalis besieged by the Christians.

The Turkes ouerthrowne by the Christians.

In November, FREDERICK DIEFFENBACH, Gouerner of *Cassonis*, went with 14000 men to besiege *Sabat*, a strong Castle, which did much annoy the Christians; the which after some dayes battery he took. From thence he went to *Fillec*, whither PALFYS came to him with new supplies; where hauing battered three daies together, in the end they gaue an assault: but the enemies trusting to their numbers and strength (being 4000 choice men) defended the breach valiantly, and repulst the Christians; who, nothing daunted therewith, resolued either to dy honourably, or to enter the Towne: the which they did vpon a second assault, not without some losse. There yet remained two Castles to force; the which, the valour of the souldiers, and the indiscretion of the Bege of *Fillec*, made easie: for, in the beginning of the siege he had gone forth to seek for aid, and had brought with him the Basha of *Temesuarre*, and 18000 men.

Sabat and Fillec taken by the Christians.

The Generall of the Christians, knowing that his intent was to force his Camp, went in the night and charged him, ouerthrew his Army, slue some thousands of them, and the Basha himself, with the Bege of *Fillec*. And from thence they returned to *Fillec*; where hauing taken one of the Castles by force, the other yeelded vpon composition to depart with their liues without Armes, they being in number 800 good men. The prey which they took in the Turks Camp and in the Castles, was very great. After the taking of *Fillec*, the Castles of *Dylin* and *Homosck* were abandoned: they took the Towns of *Setschin*, and *Brauenstein*, and *Salac*, which the garrisons had left and fired. PALFYS in the mean time took *Pregel* and *Palanc*. *Samose* a strong Castle yeelded, with *Arnac* and *Holac*. Thus, by the great bounty of God, a great part of *Hungary* was freed from the Turkish slauery: after which, the vnseasonable weather forced them to go to garrison.

The Basha of Temesuarre with an Army of Turks ouerthrowne.

Awhile after, the garrisons of *Petrina*, *Sisseck*, *Castrouits*, and other neer to them, to the number of 3000, went forth to spoile the Christians Countrey: but GRASVINIVS, meeting them with 900 men, set vpon them, and slue 500, and forced all the rest in a manner to flee into the riuer of *Collapa*; so as fewe escaped. The diuerse victories and rich spoils which the Christians had gotten, gaue great cause of ioy to the Emperor and his brother MATHIAS: to whom they sent Ordinance, Turkish horses, with many other rich Presents to *Vienna*.

Nouagrade taken by the Christians.

This yeere, one thousand fiue hundred ninety foure, the Arch-duke MATHIAS brother to the Emperour, was made Generall of the Christian Army, against the Turkes: who hauing intelligence by a Turke which was their captiue in the Christian Campe, that *Nouagrade*,

a strong Towne within three miles of *Buda*, was but weakely mand, they resolued to besiege it. The Garrison, seeing the Army approach, remembring that the Basha of *Buda* had promised to relieue them, they prepared themselues for defence; but finding the Towne too weake to be defended against so great a power, they retired into the Castle, the which was strong both by Nature and Art, built vpon a Rock, with thick walles and high; the ditch was exceeding deepe, cut out of the Rock. Right against it there was another hill, vpon the which the Christians with great toyle planted their ordinance, with which they battered the Castle, and withall set fire on their fortifications; wherewith being much terrified, they offered to treate: whereupon the Arch-duke gaue them leaue to depart only with their swords, there being 450 good soldiers in the Castle. The Gouernor going to *Buda* was committed to prison by the Basha; & not able to purge himselfe was afterwards hangd, for that he had yeelded vp so strong a place, without losse of men.

The Emperour finding the burthen of the Turkish warres to be heauy, he demanded aide from the Duke of *Muscouie*, the Polonians, and Transiluanians. The Muscouite receiued his Ambassador honorably, and dismissed him with great hopes. The Polonians, although they were in peace with the Turke, yet they promised the Emperor all the assistance they could: And the Transiluanians desirous of liberty, and to purchase the Emperours friendshippe, did willingly embrace the occasion. The Earle of *Serin* and *Nadastius*, hauing gathered together some small forces, went to the Castle of *Precenit* and *Segestan* which they found set on fire by the Turkes; but *Serin* besieged *Babottes*, a strong Castle seated in a marish ground, the which the Turkes basely abandoned.

The Emperor craues aid from the Muscouits and Polonians.

Nouagrade being taken, DIEFFENBACH went with twenty thousand men to *Hatuan*, a strong Towne six miles from *Buda*, the which he battered furiously, and brought to despaire of all safety, if they were not speedily relieued by the Basha of *Buda*, who had gathered together an Army of fifeten thousand men, past the riuer *Saua*, and marcht to charge the Christians behinde; which the Generall vnderstanding, he left the siege, and put his Army in order, taking some places of aduantage: the Armies met, and the incounter for a while was furious; but in the end the Christians put them to flight, and took their ordinance and munition, with seuenteene ensignes. After this battaile they tooke *Iasperin*, which was abandoned by the Turkes, in which they found good store of corne, great ordinance and munition for warre. The Turkish Garrison which remained in *Zaboll*, hearing of the ouerthrow and death of their men, being terrified, abandoned the place, without any necessity: the which for strength and bignesse is compared to *Toccai* or *Agria*. The Arch-duke MATHIAS incouraged with this good successe, resolued to besiege *Strigonium*, the which would open the way to *Buda*: whither bringing his Army, he battered it furiously, yet could they not keepe out the succors which were sent vnto them: notwithstanding they prest the siege, and the Turkes defended it valiantly; but the Citty being terribly torne with their continuall batterie, and in danger to be lost; newes came vnto them that *Sinan* Basha approached with a great Army; which did much reuiue the besieged, and made MATHIAS for feare to raise his siege, contrary to the aduice of many of his commanders, whereupon he past the *Dannow*.

The Turkes defeated by the christians.

Strigonium besieged, in vaine, by the Arch-duke.

During this siege at *Strigonium*, the Emperor assembled a Diet at *Ratisbone*, at the which hee assisted in person, making them acquainted with the whole progresse of the Turkish war; that in the yeer 1591 he had by his Ambassadors concluded a truce with the Turkish Emperour for eight yeers; yet, contrary to his faith, he had in hostile manner spoiled *Hungary* and the neighbour Prouinces, taking many places, and carrying away 5000 Christians into seruitude: that he had often complained thereof to AMVRATH by his Ambassador, and required restitution: but he could haue no good answer; yea, ASSAN Basha, the Author of all this warre, was honoured and aduanced: whereupon he fell to open war, and besieged *Sisseck*. Being again put in minde of the truce, he inuaded *Hungary* with a greater Army, forcing the poor peasants with fire and sword, to pay him an excessiue tribute; that contrary to the law of Arms hee had cast CRECOVITZ his Ambassador into bonds; who being brought captiue to *Belgrade*, he there in great misery ended his daies in a filthie loathsome prison. That he for his part hauing drawn his forces together, had ouerthrown his enemie in some battailes, and taken diuers Townes and Castles from him. Yet it might be well coniectured, that he was not growne so weake but he could soone repaire his forces; yea it did appeare plainely, that the Turke would employ all his power, to reuenge his former losses and ouerthrowes. He had therefore called that assembly with the consent of the Princes Electors, to the end they might conferre of

The Emperors speech at a Diet at Ratisbone.

those things which did belong to the preseruation of the Empire, but especially of the Turkish warres, how it should be managed and with what supplies: Whereunto the Archbishoppe of *Mentz* (after conference with the Electors, and Princes of the Empire, and with the other orders as well Ecclesiasticall as Secular) told the Emperor, that he should haue aide against the Turkes, and that Ambassadours should be sent vnto forraine Princes; to inuite them to put to their helping hands, to suppresse the common enemy of Christendome.

DIFFENBACH was still at the siege of *Hatuan*, and had brought them to that extremity, as they sent word vnto the Basha of *Buda*, that if they were not relieued within three daies, they should be forced to kill their wiues and children, to set fire on the Towne, and to make their way through the middest of their Enemies, by the Sword. The Basha, hearing in what daunger the besieged were, hauing gathered together many thousands of Turkes, marched towards the Christians, whom DIFFENBACH went to incounter, with fiue thousand horse; and charging them on the suddaine, slue fiue thousand, and returned to the Campe with rich spoils, whereupon they were in hope the Towne would haue yeelded; but the besieged endured a fresh assaule: wherein, the Christians being repulst, they lost 1000 good men, wherewith they were out of hope to take the City; wherefore fearing lest the Basha should returne with new forces, the Christian Army, being much wasted, DIFFENBACH was forced to leaue the siege.

The Christians raise their siege from Hatuan.

SINAN Basha, in the meane time, entred *Hungary*, with an Army of 125000 men, his first attempt was vpon *Tatta*, a Towne lying betwixt *Strigonium* and *Iauerin*, which yeelded: From whence he marched to *Iauerin* or *Rhab*, which is twelue Germane leagues from *Vienna*, the Christian Army lying in sight on the other side of the Riuer *Dannow*; but they were so weake, as they durst not passe it, to fight with *Sinan*; daily expecting new forces: and the rather for that they heard, there were 2000 Italian foote come to *Vienna* with 9000 duckets from the Pope, for the Hungarian warre.

Sinan Basha comes into Hungary.

In the beginning of August, the Arch-duke MAXIMILIAN tooke *Castrouitz*, hauing put all the Turkes and Valachians to the Sword; from thence he went to *Petrinia*, a Fort built some few yeeres before by the Turkes, vpon the Emperors territorie: this Castle had six strong Bulwarkes well fortified, which made it seeme inexpugnable; yet MAXIMILIAN battered it in such sort, as the Garrison being terrified, set fire on the Castle, euery one escaping away as hee could, leauing it to the Christians; and in like maner they of *Sissecke*, setting fire of their Fort, abandoned it. After which exploites MAXIMILIAN retired to refresh his Army.

The Christians take some forts.

In the meane time *Sinan* Basha prest the siege of *Iauerin* (in which Count HARDECK was Gouernour) battering it with sixty peeces of great Ordinance; but he preuailed little. The besieged made many sallies, in one of the which they slew two thousand Turkes, with the Gouernour of *Greece*. There were great difficulties both in Armies; the Enemies forces were much decayed, both by sickneſſe, and their daily excursions, wanting victuals. The Christian Army was much weaker, wherefore they were forced to keep themselues within their strength: but being not so vigilant as they ought to haue been, the Turkes suddenly cast a bridge ouer the Riuer, and inuaded the Christians Campe; where, after some resistance, they were forced to flie fearefully, to *Altenbourg*. The Enemy tooke that day great store of money, brought for the payment of the Army, all the furniture of the Campe, one thousand Waggons, two hundred Barques laden with Munition, and ten Gallies. SINAN still battered the Towne, and gaue assaults, and was still repulst with losse, so as within two daies space (as some write) there were twelue thousand Turkes slaine.

The siege of Iauerin.

The report was, that when SINAN could not take the Towne by force, he sought to corrupt the Gouernour Count HARDECK: the which he imbracing, he euer after, secretly, fauored the Enemies attempts, by the which they tooke away some of their Bulwarkes, whereby they had small hope to defend the Towne. HARDECK conferring with some of the Captaines, resolued to send Messengers to SINAN to craue a Truce for some daies, that they might in the meane time treate of the conditions of yeelding: In the meane time, fearing they should bee taxed with infamy, if they should yeeld vppon a Towne so well fortified, without necessity; they wrote Letters to the Barons of *Hungary*, to excuse themselues, and to iustifie their action. After this protestation, hostages were sent on both sides, and in the end it was concluded, that Count HARDECK, with his Captaines and Souldiers should depart with bagge and baggage

baggage with their full Armes and colours flying, and be conducted safely to *Altenbourg*. Thus the strongest fort of all Christendome, by the treachery of Count HARDECK was yeelded vppe to the Enemy, being abundantly furnished with Wine, Corne, and all munition for Warre. For the which, the Earle, comming to *Vienna*, was committed to prison: and the yeere following, by the sentence of certaine Commissioners, who were chosen for that purpose, hee had both his hand and head cut off; which was a iust rewarde for so foule a Treacherie.

SINAN, full of ioy for this victory, presently repaired the ruines, and fortified the Town: after which he resolued to besiege *Gomorrha*, seated in the Iland foure miles from *Iauerine*; in which ERASMVS BRVNNEVS commanded with a strong garrison. SINAN, remembring how well he had sped with Count HARDECK, sent Letters by a country-man to BRVNNEVS, promising him mountains of gold if he would yeeld the place: but he would not look on the Letters, commanding the messenger to depart presently; saying, that he had no skill in the Illirian Tongue; neither was he made Gouerner there to conferre with the enemy, but to fight; and that SINAN was deceiued if he thought to finde a HARDECK in *Gomorrha*. After which answer SINAN began to presse the siege with all the speed he could. The Arch-duke knowing, that after the losse of *Iauerine*, all the hope of miserable *Hungary*, next vnder God, consisted in the preseruation of this place; hauing gathered together a good Army of Germanes, Hungarians and Bohemians, went with all speed to *Nitrea*, not far from *Gomorrha*: which the enemy vnderstanding, hauing set fire on his Camp, he left the siege, and went to *Iauerine*. The Arch-duke entred into *Gomorrha*, repaired the ruines, fortified the defenses, and caused new bulwarks to be made.

1594 Gomorrha besieged by Sinan Basha.

The Turkes leaue the siege of Gomorrha.

This yeer 1595, AMVRATH the second Emperor of the Turks, sonne to SELIM, left his life and Empire; whom succeeded MAHOMET the Third: whom all men supposed would continue the warre against the Christians with more violence. Wherefore the Emperour, besides the aid which was granted at the Imperiall Diet, desired an extraordinary supply of horse and foot; the which diuerse Princes willingly brought at their owne charge. From the vpper *Saxony* came 1200 horse; from the lower, 600; from *Franconia*, 1000 horse. *Sueuia* sent 4000 foot; *Austria*, 2000 horse and 6000 foot; *Tirill*, 4000 foot; *Bauaria*, 3000; *Westphalia*, 500 horse and 1500 foot: the Silesians, Morauians, Bohemians and Lusatians, sent great supplies. Besides the Pope, the Dukes of *Florence*, *Ferrara* and *Mantua*, the Emperor required the Poloniens to ioyn in league with him, and to make a sociall warre against the common enemy of Christendome. This proposition was much debated; SAMOSCIVS and many other holding that they should not violate the peace, which had continued firme 75 yeeres betwixt them and the Turkes, and draw vpon them an vnnecessary warre; yet for that they would not vtterly deny aide vnto the Emperour, they lett him vnderstand, that they held it fit, that the Pope, the King of *Spaine*, and the rest of the Christian Princes should ioyne in a firme league against the Turke: that these counsels should bee imparted to the Princes Electors, to the end the league might be made, not with the Emperour alone, but with the whole Empire: and soon after, the Emperors ambassadors coming to *Craconia*, Commissioners were appointed to treat of the conditions of the league they were to make with CÆSAR and the Empire.

The Princes of Germany assist the Emperor for the Turkish wars.

SIGISMVND BATTORI, Prince of *Transiluania*, hauing wrested many Forts from the Turk, did this yeer annoy them with many incursions: and the better to fortifie himself and his authority against the common enemy, he resolued by all means to ioyn in league with the Emperor, sending a stately Ambassage to *Prague*: where a league was soon concluded vpon certain conditions: that the Emperor should constantly prosecute the warre, that if he should conclude any peace or league with the Sultan, he should impart it to SIGISMVND, and comprehend *Transiluania*, *Moldauia* and *Valachia* therein; that SIGISMVND should promise and confirme by oath for himself and all his subiects, to continue the warre against the Turks, and not to conclude any peace with him without the priuity & consent of the Emperor; that SIGISMVND BATTORI should enioy *Transiluania*, with those parts of *Hungary*, as his Predecessors had formerly done, with all their rights and reuenues, acknowledging the Emperors maiesty and his lawfull successors for their lawfull Kings; for the which they should take the oath of fealty when he should enter into the possession of the Prouince: and if the Prince or his Successors should dy without issue male, then *Transiluania* should be annexed to the Kingdome of *Hungary*. There were many other Articles set down in this league, the which to auoid prolixity I omit.

A league betwixt the Emperor and the Prince of Transiluania.

The articles of the league.

The

The Turks seek to surprise the Prince of Transiluania.

The reasons which moued the Transiluanian so much to affect this league with the Emperor, was the treachery of the Turks against his owne person, and the exceſſiue tributes wherewith his Country was oppreſt: for, in Iuly 1594, the Tartarians, who had been drawne down to aid the Turks against the Hungarians, were sent into *Transiluania* to seiſe vpon that Prouince by the Sultans commandement, and to expell Prince SIGISMVND, or to send him captiue to *Conſtantinople*. It was not vnknowne, that he sought to fall from the Turk to the Roman Empire, by reason of the intolerable tribute: which desertion many Noble-men of *Transiluania* sought to hinder; who, conſpiring with the Tartarians, vndertook to deliuer them the whole Prouince, and to send the Prince captiue to *Huſt*, where they were incamped: whereupon they perſwaded the Prince, that the great Chancellor of *Poland* attended him on the confines of the Kingdome with a great Army, to treat with him vpon matters of importance, deliuering him counterfeit Letters from the Chancellor; whereunto giuing credit, he began his iourney: but being on the way, he was aduiſed by ſome that were more honeſt and faithfull, to proceed no further; and that he was not expected by the Polonians, but by the Tartarians, who were reſolued to depriue him of his eſtate. Being amazed at the newes, he retired with his company into a place of ſtrength, vntill he had drawne his forces together: and then he called an Aſſembly of all the Nobility to *Clauſenbourg*, diſſembling the treaſon intended against him; where at a banket he apprehended 14 of the conſpirators, and put them to death. After which, he carried open Arms against the Turks.

The Transiluanians conſpire against their Prince.

The league being concluded betwixt the Emperor and the Prince of *Transiluania*, the warre grew hot in diuerſe places, and the Chriſtians recouered *Vaſcia* with a rich prey. SINAN, reſoluing to go from *Belgrade* to *Conſtantinople* to ſalute the new Emperor, and to preſent him with the treaſure which he had taken, was intercepted by the Valachians, who defeated his troops, and took all his treaſure, he himſelf with ſome fewe others eſcaping the danger. MAHOMET hearing that the Valachians, being his tributaries, were now become his enemies, was much incenſed; ſending MICHAEL the Vaiuode (who was of that Nation) with great forces to inuade *Valachia*, and to keep it for himſelf. MICHAEL goes with his Army of Turks into *Valachia*: but, before he would attempt any thing, he attended the Tartarians coming out of *Hungary*; but firſt the Valachians and Tranſiluanians met with them before they could ioyn, and ſlue eight thouſand, the reſt being put to flight: and then they attended MICHAEL with great reſolution, who contained himſelf within his Camp. After which, CHAMOS the Tartarian, by the commandement of MAHOMET, entred *Moldauia* and *Valachia* with a great Army; whom AARON the Vaiuode fought withall in three ſeueral battels, and ſlue twelue thouſand Tartarians.

The fraudulent propoſitions of the Turks.

SINAN Baſha, being at *Belgrade*, called to him certain ſeruants of the Ambaſſador CRECOVITIVS, who (as you heard) died there miſerably in priſon; telling them, that if their maſter had liued, he would haue ſet him at liberty as he did them, hauing brought him thither onely to treat of a peace betwixt the Sultan and the Emperor: but he being dead, hee would ſend his ſeruants to CÆSAR to let him vnderſtand, that MAHOMET had giuen him charge to beſiege *Vienna*, the which he knew was farre more eaſie than *Iauerine*. He extolled his Emperours power, and diſgraced the Germans, wiſhing that the Emperor would in time aduiſe (before the Army ſhould march) how a peace might be made. He then ſent them to *Buda* to his ſon, being Gouerner of *Greece*; who, calling the Secretary before him, hee made many complaints of the wrong done to the Turks: he put them in hope of liberty, ſending in the mean time one to the Emperor, with conditions whereby he ſaid a peace might be concluded; that is to ſay, If the Emperor would reſtore all the Caſtles and Forts which he had taken, and their Territories; if the Chriſtians would leaue *Siſſeck*; if CÆSAR would not take into his protection the Tranſiluanians, Valachians and Moldauians; and, laſtly, if he would duely pay the annuall tribute that had been for many yeers omitted.

The Emperors anſwer to the Turks propoſitions.

Theſe conditions were giuen to one in writing, with this condition, that if he returned not with an anſwer in 25 daies, the reſt ſhould dy. BARLING returned from the Emperor with this anſwer, that he neuer had other intent but to maintain a firm peace with the Sultan, having alway ſought it with ſuch conditions, as their ſubiects might be freed from that fatall war. And making a repetition of their iniuries and the ſucceſſe, he ſaid, that the Beglerbey was much deceiued, if he thought the Roman Emperor were reduced to thoſe Streights, that he would accept of any conditions of peace, how vniuſt ſoeuer; and the Turks ſhould ſoon knowe, that he neither wanted force nor courage to defend himſelf, and to recouer that which had bin loſt by treachery: and as he had been alwaies carefull of the quiet and good of his ſubiects, and to auoide the effuſion of innocent blood, ſo would he not now be auerſe from a peace, if SINAN would reſtore thoſe places which he had taken. That the Tranſiluanians, Moldauians, and Valachians, had for many ages paſt, been vnited to the crowne of *Hungary*, as the members to the body: and therefore the Turke ſhould not take it ill, if the Emperour vndertooke their protection, but rather promiſe neuer to inuade thoſe Prouinces in hoſtile manner. If they performed this, and made ſatisfaction for the wrong done vnto his Ambaſſadour (which all Princes did dereſt) and ſet his ſeruants at libertie, there might be ſome meanes for a Peace, but if they did otherwiſe, there were no way of reconcilement.

Count Mandſfeld goes into Hungary to command the Chriſtian Army

CHARLES Earle of *Mandsfeld*, ſonne to PETER ERNEST (hauing ſpent many yeeres in the warres of *Flanders* and *France*) was by the Emperour (with the King of *Spain's* good liking) called into *Hungary*, to gouerne thoſe warres vnder the Arch-duke MATTHIAS: he carried with him two thouſand horſe, and ſix thouſand foote, moſt Wallons; with theſe forces he came to the *Prague*, where the Emperour did him much honour, after which he began to reform the martiall diſciplme, and to leade the Army with more circumſpection then formerly it had been. He marched, being accompanied by the Duke of *Ferrara* and *Mantoa*, and others of great note, from *Vienna* to *Altenbourg*, with fifty thouſand foote, and fifteene thouſand horſe, and laid ſiege to *Strigonium*, where at firſt aſſault he took the old town; the Turks flying into the new: then he planted his Ordinance, with the which he ſo battered the new Towne, and Saint THOMAS Fort, as a ſmall breach being made, they entred, and put all to the Sword: then planting three batteries, and making a large breach, he commanded an aſſault to be giuen to the Caſtle; but they were repulſt with great loſſe.

Strigonium beſieged by the Chriſtians.

The Beglarbie or Gouernour of *Greece*, drew together a great Army, to relieue the beſieged: approaching neere vnto the Chriſtians, MANDSFELD went forth to meete them, hauing put his Army in battaile: but the Baſha of *Buda*, ſeeing himſelfe inferior, both in valor and multitude, retired confuſedly, and the Chriſtians purſuing them, put the whole Army to flight; but comming againe to renew the battaile, the Chriſtians were diſordered and fled: Count MANDSFELD, knowing that he muſt either vanquiſh or raiſe the ſiege, reſolued to giue them battaile with his whole Army, in which (hauing made a great ſlaughter of the Turkes with his ordinance) both Armies comming to ioyne, he defeated them quite, and ſlew ſix thouſand; among whom died the Baſha of *Iauerin* and his ſon, and the Beglarby of *Greece* (being ſore wounded) fled to *Buda*.

The next day Count MANDSFELD ſummoned the Towne to yeeld, whereunto they anſwered: that although they deſpaired of all help, yet they had reſolued to preferre a glorious death, before an ignominious life; whereupon the Chriſtians (being incenſed with this anſwer) returned againe to a freſh charge. Count MANDSFELD did not liue to enioy the fruits of this victory; for, hauing ſpent his force and his ſpirits in the battaile, playing the part of a commander with his tongue, and of a ſouldier with his hands, ſweating and diſtempered, he called for drinke, ſo as he fell into a Fever, wherof he died ſoone after, at *Gomorrha*, before the yeelding of the Towne. The ſiege was ſtill continued with great violence; the Arch-duke MATHIAS comming to the Campe: ſo as in the end, being brought to deſpaire, they compounded to yield the Town, and the ſoldiers to depart with their ſwords by their ſides, euery one carrying a pack at his back.

Count Mandſfeld dies.

Before the yielding of the Towne SINAN Baſha prepared a great Army to inuade *Valachia*, *Moldauia*, and *Tranſiluania*: who hearing of his intent, raiſed an Army of twenty thouſand men, and charged the Turkes at the paſſage of a Riuer, where there was a long and furious battaile, being doubtfull to whom the victory would incline; but on the ſuddaine there came a ſupply of ſix thouſand horſe to the chriſtians, which did much relieue thoſe that were tired with fighting, by whoſe helpe they obteyned the victory, making a great ſlaughter of their enemies, and many being drowned in the Riuer of *Dannow*, the bridge breaking, with the weight of thoſe that fled. The Germane Chroniclers write, there were 25000 Turkes ſlaine, and halfe as many Chriſtians.

Sinan Baſha enters Tranſiluania twice.

SINAN hauing recouered a new Army of ſeuenty thouſand foote and horſe, he paſſed the Riuer of *Dannow*, vpon the confines of *Moldauia*, neere to the towne of *Giorgum*, lodging part of his Army in the Caſtles and Townes, vpon the borders of *Valachia* and *Moldauia*. Thither came vnto him HASAN Baſha, MICHAEL the expulſt Vaiuode of *Tranſiluania*, with many other Turkes and Tartarians of note. SINAN with the reſt of his Army went to *Tergiuiſt*, a famous

famous Monastery; which he conuerted into a Castle, and fortified it with all things necessary; resoluing, not to depart before that he had subdued those Prouinces: but the euent proued otherwise.

In *Hungary*, HEBERSTEIN, Gouerner of part of that Country, burnt the Towns of *Cheringa*, *Masiona* and *Bellabina*; where he slue many Turks, and carried away many prisoners: among the which there were some of great authority. And at the same time the Haiducs took the Town of *Wakaner* on the other side of the riuer of *Dannow*, where they found a great prey. And about the same season, ALDOBRANDIN Generall of the Popes forces, and PALFI,

Visigrade taken by the Turks. besieged the Town and Castle of *Visigrade*, lying betwixt *Buda* and *Strigonium*, vpon the right bank of the riuer *Dannow*, where in antient time the Crown of *Hungary* was vsually kept: this place the Turks held inuincible, neither could they force it in the yeer 1543, when as *Strigonium* was made subiect to the Turkish yoke; but two yeers after, the Christians abandoned it for want of victuals. Hauing planted their Ordinance, they battered it incessantly; and hauing made a large breach, the souldiers lodged vnder the wals: which the besieged perceiuing, they began to faint; which fear opinion increased that there was no reliefe to be expected. Wherefore, on the twenty fift of September, they made a signe of parley; and beeing admitted, they offred to yeeld both Town & Castle, so as they might haue the same conditions the Turks had at *Strigonium*; but it would not bee granted: onely they had leaue to depart with their liues, without Arms or baggage; which they accepted, and yeelded the place.

The Turks slain in Croatia. The Turks, which were vnder the command of the Basha of *Bosna*, had an intent to spoile *Croatia* neer to *Petrina*. The Christians liuing in those parts, hearing of their resolution, making a body of ten thousand souldiers, meant to encounter them. The Turks beeing twenty thousand (if that were true which themselues report) coming to fight, the Christians shewed such resolution and courage, that they slue the greatest part of the Turks, the rest fleeing away. The Christians returning from this expedition, their forces increased, many fresh supplies beeing comn vnto them: and there ioyned with them the horsemen of *Croatia*, *Carinthia*, and the neighbour Prouinces, and the Baron of *Herbenstein*, with certain Hungarian Troops. All these forces

Petrina besieged being vnited, they came to *Petrina*, which they battered for the space of two houres, and lost in the assault 120 men. And finding that they should not preuail without greater Ordinance (the which was hard to bring through the mountains) they desisted, and retired to *Sisseck*, there to consult what they had to do. The same night, one BRIBEG, very familiar with the Bege HVRSTAN, fled out of *Petrina*; giuing them to vnderstand, that the Bege being shot into the body, died soon after; that if they returnd to *Petrina*, without doubt they should take the town,

The Christians take Petrina. for that the Inhabitants were so amazed, that vpon sight of the enemie they would all forsake the Town. The Christians with this hope marched speedily away, and came to *Petrina*, which they found abandoned; the which they entred, and fortified with a good garrison, wherin they found ninety barrels of powder.

Whil'est that these things passed in *Hungary*, the quiet of *Moldauia* was disturbed by SAMOSCIVS the great Chancellor of *Poland*, who sought to expell the Vaiuode whom the Transiluanian had appointed, and to bring in a new, besieging the chief City of *Moldauia*. He was twice beaten and put to flight by the old Vaiuode: in which incounters the chief Authours of that counsell were slain, and the new Vaiuode expeld again. The Arch-duke MAXIMILIAN was then cald with his whole Army into *Transiluania*. This summer, not onely men, but euen the elements did fight against the Turkish Sultan: for, after many defeats, another mischief followed; for, *Rhab* being set on fire, most of the Towns victuals were burnt: and NADASTI, meeting with a conuoy of corne going to *Rhab*, hee slue the souldiers, and carried away all the corn.

After Count MANDSFELD's death, his Netherland and Walloon souldiers fel into a mutiny. MANDSFELD had brought them into a Countrey which did not abound with gold and siluer, like to the Belgick Prouinces; but desolate, exhausted and wasted, where there was nothing to be expected but blowes, wounds, and death. They often complained of this in his life time: but they durst not, by reason of his seuere discipline, threaten any open defection. Being now in a mutiny, the Captains laboured foureteen daies together to pacifie them, and to contain them in their duties. In the mean time, many fleeing away, some were brought back and imprisoned, others were slain by the peasants. On the tenth day of October, foure and twenty foot and horse came to *Vienna*: being let-in and lodged, they were sought for, and at length found. In the beginning they defended themselues valiantly; and one of them shotte himself

himself through. At length they were taken, and deliuered ouer to the Iudge as Traitors.

MAHOMET, hauing receiued so many losses, especially by those who were wont to be his friends and confederates, was wonderfully transported with rage and indignation; sweating by his scepter, and by his Prophet MAHOMET, that he would reuenge those iniuries, and prosecute warre against the Transiluanians, Valachians and Moldauians, vntill that hee had slaine them all; sending forth into all places to leuie men, and to make prouision of corn and munition. SIGISMVND the Transiluanian, being aduertised heerof, fortified his Army with new supplies: he caused fiue troops of Silesian horsemen, which were vpon the way, to aduance; and, to haue the greater forces to encounter his enemie, hee granted to a certain people of his Country, called Dockeieri (who had resolued to forsake the Turk) their antient liberties, rights and priuiledges, giuing them withall great possessions; but, vpon these conditions, that during the wars they should entertain 40 800 armed men at their owne charge, and yeerly euery house should pay a doller, with a certain measure of wheat, oats and barley; and if the Prince had a son which did succeed him, then euery family to contribute a fat Ox. These conditions pleased them well; and withall they promised a good donatiue at the birth of a son. These things were proclaimed in the Camp of the Dockeieri; which all did confirm by oath: and hauing but 25000 men in their Army, they sent to leuie the other 15000, the which was soon effected. The Prince, finding in his Army 80000 foot and horse, left the delights of Court, and went to Camp; where his onely care was, how to intercept and ouerthrowe the enemy. Being aduertised by his spies, that SINAN and HASAN Bashaes, with the fugitiue Vaiuode of *Moldauia*, were encamped by *Tergouista*, and threatned vtter ruin to his Countries, the Prince resolued to fight with them. Wherefore, hauing commanded all to Arms, he put his Army in battell, and marched towards the enemie.

Mahomet and the Transiluanian prepare to Armes.

Beeing come neer to *Tergouista*, the Prince called a Councell, to resolue (by their aduice) what was fitteſt to be done. In the afternoon, two Christians (which had been freed from the Turks) were brought to the Prince; who tould him, that there had been such an amazement for two daies together in the Turks Camp, that no man could easily beleeue such an alteration: for they, which but fewe daies before had deuoured the Prince in hope, and had resolued to meet him with his whole Army, were now stricken with such fear, that, had not SINAN staied his Ianizaries within the Camp both by threats and promises, yea and by force, all had fled away: but some hundreds brake out in despite of SINAN. In the end, SINAM, no lesse terrified than the rest, fled with his whole Army, leauing in the Camp his tents, ordinance, warlike preparation and victuals; carrying nothing with him but what was most pretious. Hee left HASAN Basha and MICHAEL the Vaiuode in *Tergouista* with 4000 horse and foot, promising to send them speedy supplies: after which, hee fled in all haste to *Bacaresta*, a daies iourney off, to attend the euent; writing Letters presently to HASSAN, and aduising him if it were possible to defend the Castle, or else to prouide in time for his escape: which Letters were intercepted by the Christians.

Fear in the Turks Camp.

Sinan flies.

The Transiluanian, hearing that the Turks meant to send away 4000 Christians, men, women and children, by the bridge into *Turkie*, sent 500 choice foot men to pursue them, and to free the Christians; who got before the Turks, slue them all, and freed the captiues. The Prince of *Transiluania* entred SINAN's Camp, and enioyed what they had left. Then hee summoned HASAN to yeeld *Tergouista*; who, considering of SINAN's flight, of the great power of the Christians who had spoiled his Camp, resolued to yeeld the place, and to saue himself and his souldiers: but the Ianizaries (who were 2000 in number) would not consent to the Bashaes aduice, but prepared themselues for defense. The Transiluanian presently ouerthrew the wals, and assaulted the Town and Castle; the which within fewe houres hee forced, putting all the garrison to the sword: he spared the Basha (whom hee had taken with his owne hands); and MICHAEL the Vaiuode (who was turned Turk) was slain in the fight. SINAN a little before his flight had sent foure thousand men forth to spoil; who returning to the Camp (being ignorant of what had past) were slain by the Christians, losing all the booty they had taken in *Valachia*.

The Transiluanian takes Sinans Camp.

The Prince, leauing a good garrison in *Tergouista*, marched with the rest of his Army to *Bucaresta*, hoping to finde SINAN there. But he, hearing of the losse of *Tergouista* (doubting of his safety) left the place, with nine and thirty pieces of great ordinance, and great store of powder, victuals and other munition; and fledde to *Zorza* or *Georgia*. The Transiluanian took *Bucaresta* without any losse or labour; and sending some Troops of horse before, hee slew many

Sinans second flight.

Turkes in the flight, himselfe following SINAN with his whole Army: but before his comming hee had remoued his Camp toward the riuer *Dannow*; which seeking to passe, in this tumultuous flight the bridge brake, where many Turkes were drowned. SINAN himselfe was carried into an Island from whence the yeere before he had expelled the Christians, and in the night escaped by boat.

Sinans third fight.

Georgia taken by the Christians.

The Transiluanian after this happie victory, besieged *Georgia:* the which he battered continually, and hauing made a breach entred it by force; in which were slaine 30000 Turks which could not follow SINAN in his speedie flight: they found in it 40 peeces of Cannon, with such store of Armes, and munition, as would suffice two kingdomes. They took many ships loaden with stuffes and other commodities; many Captiues were freed, with which the Prince triumphing returned to *Bucarest*. It is written, that the Ottoman house for many ages, neuer receiued so great a losse. For which victories, the Prince commanded publike thankes to be giuen to God, throughout all the towns of *Transiluania*.

The Prince of Transiluania sends to the Pope.

SIGISMVND Prince of *Transiluania*, *Valachia*, and *Moldauia*, and Earle of *Doccai*, wrote Letters vnto the Pope, sending him certaine Tartarian and Turkish ensignes, making a relation of the victories which he had gotten, by the ouerthrow of SINANS Army: wherewith the Pope was greatly pleased, promising vnto the Prince all assistance of men, counsell and mony: and if neede required he would send him his Army which was in *Hungary*. Soone after the Pope sent a Nobleman, to the King of *Poland*, to perswade him not to suffer his Chancellor, to molest the Transiluanian in *Moldauia* and *Valachia*, but especially to perswade Cardinal BATTORI, to forget the hatred which he had conceiued against his Nephew SIGISMVND, being most vnworthy in a man of the Church; and that he should aske the Prince forgiuenes both with tongue and hart. The Emperour sent an Embassador, with the like charge to the Polonian, and the Pope wrote his Letters of admonition to Cardinall BATTORI, and cited him to *Rome*.

The Pope sends to the King of Poland for the Transiluanian.

Simoscius troubles Moldauia.

SAMOSCIVS the Chancellor, puft vp with ambition, without respect of religion or honor, sought to effect his designes. He perswaded himselfe that *Moldauia* did of right belong vnto the Kingdome of *Poland*, perswading the King and the states to suffer him to inuade that prouince, to expell the old Vaiuode, and to constitute another at his pleasure; giuing them many reasons, which had more apparance then truth. The Transiluanian he said was inferior to the Turke in power; and therefore it was to be feared, hee would be expelled out of all his countries, and *Moldauia* become subiect to the Turkish tyranny: whereby *Poland* should haue a trecherous and troublesome neighbour. Wherefore it were better they should take it, who could better defend it, whereby the Turks might be kept farre from the Polonians: promising vnto himself such fauour with the Turkish Sultan, as the Polonians should easily enioy their desires in this point. The Polonians being perswaded with these and such like reasons, gaue him commandement to proceede: whereupon he expelled STEPHEN the old Vaiuode and subrogated a new, who should be for euer a tributarie client to the crowne of *Poland*. After this he sent to SINAN Basha, intreating him not to take it ill, that he had seized vpon *Moldauia*, and instituted a Vaiuode, but rather would get his institution confirmed by his potent Emperor: promising that *Moldauia* should be subiect vnto him, as it had been, and pay a greater yearely tribute. SINAN (whom ambition and pride made to dare any thing) answered the Chancellor, that it was not his Emperors pleasure, the Polonian should inuade *Moldauia*, and that the Sultan was able to defend it, without his helpe. That he had giuen it formerly vnto CZARI the Tartarian, who was now comming with many thousands of men, women and children, to enioy it; but yet the Chancellor desisted not from his enterprise. The Prince of *Transiluania* soone after (finding that the Polonians had some secret intelligence with the Turks) assisted STEPHEN the old Vaiuode of *Moldauia* with good troupes of horse and foote, to see if he could expell the Polonians and recouer his lost dignity. Coming to fright the Polonians had the victory: and STEPHEN defending himselfe valiantly hauing had two horses slaine vnder him, and being vpon the third, in the end was taken fighting: whom the Polonians afterward murdred cruelly.

The Turkish Emperour, hauing receiued so many ouerthrowes the yeere past, from SIGISMVND Prince of *Transiluania*, he resolued to bend all his forces against him; who (hearing of this Turkish preparation) assembled the estates of his Countrey; where by a generall consent they resolued to prepare to war, to repell this common enemy: and to the end that they might haue the Emperor an associate with them in this difficult war, he resolued to go to him. He came to *Prague* in Feb. where being met by the Emperors Nobles, he was conducted to the Arch-dukes

The Emperor prepares to war.

Arch-dukes Palace. The Emperor, vnderstanding what preparations the Turk made, sent to the Princes Electors to require mony for the leuying of an Army; the which was granted, and forces were accordingly made ready: but there wanted some one of great authority to command it. ALFONSVS, Duke of *Ferrara*, offred to bee the Emperors Lieutenant, and to entertain eight thousand men for a yeer, if the Pope would grant the inuestiture of *Ferrara* to his brothers base son: whereto he would not yeeld. Wherefore the Arch-duke MAXIMILIAN was made Generall, the Germans and Hungarians pressing it, for that they desired not to fight vnder a stranger which differed from them in tongue and manners.

An accord betwixt the Emperor and Sigismund.

The Emperor concluded with the Transiluanian, that, hauing gathered together a good Army, he would ioin with him; and he bound himself by secret Articles, to entertain euery yeer two thousand horse and three thousand foot in *Transiluania*: for the paiment wherof, he should giue monthly foure and twenty thousand dollers. And if SIGISMVND should bee expelled his Country by the Turkish Tyrant, then the Emperor did promise to giue him land in *Silesia* with an honourable pension: and the Popes Nuntio promised forty thousand duckets monthly, with some Italian Troops towards this warre. SIGISMVND hauing settled his affaires after this manner with the Emperor, he returned speedily vnto *Vienna*; where the people flocked in the streets, to see this young Prince who had wonne so many noble victories against the Turks.

In *Croatia* there is a kinde of people who knowe no other art but stealing; wherein they exceed all mortall men, being Christians in shew: these, being gathered together in Troops, had concluded with two Christian Renegadoes to surprise *Cliffa*, a very strong Fort in *Illiria*; the which they effected, and slue the garrison. The Turks presently drew their forces together to recouer this Town; where the Croatians annoyed them much, neither did the Basha of *Bosna* see any means to preuail but by treason or famine. The Besieged were so oppresst with hunger, that they sent word to the Emperors Lieutenant in *Stiria*, that if they were not presently relieued, famine would force them to yeeld; so as he presently gatherd an Army together, and prouided shipping with victuals, landing his men within foure miles of the Turks Camp, marching speedily to charge them; who, being terrified with their sudden approach, fled. The Illirians and Croatians who were in the fore-ward, breaking their ranks, fell to spoil; which the Basha perceiuing, commanded his men to return to the charge: in which, the Christians, who were the cause of this disorder, were slain; and the rest, beeing amazed, were put to shamefull flight. After which, *Cliffa* (despairing of all succours) yeelded, vpon condition to depart with bag and baggage.

The garison of *Totta* drew the Turks of *Comorrha* by a stratagem into an ambush; in which the Gouerner was slain, with all his Troops: and the same day NADASTI, who commanded in the lower *Hungary* for the Emperour, hauing lodged 1500 horse in a wood, sent some of his Troops to *Iauerine* to get some prey, and to draw out the Turks: who, following the Christians that fled, fell into the ambush, and were most of them put to the sword.

Lippa besieged and left by the Turks.

The last yeer, the Transiluanians hauing taken *Lippa*, the Turk sent forty thousand men to besiege it. The Transiluanian sent 5000 men to relieue it; who valiantly defended the Towne, and made great slaughter of their enemies. The Basha of *Temesuarre* fearfully raised his siege by night, leauing all his warlike instruments. The Hungarian and German Writers say, that there were 4000 Turks slain at this siege.

Themesuar besieged by the Christians.

Lippa being freed, the Transiluanian besieged, *Themesuar* sending forth 2000 horse and foot to discouer and spoil; these brought him word, that a certain Basha, with his wife and children, with great store of commodities, lodged in a poor Town, the which they scaled in the night, put the souldiers to the sword: gathering together the prisoners and spoils, they set fire on the Town, and departed. The garrison of *Nicopolis*, hearing which way the Christians marched, went to encounter them, where there was a cruell fight: but in the end the Christians had the victory, and slue 3000 Turks, and so returned to the Camp at *Themesuar* with their spoile and captiues. The Barbarians, drawing all their forces together, came to charge the Transiluanians, where at the first the victory was doubtfull: but in the end the Christians preuailed, hauing slain about fiue thousand of their enemies; but yet they were at length forced to raise the siege.

A great slaughter of the Turks.

MAHOMET conceiuing that his Commanders had either been negligent or vnfortunate in the warres, and resoluing to ruine the Christians, came in person to *Belgrade*, where he drew together an Army of 150000 men, with which he besieged *Agria*; the Gouerner NIARIVS

hauing bin a little before supplied with men and victuals by the Arch-duke MAXIMILIAN. There was a Town and two Castles: the old stood vpon the declining of a hill; and the new on the top. The Christians left the Town, and retired into the old Castle without any force; which the Turks hauing battered, they left this also, and fled into the new Castle, where they carried themselues no more valiantly than they had done before: for, after they had endured some assaults, and repulst the Turks, the souldiers would needs yeeld to haue their liues saued, contrary to the will of the Gouerner and Captains: but the Turks, violating their faith, hauing kept the Gouerner and other chief Commanders, slue all the souldiers, but such as impiously, to saue their liues, would abiure their religion.

The Archduke Maximilian fights with Mahomet.

The Arch-duke MAXIMILIAN, Generall of the Emperors Army, hauing ioyned with the Prince of *Transiluania* and the Hungarians, and making an Army of 60000 men, resolued to giue battell to the Turks, contrary to the aduice of his counsell. After diuerse skirmishes the Turks past a riuer with part of their Army, and came in good order to charge the Christians; who attended them resolutely, and repulst them valiantly, forcing them after great slaughter to turn their backs, and repasse the riuer, the Christians following them euen vnto their Camp: where falling greedily to spoil, and busying themselues in MAHOMET'S Tent, to free the Gouerner of *Agria* from bonds, they were set vpon by CIGALA, who led the rereward of the Turkish Army, and put to the sword whil'st they were buse in spoiling; so as by their greedy desire they lost the glory of a famous victory. MAHOMET, hauing not been so fortunate in fight as he expected, and being weary of the Hungarian wars, returned to *Constantinople* to his delights and venery: and the Christian Army was dissolued, and went to garrison.

In the beginning of this yeer 1597, MAHOMET resolued to return again into *Hungary* as soon as the season of the yeer would serue, and to besiege *Vienna*: but all *Turkie* being oppressed with famine, and MAHOMET failing of a peace with the King of *Persia*, whereof they then treated at *Constantinople*, he was forced to desist from his resolued enterprise. And for that the defection of *Transiluania*, *Valachia* and *Moldauia*, did much trouble him, being very necessary for the feeding of his Countries and Armies, he therefore sent Ambassadors to the Prince of *Transiluania* with rich Presents, to the end hee might draw him from all league with the Christians. The Prince entertained them curteously; and in the beginning answered them doubtfully, to the end he might protract the warre, and discouer the enemies counsels: but hearing that the Turks were on foot, and marched towards *Valachia*, he drew his Army presently together, and charged them; at which encounter the Turks were in a manner all slain. After this exploit hee went with 40 coaches to *Prague*; where hauing had secret conference with the Emperor, hee receiued the Order of the golden Fleece, with many rich Presents; and then returnd into *Transiluania*, the Emperor hauing promised to assist him with 6000 foot before the end of May.

The Turk seeks to gaine the prince of Transiluania.

Exploites of the Christians.

In May, PALFI, NADASTI and BERSTEIN, Bohemians, with some of the Emperors forces, hauing by night forced one of the gates of *Totta*, a Castle in *Hungary*, they entred it without any losse, and slue the garrison. And the Arch-duke MAXIMILIAN, in August following, after six daies siege took *Pappa*; from whence he went to the siege of *Iauerine*: but hearing that the enemy came to relieue it with a good Army, he raised his siege, and went towards *Vaccia*; whereas MAHOMET Basha offred him battel: but the Imperialists being far weaker, they kept themselues within their Camp; which, MAHOMET attempted to force, and was shamefully repulst, with the losse of 700 Ianizaries, a Basha, and many of his choice horsemen. The next day, hauing by his messengers obtained a treaty of a counterfeit peace, with this subtile deuice he retired with his Army, and went to *Buda*. Soon after, the Turks returned to *Totta* or *Totisa* (taken a little before by the Christians) and laid siege vnto it. CHRISTOPHER WEIDA commanded in this Castle with 250 souldiers; who although he performed the duty of a good Captain with great valour and resolution, yet in the end he was forced to yeeld, and to prouide for his owne safety and his souldiers: for, the Turks hauing battered it continually, and made a breach, they gaue diuerse assaults, and attempted to force it; but they were alwaies repulst by the valour of the garrison. In the mean time they had vndermined one of the Bulwarks of the Castle, and blew it vp; which made a great breach. The souldiers beeing moued with this ruine, many of them being slain, some wounded, and some burnt with the fire, they perswaded their Captain not to cast himself and them away desperately: whereupon, in a tempestuous night they issued secretly by a postern gate, and went to the riuer *Dannow*. The enemy this while giues an assault, and enters the breach: but he found the Castle empty, the souldiers before their departure hauing laid a train of powder, which taking fire slue many of the Turks.

The Turkes recouer Totta.

In

In March 1598, the Earl of *Swartzenbourg* Lieutenant to the Arch-duke MAXIMILIAN, and the Baron of *Palfi*, laid a plot for the surprising of *Iauerine*: they brought ladders, bridges, and all other instruments of war, secretly by night to *Comorrha*, and prepared forces fit for such an enterprise, giuing to euery man his charge, exhorting the souldiers to abstain from spoiling, and to regard the general good of Christendom more than their owne profits. The Earl hauing prepared all things ready for the execution, finding the draw-bridge down, and the vtter gate open, they made fast their Petard to the inner gate, which they forced. The souldiers which were in guard cried To Arms, and discharged their Pieces: but the Christians entred, seising on the ports, ordinance, and places of strength, according to their directions. The Turks in this sudden amazement went to Arms: but they were all put to the sword, without respect of age or sex. The conflict lasted 5 houres; and the Turks fought with such obstinacy, that they willingly offred their throats to their enemies swords: the Basha, hauing defended himself long, was slain. SVARTZENBOVRG (hauing got this victory, not without the loss of much bloud) caused all the spoil to be gathered together, attending the Emperors pleasure; who, reserving only the ordinance and warlike preparation, commanded all the rest to be giuen to the souldiers.

Iauerine surprised by the Christians.

The fame of this vnexpected victory as it reuiued the spirits of the Christians, so it daunted the Turks, who relied much vpon this place; as appeared by certain words grauen in a stone, which were brought to the Emperor: that is to say, *Iauerine* a Towne of the Turks is the key which can open all the Towns and Forts of the Christians. SVARTZENBOVRG was made Gouerner of the Town, with a garrison of 10000 men; and PALFI FABACOVRT the Petardier, a French Gentleman, with others, was honoured by the Emperor with the dignity of Knighthood, and had great rewards.

In the mean time, SIGISMVND BATTORI Prince of *Transiluania*, who hitherto had fought against the Turks with great courage and valour, and faithfully entertained the league with the Emperor, whether now moued with the desire of a quieter life, or drawn by som other consideration, resolued to giue ouer the dominion of those three Prouinces to the Emperour; so as he might haue some duchy giuen him fit for his person within the bounds of the Empire. The Emperor accepted of this condition, and offred him a Duchy in *Silesia*; and the busnesse *was concluded in April, conditionally that Transiluania*, with all the Towns, Cities and subiects, should hereafter acknowledge the Emperor and the Princes of the house of *Austria*, for their lawfull Lords, and yeeld them all obedience due to their natural Princes; and that they should accept of the Arch-duke MAXIMILIAN, whom the Emperor had named, to be their Prince, and should enioy their religion as they formerly had done. This being concluded; the Prince, calling his Noble-men together, acquainted them with this action: and, freeing them of their oath of alleageance, he wisht them to obey the Emperor, and then went to possesse his Duchie.

The Prince of Transiluania resignes his Countries to the Emperor.

In May, SVARTZENBOVRG attempted to surprise *Alba Regalis*, but in vain. Hauing drawn together 8 Cornets of Austrian horse, ioining with them of *Hungary*, and some footmen out of *Iauerine*, he marched secretly towards the Town: but this proiect was discouered to the Turks, so as the same night they fortified the Towne with a stronger garrison, and kept good guards without it; so as the Christians vnderstood by their spies, whom they had sent to discouer, that there was small hope to take the Town. The Army was come within half a mile; and for that they would not return without some exploit, NADASTI was sent before with 150 horse to draw forth the enemy: whereupon, there salying forth 600 horse, they pursued NADASTI; who drawing them into an ambush, there were aboue 250 slain. The Turks, returning to *Alba*, came forth again with greater forces: whom SVARTZENBOVRG incountred, defeated and put to flight, hauing slain many, and taken some prisoners.

Alba Regalis attempted by the Christians in vain.

The Prince of *Transiluania*, hauing taken possession of his Duchy in *Silesia*, was not much pleased with that estate: but repenting him of his exchange, on the one and twentith of August disguising himself in a Friers habit, he retired secretly with two more in his company into *Transiluania*. And coming to *Clausenbourg*, he found his wife at her deuotion; whom hauing kindly saluted, he took a new oath of the Citizens, and carried himself for Lord as hee had formerly done. Then, sending messengers into all parts, hee aduertised them of his comming, requiring them to obey him as they had formerly done. He also sent Letters to the Arch-duke MAXIMILIAN, to whom the Emperor his brother had giuen the gouernment of those Prouinces; intimating, that whereas the Duchies of *Opelia* and *Ratisbon*, which the Emperor had exchanged with him, did in no sort equall his Countries, he had therefore great reason to return into *Transiluania*, and that he now held *Clausenburg* the chief city of that Prouince; that he neither could

Sigismund returns again into Transiluania.

The Prince of Transiluania writes to the Arch-duke Maximilian.

nor would yield it, or such other places as had continu'd in his power, or returnd vnder his command, but would endeauour to defend them from al forraine force; wherfore he intreated him to desist from his intended enterprise, & not to attempt any thing against him in *Transiluania*, but rather to bend his forces for the recouery of *Agria*, lest hee should force him by necessity (whil'st he seekes to defend himselfe and his subiects) to deserue ill of them, to whom he wished all good. Moreouer that he would honour the Emperour, and the whole house of *Austria*, with the maiesty of the Roman Empire; and would endeuor to do any thing that might tend to their profit and good. His wife did also accompany them with her Letters, by the which shee exhorted MAXIMILIAN, not to attempt any thing against her husband: which if he did, it would not onely be hurtfull, and dishonorable to himselfe, but also to the Emperour, and the whole Christian Common-wealth. Whil'st that the Transiluanian was busie in settling of his estate, the Arch-duke MAXIMILIAN intercepted ceraine waggons loaden with siluer and other rich commodities, the which he caused to be brought to *Cassouia*: the Transiluanian taking this very ill, layed hold vpon certaine Commissioners of the Emperors, which were then in *Transiluania*, the which he said he would not release, vntill he had restitution. This was the cause of great warre, which not onely afflicted those Countries, but bred great fecurity to the Turks.

The estates of Germany in combustion.

The peace of *Germany* was much disquieted this yeere, by the Lowe Countries Army: for the Arch-duke vnder the command of MENDOZA Admirall of *Castile*, who had lodged his Army in *Cleues*, *Westphalia*, and the countries adjacent, taking many townes, and committing more then barbarous cruelties; the Duke of *Cleues*, who was a Prince of the Empire, complained to the Emperour and to the Princes and imperiall townes, of the insolencies committed by the Admirall and his Army: to whom the Emperour and the Princes sent often to demande restitution: which the Admirall neglecting, in the end the Princes raised an Army of 10000 foote and 3000 horse to force him to retire out of the quarters of *Westphalia*, and *Munster*; wherupon the Spaniard, fearing that this would draw all *Germany* into Armes, lest those countries, which they had spoiled.

Varadine beseged by the Turk in vaine.

MAHOMET to reuenge the losse of *Iauerin* sent OSMAR Basha with an Army of 60000 men to besiege *Varadin* a towne in *Transiluania*, in which MELCHIOR REDER a Silesian Gentleman, bred vp in Arms, commanded: who seeing the towne vnable to resist so great an Army, set it on fire, and retired himselfe with all the victuals and munition vnto the Castle, drawing in such inhabitants as would runne the same fortune, making them sweare, not to parly with the enemy nor to make any motion of yeelding, vpon paine of death, and he himself did likewise promise to dy with them. They indured a siege of six weekes, and repulst many sharpe assaults. The Historie commends him, to haue by his valor and diligence recompenced the losse of about 13000 Christians before *Varadine*, with the death of 13000 Turks, and forced the enemy to retire with shame and confusion to *Buda*. The Emperor to incourage the Nobility to the like vertue, honored REDER and his Lieutenant, with the order of Knighthood. On the other side, *Snatzenbourg*, and *Palfi* attempted *Buda*: they took the suburbes, with the fort of *Potentiana* vpon the *Dannow*; after which they battered the town, and made such a breach, as the in-

Buda attempted by the Christians in vaine.

habitants, women and children, pressed the Basha to enter into composition. But the Bashaes of *Caramania*, *Natolia*, and *Bosna* comming to relieue them, and the continuall raine hauing made their powder vnprofitable, they were content to retire their troupes in safety, hauing slaine 15000 Turks at *Buda*.

1599.

SIGISMVND BATTORI Prince of *Transiluania*, in the beginning of March resigned all his countries, vnto Cardinall ANDREVV BATTORI, shewing a strange example of humane inconstancie: for a little before hauing sent an Embassador to CESAR, desiring him to free his subiects from their oath which they had taken, and to restore *Varadine* with the countrey adiacent; the Emperor refusing this, he then sent vnto him the Bishop of *Alba Iulia*, to renew the former contract, requiring to haue the iurisdiction of Drebnits in *Morauia*, added to his two Duchies in *Silesia*, with a yeerly pension of 50000 crowns, out of the Imperiall chamber: That

The Prince of Transiluania resignes his countries to Cardinall Andrew Battori.

the estates of *Transiluania* should be pardoned, for their breach of faith to the Emperour, and haue their liberties and priuiledges confirmed. But during the absence of his Embassador, he makes transaction with Cardinall ANDREVV, and causeth his subiects to swear obedience vnto him. This new Prince sent presently to GEORGE BASTA the Emperors Lieutenant in those parts, promising to ratifie whatsoeuer SIGISMVND's Embassador should conclude with the Emperour: That he would not attempt any thing, but what should be for the good of

of the Christian Common-wealth, hoping that BASTA would take his actions in good part, and attempt nothing in hostile manner against him.

The proceedings of Cardinall Battori.

The Emperour was much distempered with these newes, sending presently to stay SIGISMVND's Ambassadors who were but newly departed from *Prague*, and to put them in custodie. The Ambassadors being comn to *Terna*, hearing what had past in *Transiluania*, resolued willingly to stay there and attend the Emperors pleasure. Cardinall BATTORI wrote Letters vnto the Emperour, by the which he promised to doe all good offices that might tend to his Maesties seruice, and the Peace of Christendome. The Emperor delaying to make an answere, commanded BASTA to draw what forces he could together. The Cardinall being in some doubt sent to BASTA, letting him vnderstand that he had neede of a Patron, by whose helpe he might defend his Countries, and therefore he desired that the Emperour would explaine himselfe, whether he would hold him as a friend and client, or as an Enemy: That there was a Turkish Ambassador then with him, who willingly offered him aide from his Emperour, & required but 10000 duckets for his yeerly tribute; yet he had rather ioyne his forces with other Christians, and doe good and faithfull seruice to the Emperour, then be guilty of betraying of Religion, and his countries liberty, to a cruell enemy; to which BASTA made no answere, but referred him vnto the Emperor.

The Tartarians propound a peace to the Emperor.

The Turke, seeing that the great warres he had against the Persians, did exhaust his treasure, and that the Christians daily surprised places, and slew his men; he was desirous to haue a peace with the weaker, that he might be able to encounter the stronger: He sent thirteene Tartarians to *Vienna*, to make an ouerture of peace; but this was to craue almes (as they say) by command: For, the Soldiers did not forbeare to spoyle the Countrey; and the Imperialists desired to haue all violences and acts of hostilitie to cease: so as they carried no satisfaction to the Turke; but were sent away without any answere. This contempt thrust the Tartarians into rage, breathing nothing but rage and furie, putting all, as they past, to fire and sword. A great conuoy with victuals, money, cloath of gold and siluer, and other sundry moueables, was comming forwards to *Buda*, for the furnishing of the new Basha and garrison.

A great booty taken from the Turkes.

ORSIPETER, Lieutenant to the Gouernor of *Strigonium*, set vpon them vnawares, and defeated them that guarded this conuoy; making himselfe rich, both in honor and spoile. This victory begot a second: The Fort of *Walles* was fallen; he marched thither, defeated the garrison and the Gouernor, freed them of *Bischiac*, and carried a great number of sheepe vnto his Garrison. SVVARTZENBOVRG, Generall of the Christians Army, is commended, for that he had alwaies his spirits banded to some new Stratagem. He had once failed to surprise *Buda*, and yet he would attempt it so often as he might aduance the Emperours affaires, by an honorable victory, ouer that strong Towne. He drew together twelue thousand men, and lodged them closely in a valley, that he might surprise it at the opening of the gate: But the enterprise being discouered, the suburbs smarted for the Towne; the enemy hauing no will to salie forth. And the next day he defeated a conuoy, which carried pay for the Garrison of *Agria*, slew 400 Turks, and toke the Bege, who was Gouernour of *Hatuan*. These victories made SVVARTZENBOVRG to attempt *Buda* the third time; but he failed to take the Town, though not the Basha; who, walking abroad, was surprised, and sent for a trophey to the Emperor, with certaine Ensignes, which the Barrons of *Palfi* and *Madafi*, had taken from the Tartarians.

The Turke desirous of a Peace.

The Turke was so oppresst, on the one side by the Christians, and on the other by the Persians, as he would willingly haue embraced a peace; but he would make it with such aduantage, as he seemed to want neither force nor meanes to encounter both Enemies. The Turke demanded to haue *Iauerin*, *Fillec* and *Serchein*, restored; and he offered nothing but *Agria*: wherupon the assembly brake off, without any effect; and presently after PALFI defeated seuen hundred Turkes; and the Hussars (which be Hungarian Knights) cut in peeces 3000 Tartarians neere to *Fillec*.

Cardinall Batori makes a league with the Turke, and the successe.

In the meane time Cardinall BATTORI, hauing gotten the gouernement of *Transiluania*, thrust on with blinde ambition, and the desire of command, treated with the Turke, and promised a certaine annuall tribute, so as he might be maintained in the possession of what he had vsurped. Doubtlesse the nature of man is blindely furious, and mad, being once transported with passion. The Pope foresaw the Cardinals ruine; and, by his Nuntio, laboured to retire him from temporall Armes to his profession: God beheld his enterprise, full of iniustice and treachery, and stirred vp a scourge to punish him. MICHAEL Vauoide, or Lord of *Valachia*,

chia, who wholly depended vpon the Emperor, hauing leuied an Army of 30000 men entred into *Transiluania* and took *Cronstar* to stop the Polonians passage, who he thought would assist the Cardinall.

After which he came with his Army neere vnto the Cardinalls Camp, giuing him to vnderstand, that he came not to shedde Christian bloud, but would willingly spare it: but whereas he had refused to take an oath to the Emperor and to restore that which he had vsurped, and being forced by no necessitie, had craued aid from the Turk; for this cause if he did not presently yield himselfe into the Emperors power, he would prosecute him by Armes. The Cardinall refusing to performe this, the Vaiuode led his Army against him, and the Cardinal did the like; *in the beginning the fight was furious, but the victory inclined to the Vaiuode*, who sent to pursue the Cardinal being fled, and to bring him back: the *Valachians* ouertook the Cardinall in the mountaines, where they slew him and carried his head to the Vaiuode. Which being done he brought all *Transiluania* subiect vnto the Emperor, whose Embassadour was receiued by them, vpon condition to maintaine them in their rights & priuiledges. Al *Transiluania* set vp the victors ensignes, who fortifying himselfe in the strongest townes, ministred occasion to call the sincerity of his designes in question: which opinion was fortified when they saw the Turke seeke his friendship, by an Embassie which hee sent vnto him; but hee weakned that opinion by retayning the Embassadour, which the Turkish Emperour had sent vnto him, whether it were that he doubted some fraude, or that he ment by that policie to couer the malice of his heart: but he gaue some satisfaction, by putting to death certaine spies of the Bashas SERDER and deliuering the whole estate of *Transiluania* into the Emperors hands.

Cardinall Battori defeated and slaine.

The turkes send Embassadors to treat of a peace.

In October SERDER Basha made a great shew to affect peace, sending Embassadours to the Arch-duke MATHIAS: whereupon a place of treaty was appointed, in an Iland betwixt *Strigonia* and *Visigrade*, and Commissioners were sent on either side. The Turks demanded restitution of all those places which had beene taken by the Christians, the last fiue yeares, especially *Strigonia*. The Christians yeelded to all except *Strigonia*, which the Turks did vrge much, offring *Agria* in exchange. In the end, the Emperours Commissioners finding that the Turks meant nothing but fraude, they brake off the assembly and retired: yet soone after, SERDER Basha sought to renew the treaty againe, but it took no effect.

1600. *The treachery of Michael the Vaiuode.*

MICHAEL the Vaiuode of *Valachia*, hauing yeelded the estate of *Transiluania* vnto the Emperour, after the defeate of Cardinall BATTORI: The Turke knowing him to be a man of seruice, sought his friendship. And although that he indeuored to free himself from all shew of suspicion: yet GEORGE BASTA Lieutenant for the Emperor in *Transiluania*, had discouered certaine secret intelligences which he had with the Turke, whereof he gaue him notice. Soone after he gaue ouer his secret practices, & receiued the Turks Embassadors & his masters presents publikely: and caused them to be carried before them, entring into *Cronstar* with the Embassador. And to the end they should giue no sinister impression of his fidelity to the Emperour; he told his ministers, that his desire was to haue that action performed, in view of the whole towne; to the end they should not thinke, he would do any thing in secret to the preiudice of Christendome. And withall he intreated them to moue the Emperour, to reuoke BASTA's Commission, for the priuate quarrels that were betwixt them, and to substitute some other of a more tractable disposition.

His demands of the empire.

The Emperour being aduertised, that MICHAEL would escape from him if hee did not stay him by some meanes, he sent him thirty thousand crownes in gift: but he thinking it too smal a recompence for his seruices, told the Emperors agents that *Transiluania did* belong vnto him by hereditarie right; wherefore he demanded, that he might enioy it as his owne; and for satisfaction of his seruices, he should giue him *Varadin*, *Hust*, *Nagban*, and the confines of *Hungary*, with other demands which were so arrogant, and vnciuile, as they did purchase him deadly hatred and were the cause of his ruine. After which he ouerthrew SIGISMVND BATTORI who sought to enter into *Transiluania* againe, with IEREMI the Vaiuode of *Moldauia*; but being annoyed by the Chancellor of *Poland* in *Valachia*, he craued aide from the Lieutenant of the Imperiall Army in high *Hungary*, and promised the Emperour by his Letters, to serue him faithfully in this occurrent, so as he would but call BASTA out of *Transiluania*. The Emperor would not that his vassaile should capitulate with him. It was a president of bad consequence; and therefore he commanded him to obey BASTA. Afterwards hee grew hatefull to all the Polonians, BASTA pursued him, and surprised him being incamped at *Visbourg* with 18000 men, where he slew foure thousand, and chased him into the Mountaines, where he was reduced

ced to that extremity, as he was forced to goe an humble suppliant to the Emperor, and to offer his wife and children for hostages.

Puppa betrayed by the garrison.

The Garrison of *Puppa*, consisting for the most part of Walloons and French, fell into a mutinie for their pay, hauing also some scarcity of victuals; they made one called *La* MOTT their Captaine, forcing their companions to signe their reuolt; they seized vpon MAROT their gouernor, and of the other Captaines: They set all the Turkes at liberty (who by the counsell of these Traitors, carried euery man his hoste prisoner to *Alba Regalis*, or to *Vesperine*) and withall, they promised to deliuer them SVVARTZENBOVRG, lieutenant Generall of the Imperiall Army, or to giue them meanes to take him at *Zolnock*, when he should come with their pay. MAROT *the Gouernor found meanes to aduertise him hereof, and he went thither* presently with nine thousand men; where, at his first comming, he tooke one of their Captaines, whom he caused to be fleyed aliue, and his head to be set vpon a Pike, to terrifie the rest; hee took from them a Basha, whereby they did hope to be relieued by the Turke; who could not assist them either with men or prouision: hunger prest them, and they grew desperate, hauing no hope of any humane aide; whereupon they salied out by night, and made a great slaughter in one of the Quarters; SVVARTZENBOVRG runnes thither to repaire this disorder, but he was ouerthrowne with a shot and slaine: his death caused great heauinesse in the Imperiall Army, and all Christendome had cause to lament his losse. These Wretches made a second salie, saying that before they would yeeld, they would feede vpon their Gouernour MAROT, and their other prisoners.

MELCHIOR REDER, who had wonne much honor in the defence of *Varradine*, had the charge of the Army, and pressed the siege, and the Traitors indured the last extremity. They had a posterne gate behinde, in which they did put all the hope of their safety, seeking to make dry a poole, which did inuiron the Towne of the one side; but for that the mudde would not easily carry them, they could not couer it so secretly, with hardles, strawe, reede, and such other materials, but REDER was aduertised. Hereupon he sent NADASTI the Earle of *Thurne* and *Colonits*: who ouertaking them neere vnto a Wood, brought some of them back prisoners, and slew *La* MOTT their Captaine, with some hundred others which would not yield; forcing the rest to keepe themselues within the Fort. The Gouernour MAROTT with certaine others, who had freed themselues from their bondes, came speedily vnto the Campe.

The cruell punishments of the Traitors to Puppa.

REDER then enters the town, kils some of the remainder, and reserues the rest for their deserued punishments, whom he sent into diuers garisons: and that by the horror of their example they might abhorre the like treacherie, some were impaled, others broken vpon the wheele, or rosted at a slowe fire, basted with Larde; others had their bowels pulled out of their bellies, and burnt before their eyes, their thighs, shoulders, and other parts being pinched with hotte pincers: Some had their hearts pulled out of their bodies aliue, others their throates and mouths stuft ful of Sulphur and Powder and then fired, and some were buried in the ground vp to the neck, and their heads bruised with bullets. And thus were those traitors cruelly tormented by order of martiall law.

Babottes yeelded basely to the Turkes.

Puppa, a fort of importance, being then preserued, *Babottes* could not so escape: the town was strong, and fortified with fiue hundred men, hauing store of all sorts of necessary prouision. But the Garrison (terrified by the descent of twelue thousand Ianitzaries, sent from *Constantinople*) yeelded it vpon the first attempt; and by their basenesse, made the losse of *Canisa* easy, the which followed to the preiudice of all Christendome. It was an ill president for the Gouernor of that place, being the strongest fort the Christians had in *Stiria*: an example the which, it may be, he would not so easily haue imitated, if the Gouernor of *Babottes* had receiued that punishment which martiall law inflicts vpon those that yeeld vp a place of importance, without extreame necessity; but the Christian Army, had neede of a commander of greater authority, who by his presence might containe both soldiers and Captaines in their duties.

The Duke of *Mercœur*, would not accept the charge of Lieutenant generall of the Armie of *Hungary*, but with the kings good liking: who hauing signified his pleasure, the Duke came into *Hungary*, and was saluted Lieutenant generall of the Army in *Iauerin*; an Army weake in forces, but strong in courage and resolution, to fight for the defence of Religion. He marched with fifteene thousand men, of diuers Nations, to relieue them, being resolued either to lodge in *Canisa*, or to die in the field. The first of October, he gaue a signe vnto the besieged of his comming, and sought to keep from his enemy the knowledge of his small Army; *Canisa*

was

was beſieged by 50000 men vnder the command of the Vetzier Baſha. The Duke reſolues to hazard a battaile to relieue the Towne. The Vetzier, vnderſtanding, by his ſpies, the weakneſſe of the Dukes Army, aduiſed him, not to oppoſe his ſmall troups, againſt ſo great forces. The Duke made anſwere: That, he did not feare to aſſaile a greater number of Infidels, with few er Chriſtians; and, that God fauoured the iuſtice of his cauſe.

The Duke of Mercœur repels the Turks.

The Duke aduanced towards *Caniſa*, and the Vetzier attended him in his paſſage with a battalion of twenty thouſand men, which came to charge him with their accuſtomed cries. The Dukes Artillery amazed their furious clamours, ſtaid their heat, diminiſhed their numbers, and beat them backe towards their Trenches; the Duke, remaining maſter of the fielde, of two Cannons, and of many ſlaine and hurt. The next day hee ſeekes to draw them out of their Campe, and takes foureteene fielde pieces: and on the other ſide, the Turkes intercepted the Chriſtians victuals, comming unto them. The Vetzier, ſeeing that force could not prevaile, ſought to vanquiſh them by neceſſity. The Army being in great want, they cried out to retire: The Generall preached patience, and would not conſent unto a retreat, untill the Colonels and Captaines had confirmed their opinions under their hands. In their retreat there fell a ſodaine amazement among them, which put the army in diſorder: whereupon the Turkes arrived, and put many Germanes to the ſword. The Duke rallied his men together, and incouraged them rather to dye honourably, then by flight to fall into miſerable ſervitude. Thus, incouraged by the preſence of the General, they returned to the charge, repulſed the enemy, and made the retreat eaſie. The beſieged in *Caniſa* diſpaired of all ſuccours, and PARADIS the Governour was eaſily perſwaded by them to yeeld. Thus *Caniſa*, one of the chiefe bulwarks of Chriſtendome, was made ſubject to the tyranny of this barbarous enemy. PARADIS, preſenting himſelfe to the Duke of *Mercœur*, he ſent him to the Duke MATHIAS, who was Governour of the Countrey: And having no ſufficient reaſon to excuſe his cowardiſe, he was by the Emperors commandment condemned to have his right hand cut off, which had ſigned the rendition; and to loſe his head.

Caniſa taken by the Turks.

The Perſian intreats the Chriſtian Princes to war againſt the Turks.

This yeare the King of *Perſia* ſent his Embaſſadours to ſummon the Emperor, the Pope, the King of Spaine, and other Chriſtian Princes, to invade the Turkes eſtate with their joynt forces, promiſing to aſſaile him with 15000 horſe, and 60000 foote; and to grant free liberty of Religion and trafficke to their ſubjects in his kingdomes, ſo as they would not treat any peace with the Turke without comprehending him.

The Pope and Princes did thanke the Sophy for his affection to the good of Chriſtendome; exhorting him to be a meanes, that the great Duke of *Muſcovie* might give his conſent and aſſiſtance to this general enterprize. MAHOMET, advertiſed hereof, ſent his Phyſitian, a Chriſtian Renegado, into *France*, to intreat the King, to mediate a truce for him with the Chriſtian Emperor; and to call the Duke of *Mercœur* backe into *France*: for (ſaid hee) the Turkes do greatly apprehend one of their prophecies, which ſaith, that, The Sword of the French ſhall chaſe them out of Europe.

The Tranſilvanians calling an aſſembly at *Clauſenbourge*, SIGISMVND BATTORI was there proclaimed their lawfull Prince, by ſuch as favoured his party, and all men commanded to obey him, and the Imperialiſts were put in ſafe cuſtodie. They ſent into *Moldavia*, to intreat SIGISMVND to come and take poſſeſſion of his inheritance; and in the meane time they made ISCHIACK, an ambitious and cruell man, his Lievtenant Generall; who, in the beginning committed the wife and ſonne of MICHAELL the Vaivode of Valachia to priſon. BASTA, having no power to hinder this reſolution, nor the effects, demaunded leave of the Eſtates to retire; exhorting the Tranſilvanians to perſiſt in the fidelity which they did owe unto the Emperor. They, foreſeeing that this act would be diſpleaſing vnto him, ſent STEPHEN CARKESY vnto the Emperour; proteſting that they were very ſory for theſe alterations: that hauing no Prince vnder whom they might be more aſſured, they had again opened their Arms to SIGISMVND BATTORI: That they would alway yeeld that obedience and fidelity which they did owe vnto his Imperiall maieſty, and would not conclude any peace with the Turke, but vpon ſuch conditions as ſhould not be any way diſpleaſing vnto him.

Battori returns into Tranſilvania.

BATTORI comes into *Tranſiluania*: from whence by his Letters to BASTA, he laments the miſeries into which he had vndeſeruedly beene reduced. He craues pardon for that which had beene done in his abſence, to the preiudice of his maieſties ſeruice, and that he might be ſuffered to ſend his excuſes by an Embaſſador to the Emperour. BASTA anſwered him, that all depended vpon the Emperors pleaſure, whoſe commandement he attended. The Vaivode MICHAEL tooke the captiuity of his wife and ſonne impatiently. Hee pretended to be able to doe the Emperour great ſeruice, if he would aſſiſt him with ſome forces, hoping ſoone to reduce the whole Prouince to obedience. This Valachian had his deſignes apart, fortifying himſelfe vpon diuers occurrents, both with the Turke and Emperor: But to reiect the ſeruice of this Prince, were to thruſt him into furie; and make him either ſeeke vnto the Turke, or reconcile himſelfe with SIGISMVND, and ſo to croſſe the Emperours affaires with their joynt forces. The Emperour therefore furniſht him with men and money, to ioyne with BASTA, who had a watchfull eye ouer his actions, leſt he ſhould attempt ſomething to his maſters preiudice. They had drawne together twenty thouſand men, and camped vpon a mountaine, attending ſome horſe-men from *Sileſia*. SIGISMVND had eighteene thouſand horſe, and twenty two thouſand foote, with the which he reſolued to charge them before their ſupplies came; whereupon, both Armies ioyned battaile; where, after a bloody fight, BATTORI was ouerthrowne, with the loſſe of tenne thouſand men, forty peeces of great Ordinance, one hundred and tenne Enſignes, and all his baggage. After this, *Clauſenbourg* was taken, paying three moneths entertainement for the whole Army, and, likewiſe, receiuing a good Garriſon.

Battori def. ated by the Vaivode and Baſha.

The Valachian, in this battaile, performed the part of a faithfull ſeruant; but hee thought himſelfe rather borne to command, then to obey; and thruſt on by his naturall ambition, he continued, ſecretly, his fraudulent intelligences with the Turkes and Tartarians. BASTA informed the Emperour of all his actions, and namely of his rigour againſt the inhabitants of the champaigne Countrey, vnder colour to reuenge their diſloyalty to the Emperour. BASTA perſwaded him, in the Emperours name, not to blemiſh his generous and well deſeruing acts, with the infamous name of cruelty. To whom he anſwered, proudly; That he would no more obey his commandements, or the Emperours; And that he meant to enioy *Tranſiluania*, which he had gotten by his ſword and valour; doing many acts of abſolute power. Soone after, BASTA diſcouered by his owne Letters, that he treated with the Baſha of *Themeſuar*, and fought the friendſhippe of BATTORI, to deliuer the Imperiall Army into the Enemies hands. Hereupon the Councell ſent for him, meaning to ſend him vnto the Emperour; but refuſing to come, Colonell PETZ was commanded to inueſt his Quarter, with his regiment, and ſome other troups, who comming into the Valachians Tent, and telling him that he arreſted him as the Emperours priſoner, hee drew out his Sword, whereupon they preſently ſlew him, and cut off his Head.

The Vaivode Michael ſlaine.

They found in his Tent, Letters which did manifeſtly diſcouer his treacherous deſignes: the which being imparted to the Valachians (who began to mutine vpon his death) they confeſt that he had been iuſtly ſlaine. Moſt of them tooke a new oath to the Emperour, and inrolled themſelues vnder BASTA's Enſignes. BATTORI was againe defeated before *Clauſenbourg*, which he thought to ſurpriſe; and being purſued by BASTA, he fled, like a Vagabond, into the Mountaines and Deſerts.

The Duke of *Mercœur* having drawne together an Army of 18000 men, with Cannon and munition of warre, neceſſarie for a ſiege, gaue it out that he would attempt *Buda*, yet holding his enterpriſe ſo ſecret as the troups knew not where their Generall would imploy them: vntil that after the taking of ſome Caſtles by compoſition, they found themſelues in the ſuburbes of *Alba Regalis*, a ſmall towne, but of great importance, inuironed with a deepe mariſh, which made the approaches difficult. Hauing obſerued the ſituation, hee caſt vp a trench towards *Buda*, from whence they might be relieued; reſoluing firſt to aſſault the baſe towne and the ſuburbes: where hauing planted his petardes and appointed a ſcalado at the ſame inſtant, the ſouldiers entred with little loſſe, forcing the Turkes to retire into their chief Fort. Then hee made his approaches: and hauing planted his batterie, within ſix daies he made two ſmall breaches in the walles, commanding ROCHEVORME Marſhall of the Camp, with 1000 good ſouldiers to ſeeke a paſſage through the mariſh, to one of the breaches, euery one carying a fagot in his hand, meaning at the ſame inſtant to giue an aſſault to the other breach; ROCHEVORME was diſcouraged by the Countrey people, who aſſured him that there was no paſſage that way: but giuing no credit to their words, he ſent to diſcouer it, and they brought him word that the paſſage was difficult, but not impoſſible: whereupon at night they entred thoſe fennes which they found farre deeper then was related, almoſt with the hazard of their liues; but they vanquiſhed all difficulties, and came vnto the breach: which they entred, the Turks being buſie to defend the other; whereupon the towne was taken and moſt of them put to the ſword, the

Alba Regalis beſieged by Duke Mercœur.

Castle, and a great part of the towne was blowne vp by certaine traines which the Turkes had layed. The which did so incense the victors, as they would not receive any to ransome, except the Basha, and some hundred souldiers, which were retired into a Fort; who, making shew to yeeld, had their liues granted them.

Alba Regalis inuested *againe by the Persian.*

The plague did much afflict the Dukes Army, who hadde retired two miles off, aswell to refresh it, as to obserue the countenance of the great VETZIER, who resolued in the absence of the christian generall to attempt to reduce that place vnder his obedience, before the ruines were repaired and the victuals supplied. The Duke aduertised that the Basha turned head towards *Alba Regalis*, he approached also with his troupes: and taking with him some 120 French horse, he put himselfe into the towne to assure them by his presence; where hee was presently inuested by 8000 horse, the whole Army (being 60000 men) following after. The Duke hauing giuing order for the most vrgent affaires of the towne, returned by night vnto his Army: the which did much reuiue their daunted spirits; where they performed braue exploites against the enemy, by their daily incounters and skirmishes, in which they took 9 Cannons and slew MEHEMET TICAIA a Basha, the Basha of *Buda*, 6 Saniacs, one CADIZ and many other men of note in the Army; whose heads were giuen in exchange, for many Christian prisoners. The rest of the Turkish Army being dispersed here and there, the Duke had liberty to assure his garrisons, and to returne to *Viena* with much honour.

Canisa besieged by the Arch-duke Ferdinand *in vaine.*

In the meane time the Arch-duke FERDINAND went to recouer *Canisa* (which had bene taken the yere before by the Turk) with an Army of 4500 horse, and 23000 foot: of which the Pope and Princes of *Italy* had sent 12000, vnder the commande of FRANCIS ALDOBRANDINE his Nephew, and the Duke of *Mantua* was Lieutenant Generall to the Archduke. Hauing planted their Cannon, they made a resonable breach, and summoned the besieged, with offer of all fauour, if they yeelded; but if they attended the extremity, they must expect no better vsage then they of *Alba Regalis*. Their example did nothing terrifie the Walloones, and Christians Renegades, which commanded in the place: they found easily by their weake attempts to force them, that either there was some trouble & badde intelligence in the Army, or want of that which was needfull to giue an assault; letting them vnderstand that they had no more feare then if their walles were freed. There was great confusion among the Italians: which troubled the whole Camp. The bridge, which they had made to passe couered ouer the ditch, was too weak and short. They were annoyed with raine, snow, and tempest; and many other difficulties were in their Camp, so as many souldiers died without helpe, and there was no apparance to stay any longer, without a totall ruine of the Army. Whereupon the Archduke FERDINAND resolued to retire, in the which he wonne lesse honour then in the siege; for wanting al things necessarie to draw away their Cannons they were forced to breake them, to burne their tents, and to abandon their sicke men, to the spoile of their enemies.

The Duke of *Mercoeur* hauing taken *Alba Regalis* the yeere before, it was now againe made subiect to the Turkish tyranny, whereas the garrison was all put to the sword; the gouernour laying the fault vpon the negligence of the Souldiers. The spoile was very great; in which they found all the old Ordinance, with twelue peeces new cast, an infinite number of Swords, forty tunne of powder, 200 tunne of meale, eightie of Bisket, with ten thousand Florens to pay the Garrison.

After the death of the Duke of *Mercoeur*, RVSOVRMBE was Generall of the Christian Army, preparing to relieue *Alba Regalis*, if he had not been aduertised of the losse. And hearing that the Turkes Army was dispersed (some gone against the *Scribiano*, and others into *Transiluania*, against BASTA) he marched directly to *Buda*, the chiefe towne in *Hungary*, with fiue thousand horse, and twenty thousand foote; hauing in his company the Duke of *Neuers*, a valiant Noble-man of *France*. At their first approach they attempted the base Towne, by land and water, and tooke it by night. *Buda* was diuided from *Pesta*, by the Riuer of *Dannow*, hauing a bridge whereby they might assist one another. The Christians resolued to cut off this bridge, the which they effected; and whilest the Turkes were busie in the defence of the Riuer, they took *Pesta* by Scalado, and put all they encountred to the Sword: the rest being retired into some places of strength, compounded for their Liues, Wiues and Children; and promised to cause them of *Buda* to doe the like; but there were more men, and they had greater courage.

Pesta taken by the christians.

The Turkes raise the siege of *Buda.*

The Turkish Army hearing hereof, posted presently back to saue *Buda*, leauing the designes of *Transiluania*. RVSOVRMB being thus surprised, purtes men into *Pesta*, and prepares for his retraite,

of *Transiluania*. RVSVRMB being thus surprised, puts more men into *Pesta* & prepares for his retraite, hauing first battered the towne, and made a small breach, at which there were 2500 Christians slaine and wounded; and the Duke of *Neuers* performing all parts of a valiant Noble-man was shot in the left side, but it was not mortall. After which, the Army retired in safetie.

The Noblemen of *Transiluania* fauoured SIGISMVND BATTORI their naturall Lord: they seised vpon *Bistrick* and vowed to defend it against all assailants. BASTA went speedily to besiege it, battered their walles, and gaue an assault, but his men were repulsed with losse. To reuiue their courages he promised them the spoile of the towne. The inhabitants grew amazed: and apprehending the insolencies of conquerors, they declared that they would not indure the extremity of warre, for the pleasure of some ill affected to the Emperors seruice: they excused themselues to the General, that they had not consented to this rebellion, but by force, & demanded peace: the which he graunted, but with such conditions, as the Magistrates would not accept. Whereupon BASTA renewes his batterie, and prepares for a new assault; the souldiers growing resolute with the hope of a rich spoile.

The Transilanians oppose themselues against the Emperour.

BATTORI giues his word by an Embassadour, that hee would not make war against the Emperour, and that the citizens of *Bistrick* should submit themselues vpon reasonable conditions: whereupon he receiued the inhabitants, paying 30000 dallers for reparation, promising that all that would depart should be conducted to a place of safety with their goods, wiues and children. Vpon this assurance 300 men went out of the towne with 100 waggons; the which were spoiled by some of the Army. BASTA detesting this treachery made diligent search for the Authors, restored what could be found, and punished the chiefe with death.

BATTORI seeing his enterprises succeede ill, resolued to make his peace with the Emperor: and during this treaty (all things seeming to be quiet) MOYSES Duke of *Zeccleria* took Armes; and foreseeing that BASTA would besiege him in *Visbourg*, he layed an ambush for him. After some messages past on both sides, BASTA went and ioyned battaile with him, in the which he slew 3000 of his men and forced MOYSES to fly to the mountaines. BATTORI seeing this faction ouerthrowne, came speedily to BASTA, to purge himselfe of the reuolt of MOYSES: he entred with him into *Visbourg*, and submitted himselfe wholly into the Emperors power, and so *Transiluania* was for that time pacified.

Basta ouerthrowes Moises duke of Zeccleria.

1603

This yeere the Emperor being daily annoyed with the incursions of Turkes and Tartarians into his Countries, he called a Diet at *Ratisbone*: whither he sent the Arch-duke MATHIAS his brother, with instructions not onely to acquaint the Princes and estates of the Empire, with the present necessities of the Turkish warres, and the daily incursions of the Tartarians; but also to require such aide as the turbulent estate of things did presently require: who after much consultation, granted a good supply of horse and foote.

COLLONITS a man of great seruice, and who had carried himselfe valiantly in the Hungarian warres, did this summer take two strong forts, and had put to rout 2000 Turkes neere to *Comorrha*, and sent thirteene ensignes to the Emperour: he beate the garrison of *Canisa*, and resolued to attempt the towne. There was a French-man in his Army a subtile fellow and daring any thing, who counterfeiting himselfe a Renegado, fled into *Canisa* and desired to be entertained by the Turkes; the which hauing easily obtained, hee laied traines of pouder in diuerse fit places, all which should take fire at one instant, so as when the Turkes were busie to quench it, COLLONITS might assault the Castle. The French-man performed what he had vndertaken, and the fire brake out with such violence as it consumed all the houses vpon the South and West parts, yea the carriages of their Ordinance: but the Turks neglected the fire & obserued the enemy; so as COLLONITS being out of hope to take the Castle, left it wasted vnto the Turks. By the like Stratagem, the Turks soon after fought to take *Strigonium*.

The enterprise of Collonits.

The estate of *Transiluania* was much troubled by the Zeeclerian; who thinking to reuenge his last affront, crept into fauour with the Turke, who promised to make him his Lieutenant generall, as soone as he should reduce that prouince, vnder the Turkish obedience and religion. With this hope, he had appointed him 150000 men, for the recouerie of *Pesta* and *Strigonium*: and nothing staied the progresse, but want of victuals in Turkey. Hauing receiued 10000 Tartarians, with a great number of Transiluanians, he besieged and took *Visbourg*, perswading all men to ioyne their Armes with his, vpon hopes of great fauour, and commanding the souldiers to abandon BASTA's Camp.

The exploits of Moises the Zeeclerian.

BASTA was weake both of men and money. RADVIEL the new Vaiuode of *Valachia*, remembring how BASTA had succored him in his necessity against the Tartarians, came speedily

dily with 8000 men to requite him: without which succors, he was in danger to haue fallen into the hands of the Infidel. MOYSES. And BASTA armed speedily, to ioyne with the Valachian, that they might make the body of an Army. He attended two thousand Silesian horse: which; MOYSES resoluing to defeate, sent some part of his Army to seize vpon the passages, and to stop the entry into the Countrey. By chance, they encountred with 800 Valachians, led by Colonel MARSE: who, finding his troupes weake, retired, and left his Camp. MOYSES men triumphed very much at this petty victory: and, thinking that MARSE was farre retired, neglected their guards. But MARSE returned presently, and fell vpon them like a whirle-winde, putting many to the Sword: the rest he chased to *Themesuar*, sending 25 Ensigns to BASTA. MOYSES himself, present at this defeate, was slain; his body being found vpon search by the Valachians, and the Emperor aduertised thereof by BASTA.

Moyses the Sclerian defeated and ouerthrown by Colonel Marse.

ALBERT NASSIVS succeeded him: who, swimming in the Gulfes of Infidelitie, like to MOYSES, drew together 6000 Rebells, and other people of diuers Nations. BASTA sent to assaile him suddenly by his Caualry: who slew most of his men; himselfe escaping with some fewe. The generall Enemy of the Christian name, might haue been expelled *Hungary*, had the Emperor receiued the contribution money granted at the generall assembly of *Ratisbone* in March last, to entertaine an Army for six yeere and eight moneths. The Princes of *Germany* had freely offered their contributions. The collections might haue been made without grieuance or oppression. But as the rich sought to ease themselues, and to lay it vpon the weaker sort: so the effects did not second the hopes which were conceiued. Some did contribute more then was demanded: The Elector of *Saxony* gaue the Emperor twelue field pieces, with the furniture necessary for a yeer. The Duke of *Brunswick* sent 1000 horse and 2000 foot. Others assisted this publique cause, with the like bounty. Some also, vnder that pretext, haue extorted from their subiects farre greater summes then their taxe, imploying it to their own vse; to the dishonour of their order, and against the dignity of their ranke.

A great contribution granted at Ratisbone, ill managed.

Buda was much pressed with famine: they had eaten all their horses, and tumultuously carried away all the victuals in the Basha's house: which threatned some dangerous effect, if shortly they were not relieued with sufficient prouision. The great Vetzier brought them victuals: but, COLLONITS with his horse-men by land, and SVLTZ and ALTHEM with their foote-men vpon the Riuer, were alwaies watchfull to intercept it. Victuals were so scant, as if the second conuay had been lost, there had been no hope to haue furnished a third. In the end, the Vetzier put it into the Towne, but not without incounter and great losse of his men. And if SVLTZ, fearing some ambush, had not by force retired his men, who pursued the beginning of a victory, they were likely to haue reaped great benefit of that daies seruice: For these Barbarians carried with them one whole yeers entertainment, due to the Garrison of *Buda*. The Cham of *Tartaria* returned much discontented: For, the Vetzier had quarrelled with him, as if by his negligence he had hindred the victualing of *Buda*, carrying great forces with him, notwithstanding that the Vetzier intreated him to stay in *Hungary*, wherewith the Turkish Army was much weakened, and disabled to doe any great exploits this yeere. The Vetzier, after the victualing of *Buda*, sought to expell the Christians out of the Iland of *Adonis*, making great preparation both by ships and bridge, to transport their men. RVSORMBE incountred them with his troupes: where, after a long fight, they forced them to flie to their ships in confusion. The Christians followed them vnto the Riuer *Dannow*: the which for many daies after was died with Infidels blood: and they, which ran by troups into their vessels being ouerladen, were drowned. There was slain in this battail a Basha of great authority, the Bege of *Belgrade*, with many other of note, and 1500 Ianitzaries: but the number of the drowned was far greater. Finally, it was known by a certain turk, who after this conflict followed the Christian party, that of 4000 horse & 6000 foot there were scarce saued 1000; & those returned without Arms. The Vetzier began his retrait towards *Belgrade*, and gius means to the Christians to assaile *Hatua*; which hindred the victualing of *Pesta*. RVSORMBE, vpon his approach, summons the town; threatning them that if they yielded not willingly (but taken by assault) they should suffer the like miseries and indignities, as before time; where the Walloons had committed vnspeakeable inhumanities. The remembrance whereof made a great impression in these miscreants: whereupon, they yielded on condition to depart with their wiues & children, and what goods they could carry. It was a town reasonable strong, well stored of corn, pouder & cattell, with 24 peeces of Ordinance mounted.

Buda prest with famine.

Turks defeated.

Hatua taken by the christians.

MAHOMET the Turkish Emperor hauing receiued many losses and disgraces in *Hungary*, and troubled with the reuolts of *Asia*, he resolued to treate a peace with the Christians at what rate

rate soeuer: hee gaue charge to the Vetzier, and to ACHMAT and MVRATH Bashaes, to move the Emperors Ministers thereunto. They had often treated, but the issue did shew they proceeded with fraude: to free them from which feare the Bashaes did write vnto the chiefe commanders, That their most mighty Emperour had a will to treate a firme and stable peace for the ease of the poore people and quiet of their estates: the which we in like manner did hartilie desire. The which if you neglect said they, many prouinces will be desolate. Whereupon Commissioners were sent by the Arch-duke MATHIAS, and they met in an Island aboue *Pesta* and *Buda*. The Turkes intreated that ALTHEM might go to *Buda*; where he was receiued with great shewes of ioy: to whome the Basha deliuered great presents for the Emperour, and the Arch-duke MATHIAS, which were very rare and rich, and likewise for himselfe and the other Commissioners. The Basha had reason to presse a peace MAHOMET being dead: and the new successor could not better settle his affaires, then by a peace, which his father had procured before his death. Whereupon the Basha of *Buda* wrote his Letters to ALTHEM, that ACHMAT succeeded MAHOMET his father, not onely in his estates, but in his intentions, for the settling of a good peace in *Hungary*; that he desired to vnderstand what had bin concluded, that he might ratifie it; that, if the businesse were not yet finished, they should vse all diligence to bring it to a good end: but yet for that time it took no effect. Yet on the twenty fift of Feb. they returnd to *Pesta*, with an intent to treat; whereas the Emperors Commissioners feasted them solemnly in Tents without the Town, being 600 in number: but, going to repass the riuer, they attempted to surprise *Pesta* with the help of the forces of *Buda*; but they were repulsed with shame and losse, leauing their ladders behinde them as witnesses of their treachery. The Bashaes disavowed the fact, and intreated the Christian Ambassadors to come the next day to *Buda*: but they were aduertised, that there was no safety for them. And thus the hope of this peace, which all Christendome expected, was lost.

Mahomet demands a peace of the Christians.

Death of Mahomet.

1604.

Achmats son desires to continue the treaty of peace.

After this, they went to Arms. ACHMAT promised to go in person to the conquest of *Hungary*, *Valachia*, *Transiluania*, *Vienna* and *Austria*. He sends SIGALA against the Persian, and giues the Vetzier the charge of the Hungarian warre. He commands the Beglerbey of *Greece* to leuie 80 000 men. He sends HASSAN Basha towards *Belgrade* to prouide victuals for the army. He drawes, from *Egypt* to *Belgrade*, an infinite quantity of bisket and powder: and it was conceited, that the Ottomans power was able to vanquish the King of *Persia*, and to prescribe a lawe to the King of *Vienna* (as he called him); but hee was deceiued in his accompt: for, the Persian defeated SIGALA, and took 80 Towns, with a great Country in *Asia*; who continuing the course of his victories, the Turk returns to his ordinary practices, and demandeth a peace of the Emperor: who although he knew there was little to be hoped for from so perfidious a Nation, yet he gaue charge to some in *Hungary* to hear vpon what conditions they would treat. The Bashaes demanded, that the Emperor should pay yeerly the tribute which had bin formerly paid; that he should send Presents to ACHMAT; that he should keep an Agent in *Constaminople*; that he should yeeld to him the places taken during this warre of *Hungary*, with the Countries of *Transiluania* and *Valachia*: which done, they would send to intreat the Sultane to restore *Canisia*. To which the Emperor answered: If they would haue a peace, he would willingly imbrace it, so as they would restore to him *Agria* and *Canisia*. I cannot abandon *Transiluania*, houlding it by a iust and lawfull title: as for *Valachia*, there might happely some means be propounded, which might be accepted by both parties; so as they spake nothing of any tribute, or of entertaining an ordinary Agent at the great Turks Port.

Achmats great preparation for war.

The Turks seek a peace, and their minde demands.

The Emperors answer was receiued with scorn from the Bashaes. The Vetzier approached with 10000 Ianitzaries, and a great number of Tartarians: they onely sought to diuert the Christians from all enterprises vntill their forces were arriued. IAGENREVTER a German, Gouerner of *Pesta*, hearing that the Vetzier had charge to recouer that town with other places; growing amazed, he packed vp his baggage, and retired without sight of any enemy, and went to *Strigonium*; hauing no other excuse for his desertion, but fear and amazement. ALTHEM the Gouerner put him in safe keeping vntill the Emperor had otherwise ordained. They of *Hatua* with the like basenes abandoned the Town: which made the Turks vndertake the siege of *Strigonium*; the which was valiantly defended. They endured many assaults with the like valour. The Ianitzaries, seeing there was nothing but blowes and death to be gotten at this siege so obstinately defended, they forced the Vetzier and SERDER Basha with threats to retire.

BELIOGEVSE, Lieutenant to BASTA, had brought the forces of *Transilvania* for the succours of *Strigonium*, to his Generall, foreseeing no enemy in the Country. But he had no sooner

1604. turned his back but a new combustion forced him to return: for, BOTSCAY ISTVAN, a Noble-man of that part, had made a great leuie of souldiers, and proclaimed himself Prince of *Transiluania*, and demanded aid from the Sultan for the conquest of the Country. BELIOYEVSE drawes what forces he can together, and ioyneth with the Earle of *Tampieri*; whose Troops, being three thousand horse, were of BOTSCAY's faction, and desirous to bee freed from the Imperiall yoke: who, when they came to fight, abandoned the Emperors partie, and went to BOTSCAY; yet the combat was long and furious. The Germans and Silesians performed their duties valiantly: but, wanting powder and shot, they were defeated; where ther were many braue men slain. BOTSCAY sent certain Ensignes to SERDER Basha; who in recompense qualified him with the title that he affected vnder the Turks authority, vpon condition that he should imploy his Arms to reduce the Prouince vnder his obedience, hee furnishing him with men and money.

The Imperialists defeated by Botscay in Transiluania.

LIPPAY, who had been taken in the battell, and wounded, became BOTSCAY his Lieutenant; who, in the beginning of his new authority, made proclamation, that whosoeuer would vndertake the defense of religion, should come and enroule themselues: so as in fewe daies an infinite number both of the Nobility and others came vnto them; all binding themselues by oath, not to carry Arms against the Emperor, nor for the Turk, but for the defense of religion. They seised vpon *Cassouia*, took an oath of the Citizens, expelled the Imperialists, seised vpon the Churches, draue away the Priests and Clergie, and laid wait to surprise BELIOYEVSE. BASTA, hearing of this combustion, posted thither with 14000 men, and summoned them by a Herald to return to their duties; but *it was in vain: so as the enemy growing very strong*, and winter approaching, he was forced to retire.

Achmat vexeth the propositions of peace.

ACHMAT, being much croft by the dissensions of his Bashaes in *Asia*, renewed the treatie of peace; and, to dispose the Christians thereto, hee was content that all prisoners should bee exchanged which had been taken for three yeers space, suffering his subjects to carry all kinde of merchandize to the Christian Towns. SERDER Basha made the ouerture vnto the chief Commanders in *Hungary*. At the same time, the King of *Persia* had sent an Ambassage with a small train to the Emperor and Princes of Christendome; protesting, that hee was resolued to aduance that warre with all his power, intreating them not to make any peace with ACHMAT, and offering money for to continue the war, and to send great forces to ouerthrowe their common enemy. ACHMAT grew jealous thereat, and entertained better correspondence with the Princes of Christendome than he had formerly done.

Botscay his demands.

The tumults increasing daily in *Transiluania* and *Hungary*, BASTA admonished BOTSCAY by his Letters to lay down Arms, and to draw the seditious multititude, to the Emperors obedience. BOTSCAY made answer, that he thought a peace might be made vpon these conditions: *that the whole gouernment of Transiluania should be left to him*; that he should be Lieutenant Generall in *Hungary*; that none but Hungarians should bee there in garrison; that the Walloons and French should be retired out of *Hungary*; that the Hungarians should bee maintained in their degrees and honours; that the souldiers should be duely paid; that there should be free exercise of the protestant religion; that BELIOYEVSE, and they which had bin the causes of their troubles, should be deliuered into their hands; that the Emperor should come in person to the States at *Pounson*; and that the Germans should contain themselues within their garrisons, and not go to the Viceroy. BASTA would make no answer to these demands, as being too rash.

The Haiduques (for, so all BOTSCAY's souldiers were called) continuing their enterprises, drew all the people of high *Hungary* and *Transiluania* into Arms: and BOTSCAY hauing the whole Country of *Transiluania* at his deuotion, he called the Estates of *Hungary* to a generall Assembly the last of April. As for BASTA, being sick; his souldiers, wanting pay, committed greater insolencies in *Austria* and *Hungary*, than the Turks: they mutined against their Generall, and offered to force his lodging; and the Haiduques and Turks spoiled and wasted the Countrey as farre as *Vienna*; so as many which dwelt aboad, were forced to retire themselues into the City.

Neither was *Morauia* free from these common calamities, the Haiduques entring and putting all to fire and sword, carrying away foure thousand prisoners to sell to the Turks. And in the midst of summer there was a troop of theeues entred into *Stiria*; who, finding no man to make resistance, spoyled the Countrey, carried away their goods, and forced the poore countrey men, to flie into *Gretz*. In this present calamitie and danger; the Earles of *Serin*, *Nadasti* and

and *Buda*, who had fought so valiantly many yeares against the Turkes, for the Christian common-wealth, seeing themselues now reduced to the extremity of danger, yeelded themselues *and their fortunes to the mercy of* BOTSCAY: BASTA, hauing recouered his health, drew his Army together, and raised the siege at *Oedembourg*, a place in the higher *Hungary*, then went to Campe neere vnto *Comorrha*. During the siege of *Neuheusell*, vpon the Frontiers of *Austria*, and of *Oedembourg*, *Hungary* was wonderfully spoiled by the Haiduques, and likewise by the Turkes: Yet the Imperialists tooke heart and courage in many places, and there were many strong Townes and Forts which held for the Emperor in diuers Prouinces.

RADVIL the Vaiuode of *Valachia*, a partizan to the Emperor, went to field, and seized vpon the chiefe Fort which BOTSCAY had neer vnto *Varadine*, called *Kercie*, inuaded his partizans, burnt their houses and committed strange spoiles. BOTSCAY began to grow iealous of his Lieutenant LIPPAI, who was gouernor of *Cassouia*. Some, that enuied his aduancement, made BOTSCAY beleeue, that he went about to reconcile himselfe vnto the Emperor, and for assurance of his Faith, to yield *Cassouia* vnto his hands. He takes this aduice, for a presage of what might happen. To free himself from this feare, and to pull so troublesom a thorn out of his foot, he holds it the best course to take off LIPPAI's head, whom he caused to be executed, with 50 other Gentlemen of note, by the great Turk's consent seizing on 100000 Duckets, and seauen chaines of Gold, which LIPPAI had gotten being his Lieutenant.

Lippa Lieutenant to Botscay beheaded.

BASTA did still solicite BOTSCAY to forsake the Infidel; from whom he could expect nothing but false friendshippe, with a dangerous Catastrophe of his bad faith, which had been so often tried. The Arch-duke MATHIAS, sent commissioners vnto him in the Emperors name, to treate of a Peace: and he, to shewe himselfe a Prince that would not make the warre immortall in his owne countrey, referred this treaty to HELIE HASKAY; who, hauing conferred with the Emperors Commissioners, gaue them to vnderstand, that his master BOTSCAY would not refuse a Peace, if those conditions might be granted which had been propounded; demanding moreouer, that in the Senate of *Hungary*, there should be but one Bishoppe, which should be Chancellor; that no man should be forced in Religion; and that none should be preferred to Bishop-ricks, if they were not borne in *Hungary*, and Noble; and that al that was past should be pardoned & forgotten. If these things might be performed, he promised to procure a Peace betwixt the Emperor and the Turk, with the best conditions he might.

A parly of a Peace betwixt the Emperor and Botscay.

During this treaty which was somewhat long, ACHMAT sends a Basha to BOTSCAY with a present of eight hundred thousand Florens to maintaine the warres, with ten Horses of great price, and assurance not to faile him of his promise. In the meane time, BOTSCAY sends to the King of *Polonia*, to craue aide from him in this warre, which he made for the defence of Religion. The King accepted of his offered friendshippe: But, he could not approue his defection from a house to the which he was so neerely allied; yet he would acquaint his Lords with his propositions: who afterwards decreed in Councell, that no man should assist BOTSCAY, vpon paine of death. *In the meane time* BOTSCAYES *seditious Army* ioyned with the Turkes, being fifty thousand in their Campe, and besieged *Strigonium* in the end of August: they battered it with forty peeces of Ordinance continually during a moneths space. Hauing ouerthrowne all their defences, and slaine nine hundred of their best men, with the Earle of *Oetinge*, then they attempted the Castle: the which they fired in such sort, as the souldiers were scarce able to quench it. Whereupon, they came running to the Earle of *Tampiere*, importuning him to yeeld it vp: who refusing at the first, he perswaded them to remember their oath, and to continue constant with him in the defence of the towne: but seeing the Turkes presse the siege more violently, and the Souldiers to cast away their Armes, he was forced to compound: And so on the third of October, they yeelded vppe the Towne and Castle, vnto the Turkes.

Strigonium yelded to the Turks.

All the Nobility of *Transiluania*, *Moldauia* and *Valachia*, hauing sworne to BOTSCAY, who had an Army of twenty fiue thousand men, he resolued during the treaty of Peace to take in the other places of *Hungary*. The Arch-duke MATHIAS had sent one of his chiefe ministers vnto him; who returned with this charge: That the Hungarians required MATHIAS for their King; and that he should keepe his Seate at *Possonia* or *Vienna*, and gouerne the affaires of the kingdom in person: and if they could not obtaine this within one moneth, they would chuse themselues a King.

The Hungarians require Mathias for their King.

The Imperiall Army had lien long about *Comorrha*, vnder the command of Generall BASTA: But, they were not able to giue the Turkes Generall battaile, and to relieue *Strigonium*.

Winter approaching, the Turkes began to disband, and to retire towards *Buda*; and the Christians left their lodging neere vnto *Comorrha*. The 25 of Nouember, 14000 Turks came and charged a Regiment of Reistres, which made their retreite: But, the whole Army turning head, they fled back to the mountaines; but on the third of December, they came early in the morning, and charged the foreward: but seeing the whole Army aduance, they beganne to retire; and being pursued to the passage of a Riuer, there were 1500 slain and drowned. In this charge the Earle of *Laual*, a yong Nobleman of *France*, was shot; whereof he died, to the great griefe of the whole Army.

The death of the Earle of Laual.

1606.

The Duke of Brunswick besieged the City of Brunswick.

There was an antient quarrell depending betwixt the Duke of *Brunswick* and the Citie, touching the iurisdiction. The Duke had formerly attempted to take it, by a Stratagem; where he lost many men: and now desirous to haue his reuenge, knowing they stood watchfully vpon their guard for feare of surprise, he would try it by open force; and hauing raised a good Army came to inuest the Towne. The inhabitants grew amazed, and sent Ambassadors to the Duke: but they stood so stifly vpon their priuiledges, as the treaty was in vaine. They complained to the Imperiall Chamber; where they obtained Letters from the Emperour, commanding the Duke to giue ouer the siege, and to retire his Army, vpon paine of proscription: but he continued his siege. The Hanse-townes leuied forces to relieue the besieged. Ambassadors came from the States of lower-*Germany*: who concluded a Truce for a moneth; promising to doe their best indeauors to conclude this warre. The Emperor did likewise send his Ambassadors for the like effect: where, after some treaty, the Duke retired his Army, vpon certain conditions.

Iauerin attempted in vaine by the Turke.

This yeere in May, a Tower in the Castle of *Buda* was set on fire: the which, being full of powder, flew into the ayre, and slue and hurt about 800 persons in the ruines. In the end of the last yeere the Turkes beganne to treate of a Peace with the Imperialls: how pleasing it was vnto them, the Garrison of *Iauerin* did finde vpon the eighteenth of March. There was a day appointed at the Turkes desire, where both parties might meete to aduance the businesse: for which cause, there came not aboue fifty Turkes to the Gate, desiring to be let in. The Garrison, doubting no fraude, prepared to open the Gates; when as suddenly a Centinell espied three thousand Souldiers couered with a thick cloude: whereupon, he cried To armes, discouering the treachery of the enemies; who were forced to retire by the great Ordinance.

Toccai taken by the Haiduques.

Epper, a Towne holding for the Emperour, was so oppressed by the seditious Haiduques, as no victuals could enter into it; hoping that being prest by famine, and the want of all other necessaries, the Citizens would yeeld. By the same meanes they had taken *Toccai* not long before; whereas the famine was so great, as they not only boyled their bootes and shooes to make foode of, but the Garrison Souldiers had also slaine two children; and some of them had cast Lottes for the killing of themselues to make meate, vntill that extreame necessity forced them to yeeld.

On the fifteenth of Iune, the Turkish Garrison of *Alba Regalis*, ioyning with some other Troupes, made an incursion as farre as Mount Saint MARTIN: Where they defeated and tooke the Gouernor, and carried away many prisoners of all sexes and ages. The Gouernour of *Breslay* went presently to horse with his troupes; and pursued them with such speede, as hauing ouertaken them, hee fought with them, and slewe one thousand fiue hundred vpon the place: He carried away three thousand prisoners, and freed six thousand Christians from these Infidels.

Holi Haskies Letter to Vienna.

HASKIE (who had beene much imployed for the treaty of peace with BOTSCAY) wrote letters from *Cassouia* to *Vienna*, giuing them to vnderstand, that BOTSCAY could performe nothing touching the peace, without the consent of the States; who had often tould him, that They would rather seeke protection from the Turkes, then be subject to the seruitude of strange Governours: Yet hee would endeavour at the next assembly, to draw the States vnto him; so, as what had beene concluded at *Vienna* might not bee retracted: many fearing, that, what had beene promised for matter of Religion, would not bee obserued: and therfore they would not lay downe Armes, nor renounce the Turkes protection, vntill they had good assurance for the libertie of Religion, and their priuiledges. They would haue no strange Governour, with whom they could not confer; nor suffer Clergy men to give their voyces in matters of policy: wherefore hee thought it necessary, the Emperor should gratifie the Hungarians in this point; and leaving Transilvania to BOTSCAY, appoint such a Governour in Hungary as the States should require. That the conclusion of a peace with the Turkes, depended wholly upon a peace with

BOTSCAY

BOTSCAY, and the Hungarians; whereof there was no hope, vnlesse that BOTSCAY and the Estates of Hungary did finish the treaty.

The grand Seignior, being much troubled this yeare with the sedition in *Asia*, and the Persian warres; aduertised also of the treaties of peace betwixt the Emperor and BOTSCAY, hee sent his great Vetzier into Hungary, with charge to conclude a peace with the Emperor and the house of *Austria*. Being come to *Buda*, BOTSCAY sent Embassadors vnto him, to inform him fully of the propositions made for the peace of *Hungary*, betwixt the Emperors Deputies & his: And for that hee would not infringe the promise which hee had made to ACHMAT the grand Seignior, not to conclude any peace with the Emperor RODVLPH without his priuitie and consent, which hee now summoned him to imbrace, seeing that matters might be reconciled: hee intreated the Vetzier, not to alter the affaires by any new siege; and to containe his Turks within their campe and garrisons. The Vetzier, who came to no other end, was glad to see it so well aduanced: whereupon it was concluded, that BOTSCAY should send Embassadors to *Vienna*, to conclude this peace, and that of the Hungarians; and that the Emperor and the Vetzier should send some of quality, to make a truce, whilst that the Deputies of either side should meete, for the conclusion of a generall peace.

Articles of peace accorded in the Emperors name with Botscay and the Hungarians.

Embassadors came to *Vienna*, from BOTSCAY and the Hungarians, in September; and within few dayes after, the Articles of peace were signed by the Arch-duke MATHIAS, and them. First, that they should liue with liberty of conscience throughout all *Hungary*, where there should bee no exercise of any other Religion, but the Catholike, the Lutheran, and the Calvinist. Secondly, that the Archduke MATHIAS should bee Lieutenant generall for the Emperor, throughout all *Hungary*; and carie the title of Viceroy. Thirdly, that BOTSCAY should bee confirmed Prince of *Transilvania*, Earle of *Sicules*, and Palatine of high *Hungary*, to which principality and County, his heyres males should succeed; for want whereof, all should returne to the Emperors disposition. Fourthly, that hereafter the Palatine, Treasurer generall, and all the Receivers should bee chosen by the Estates of *Hungary*. Fiftly, that none should hould any benefit in *Hungary* but the natives. Sixtly, that there should be a generall abolition of all that had past during this last warre.

Deputies for the Emperor and Turkimen and conclude a generall peace.

In the meane time, a Truce was accorded betwixt the Arch-dukes Deputies, and the Vetziers, and euery one prepared to meete at the place appointed, neere vnto *Comorrha*: BOTSCAYES Ambassadors returned to *Neuheusel*, six French-leagues from *Comorrha*; to be, as it were, arbitrators of such differences as might arise. The place of conference, was halfe a league beneath *Comorrha*, in an Iland diuided in three parts by deepe Riuers, so as one could not go vnto another, but by boate; being thus chosen to auoide all treacherie. The Deputies for the Emperour, Grand-Segnior, and BOTSCAY, met often and treated, and in the end concluded a Peace for twenty yeers, contained in fifteen Articles; the which they signed the ninth of Nouember. The same day the Articles were signed, the Bassha of *Buda* made a stately feast vnto the Emperors Deputies, giuing to eyther of them a goodly horse, or some peeces of cloath of Gold, or of rare silkes. The same day, he sent three Posts to *Constantinople*, to aduertize the Sultan ACHMAT of this Peace; the which newes he receiued with so great ioy, as hee went presently to a Mosque to giue thanks to his MAHOMET, and the day following made a solemne feaste.

Botscay poysoned by his chancellor.

But BOTSCAY, after so many toyles and labours, was no sooner acknowledged Prince of *Transiluania* by the Emperor, but (in steade of enioying the Peace which he had propounded to himself, with hope to leaue a posterity to eternize the memory of his valor) CATTAY his Chancellor conspired to poyson him; hoping, by the death of his Prince, to make himselfe heir of his Estate: BOTSCAY hauing swallowed the poison, which made him die languishing, discouered that it was his Chancellors deede; whom he caused to be apprehended, and being conuicted he cut off his head in *Cassouia*, giuing that dignity to IAN IANVSI: but no preseruatiues could prolong his life, but soone after he must go giue an account to the Eternall, for so many ruines, and so much Christian blood, spilt in *Hungary* and *Transiluania*. The Haiduques which had been accustomed to liue by Armes, some hauing neither lands nor goods to feede them; and other knowing no trade and being now to old to learne any, could not subiect themselues to this peace; and, notwithstanding any commandements, they trouped together, liuing vpon the Peasant, and left nothing but desolation where they past: But being comn into the County of *Bocotsi*, hauing set fire vpon three villages, the Commons came vpon them with such furie, as there were many slaine of either side in diuers encounters.

BOTSCAY to redresse these disorders, had appointed an assembly of the estates of further *Hungary*, at *Cassouia* in December: but feeling his death approach, he could not assist, but gaue instructions to his Chancellor and others, what order they should obserue, in the assembly of the
1607 States after his death; and what they should do for the tranquillity of *Hungary*, and for the commerce betwixt the Hungarians and Transiluanians; charging them not to infringe any thing of
The death of Botscay. the peace made with the Emperour, and exhorting them to keepe their faith with him. And so he died, the 30 of December, being much lamented by them of his party: yet soone after forgetting his aduice, they made a change in *Transiluania*, for that he died without children.

Sigismund Ragotsi chosen Prince of Transiluania. The estates of *Transiluania* presently after the death of BOTSCAY assembled at *Clausenburg*, where they did chuse SIGISMVND RAGOTSI for their Prince, to whome they went presently and tooke the oath of alleageance in the great Church. After which, they sent Embassadors to the Arch-duke MATHIAS, who made their excuse for this election, humbly beseeching his Imperiall Maiesty to beleeue, that they had done it forced by necessity, and to preuent the practices of many Noble-men of *Hungary* and *Transiluania*, pretending to seize vpon that state: and that the election of RAGOTSI should be no hindrance, but that they would alway acknowledge the Emperour for their true Prince. This RAGOTSI was a man admirable in bounty, and who had not affected this election, but did accept it for the good of his countrey, and left it againe for the quiet thereof, as you shall heare hereafter.

Peace ill obserued in Hungary. The peace was ill obserued in *Hungary* of all sides. The Basha of *Buda* wrot vnto the Archduke MATHIAS, that he should be forced to take Arms if he did not hinder the courses of the Imperials, the which he should be very vnwilling to do, protesting to obserue the peace. The Imperiall garrisons continued their courses and *Nohusel* was sold and deliuered to COLLONITS.

Some discontented Haiduques trouped together, and ioyned their numbers with some Turkes, making a body of 15000 men, which spoiled all *Hungary* where they past. The Basha of *Buda* was the cause thereof, who gaue the commanders money to entertaine this mutinie. To preuent these disorders and the murmurings of the Barrons of *Hungary*, who desired to haue a King that might remaine in the countrey, and not at *Prague* in *Bohemia*, who by his presence might disperse all these new alterations, the Arch-duke MATHIAS appointed an Assembly in the Emperors name, whither the Deputies of *Hungary* came: and attending the Arch-duke MATHIAS long, in the end they made a solemne protestation, that hauing attended the said Arch-duke seauen weekes in vaine, they were forced to returne to them that sent them; that if pleased the Emperour to assigne another day for an assembly, and publish it, they would come: and if in the meane time their were any thing decreed contrary to the Articles of peace concluded at *Viena*, although the Emperour should ratifie it, they protested a nullity against all that should be done in their absence.

The proceedings of the Haiduques. The Nobility of *Hungary* resolued to take Armes against the rebellious Haiduques, and Turkes which were ioyned with them; and they sent to intreate the Basha of *Buda* to retire the Turkes. The Haiduques continued their hostilities, and proclaimed that they were friends to the Turkes, and enemies to the Germaines and Walloones: They sent to intreat HVMANOY Gouernor of *Cassouia*, to take the Diademe which had beene giuen to BOTSCAIE, and to be their King; but he scorned their offer: saying, I will haue no other King but CÆSAR: finally, continuing their spoiles (beeing assisted with some Cannon from the Bashaes of *Buda* and *Agria* and with 300000 duckets) they went to besiege *Filech* with 16000 men; BOSNIACK commanded in the place: who carried himselfe so valiantly against all their attemptes as he forced them to raise the siege.

An assembly at Viena. During the Assembly at *Presbourg* the Arch-duke MATHIAS had called together the estates of *Austria* to *Viena*, where there were Articles propounded vnto them in writing, touching the estate of the Countrey, whereon they were to conclude; but there were resolutions taken by the practices of the Arch-duke MATHIAS contrarie to the Emperours intention.

The answere of Ragotsi to the Palatine Embassadors. The King of *Poland* and his Palatines being at warres, the Palatines sent to ROGOTSI Prince of *Transiluania* for aide: who made them this answere; that it was a wicked thing to nourish warres betwixt Christians: That his Armes should neuer fight in a ciuile and vniust warre: that it was treacherous to Arme against ones Prince, and that they which did fight against their Soueraigne were detested by their posteritie, and their memory buried in infamy; as for such as aided rebels, they deserued to be called impious, a surname which I will by no meanes purchase: obey your King and God will blesse you.
1608

A Diet, at Ratisbone, fruitelesse. This yeere in the beginning of Ianuary, there was a Diet assembled at *Ratisbone* in which the

the Arch-duke FERDINAND of *Gretz*, did preside in the Emperors name; which bred some iealousie in the Arch-duke MATHIAS. All their deliberation was reduced to fiue Articles; whereof the first and principall was, To make prouision against the Turks, in whom there was little assurance for the entertainment of peace: and therefore he desired, that the Princes of the Empire would furnish yearly a certain contribution to resist the Turks practices when there should be cause, or that all the Estates of the Empire should entertaine 20000 foot and 4000 horse at their owne charge; or else, that they would yeerly lay by so much money as the entertainment of such an Army would amount vnto: but there was such dissension among the Deputies, that after foure months continuance they brake off, and concluded nothing.

The Arch-duke Mathias practiseth to make himself a Soueraign. During this Diet at *Ratisbone*, the Arch-duke MATHIAS practised by what meanes hee might make himself Soueraign of *Austria*, *Stiria*, *Morauia*, and of all that the Christians held in *Hungary*. Hee came to an Assembly of the Estates at *Presbourg* in the beginning of the yeere; where, to attain to his designe, he propounded to the Noble-men of *Hungary*, that it would be very profitable to vnite the Estates of *Austria* and *Hungary* by an offensiue and defensiue league; so as Deputies being appointed, it was concluded, that for the good of *Austria* and *Hungary* they should not alter any thing in the Articles of peace, made the yeer before at *Vienna*; and that an offensiue and defensiue league should be made betwixt the said Countries. The Articles of the resolution were set down by the Deputies, and they were signed by the Arch-duke MATHIAS, and proclaimed the first of February. The Arch-duke MATHIAS, beeing returned to *Vienna*, called the Estates of *Austria* together; to whom he imparted what had passed at *Presbourg*; and that what he had done was for fear that *Hungary* should be wrested from the Empire, as well by the Turks as by the Barons of *Hungary*, and that after this distraction the whole wars should fall vpon *Austria*; aduising them also to prouide money for the entertainment of the Army which he must leuie, if the rebellious Haiduques would not desist from Arms. The Estates gaue him great thanks, promising to follow and assist him with their liues and goods.

The Arch-duke MATHIAS (who knew that for the effecting of his designes he must haue a peace in *Hungary* as well with the Turk as with the discontented Haiduques) gaue charge vnto HELI HASKAY; that at one Instant he should take order with the Turks for the reforming of the disorders which had hapned since the peace, and to draw as many of the Haiduques as he could to his pay, to the end the rest should be forced to disperse themselues, or bee carefull to liue in peace: wherein HASKAY carried himself so politickly, that hee drew fifteen companies of horse to the Arch-dukes pay; and the rest in an Instant were scattered and dispersed. GABRIEL BATTORI, the right heir of the Princes of *Transiluania*, hauing retired himself to the Turk, was now restored to his principality. SIGISMVND RAGOTSI (who had bin chosen after the death of BOTSCAY) yeelded it willingly to him, and retired to *Saventa*; assuring BATTORI by Letters, that he had not accepted the election but to preuent the combustions among great men, who pretended to vsurp and trouble that state.

The Emperor fonde to the Arch-duke Mathias. The Arch-duke, seeing all things succeed according to his desire, sent commandement to haue all his Troops come to the *vendez-vous* vpon the Frontiers of *Morauia* by the foureteenth of April. The Emperor being aduertised of these leuies (which they gaue out was for that his Majesty did not ratifie the treaty of peace made at *Vienna*) he sent the Cardinall of *Ditrichstein* to the Arch-duke, with a ratification of the treaty; but with this clause, that hee would haue the offensiue and defensiue league, made betwixt the Estates of *Hungary* and *Austria*, dissolued: whereto the Arch-duke answered, it could not bee; and so returned the Cardinall with certain demands; who, finding that he had another designe than he made shew of, aduertised the Emperor, that he might prouide for his safety. The Emperor growes amazed: hee presently cals the States of *Bohemia* to *Prague*: he summons all his forces together, lodges them about his person, and craues aid from the Electors, Princes and States of the Empire. The Arch-duke, hearing that the Emperor had taken the alarum, came into *Morauia* ioining to *Austria*, with an army of 20000 old souldiers and 28 Cannon. He sent to the Estates of *Bohemia*, commanding euery Town to send two Deputies to *Czasla*, where they should vnderstand from his owne mouth the cause of his taking Armes. The Emperor, hearing this, exhorted them to perfist in their fidelity; so as no man went to *Czasla*, but the whole Country took Armes for the Emperor: who, hoping to stay him with his Army in *Morauia*, sent back the Cardinal to vnderstād his complaints, being accompanied by the Popes Nuntio, and the Ambassadors of diuerse Princes. But hee marched into the Country towards *Czasla*; where the Ambassadors of *Saxony* and *Brandenburg* came vnto him the ninth of May, intreating him not to passe any further, but to grant a truce for

The Emp. in fear of his brother Mathias.

The Archduke Mathias enters Bohemia, and camps before Prague.

eight

eight daies, to the end this trouble might be compounded: the which they could not obtaine by any importunities.

The Emperour in distresse.

The Arch-duke MATHIAS had a desire to see *Prague*; not as an humble Petitioner, but with a commanding power, being attended by 8000 horse, COLLONITS the Marshall of his Campe following with the rest of his Army. The poore Emperour was in a strange distresse: he had two enemies to incounter and fight withall; without the walles his owne brother, and within the towne the assembly of the estates of *Bohemia*. And the deputies were of diuerse religions; where they importuned him with many Articles, both concerning religion and the state: all which he was forced to graunt, except that which concerned religion, the which was referred to the next assembly at S. *Michaell*.

A conference at Debritz.

The Arch-duke vpon a safe conduct from the Emperour and the estates sent his Embassadours into *Prague*, who deliuered his demands in writing to the assembly: whereupon a conference was appointed at *Debritz*; where after much debate, the Emperor obtained a peace of his brother; but it was with the preiudice of his estate & honour: for he was forced to strippe off his clothes before he was dead, and to resigne vnto his brother the greatest part of his patrimoniall inheritance.

1608

A peace concluded betwixt the Emperor & Mathias.

This peace was concluded in 17 Articles: wherof the chiefe were, That he should yeeld the Realme of *Hungary*, and deliuer the Crowne vnto the Arch-duke MATHIAS, freeing the Hungarians of their oath. That he should yeeld presently all the Arch-duchie of *Austria* vnto him, and to his heires males. That if the Emperour died without issue male, the Arch-duke should succeed him in the Kingdom of *Bohemia*, and carrie presently in his titles, Designed king of *Bohemia*. And that he and his heires should haue the administration of *Moravia*, with the title of Marquesse, with diuerse others tending to the aduancement of the Arch-duke MATHIAS.

King Mathias enters into Vienna

This peace being confirmed, the Emperour sent the Crowne of *Hungary*, with all the Regall ornaments, to the Arch-dukes Campe: where they were receiued with great pompe. And thus the Archduke, king of *Hungary* being pleased, raised his Camp and returned to *Viena*: where he made a stately entry, and was receiued with great pompe by all the estates of the countrey; who assuring him of their fidelity and obedience, congratuled his new soueraignty, and he gaue them great thankes for their good affection. In October the estates of *Austria* were to take the oath of fidelity and alleageance to the king, as to their Arch-duke, the which was solemnely performed: but the protestants were not present, for that the king (by the aduice of the Arch-duke, LEOPOLD, of Cardinall MELIM the Popes Nuntio, and of Cardinal FORGATSI) had by an edict forbidden the exercise of the protestants religion in *Austria*. This bredde new troubles, for that the protestants assembled at *Horne*, and made their protestation, sending a petition vnto the King, signed by 150 Noblemen, gouernours and Captaines; writing also to the Catholikes that if they tooke the oath of allegeance vnto the said King Arch-duke, before the trouble of religion were pacified, they should not be able to excuse themselues to be the causes of the miseries that would ensue.

New troupes in Austria for religion.

The Ceremony being ended at *Viena*, King MATHIAS went to *Presbourge*, where on the 22 of October the Noble-men of *Hungary* receiued him with great state, there being aboue 10000 men in Armes, where soone after they presented diuerse Articles vnto him conformable vnto the edict of pacification made at *Viena*, but with some explication. The protestants of *Austria*, sent their requests vnto the estates of *Hungary*, letting them vnderstand, that king MATHIAS denying them the free exercise of their religion, they were forced to take Armes, requiring them to assist them with the succours which were promised by the offensiue and defensiue League.

The Protestants of Austria craue aide from the Hungarians.

The Arch-duke MAXIMILIAN was intreated by the Hungarians, to intercede in this difference; who hauing conferred with King MATHIAS, brought them answer, that the king had neuer any intent to trouble the peace of *Austria*: but as for the free exercise of the protestant religon within townes, that his maiesty could by no meanes graunt it, partly in regarde of his conscience, and partly for feare of his Holiness, and of the king of *Spain*: yet he had his maiesties word, that if the Protestants of *Austria* would lay downe their Armes, and ackowledge their fault, they should haue liberty of religion allowed them out of townes; and as for publike affaires his maiesty would aduance his subiects, without acception of religion. The Hungarians hauing receiued this answere, he perswaded them to lay downe Armes, and to submit themselues to the Kings will, refusing the aide which they desired; laying before them the dangers of

of a doubtfull warre. The Protestants returned to *Austria* discontented, yet afterwards by the intercession of the Morauians and others, after some little combustion, they obtained a peace and part of that which they demanded.

Mathias crowned King of Hungary.

MATHIAS was proclaimed King of *Hungary* in *Presbourg*, the foureteenth of Nouember, HELY HASKAY being first chosen Palatine; and on the 19 day hee was solemnely crowned. After which, beginning to order the affaires of the kingdome, he was forced by the Hungarian Barrons, to dismisse all the Germanes which had any offices in *Hungary*, and to aduance others of the Countrey. It troubled him much, and his brother MAXIMILIAN that COLONITS should be depriued of his office of Marshal of *Hungary*, hauing done so great seruices for that crowne; but he was forced to indure it in regarde of peace. In the end of the yeere he returned to *Viena*, so as in seauen moneths the Arch-duke MATHIAS caused himselfe to be crowned king of *Hungary*, and acknowledged Arch-duke of *Austria* and Marques of *Moravia*, forcing the Emperor to make his Will before he was dead.

All Strangers displaced in Hungary.

This yeere the Turkes notwithstanding the peace, attempted to surprise *Fileck*. The Basha of *Agria* had corrupted ANDREVV DRAGO a Captaine within the Cittadell, who promised to deliuer it for 20000 Ioachins: the hour was appointed at midnight, when as DRACO should set certaine houses of fire; and whil'st that euery man should be busie to quench it, he should giue the Turkes entrie into the cittadell, and so into the towne. This enterprise was discouered, and DRACO quartered. The Basha of *Buda* also seised vpon aboue 400 villages, causing the inhabitants to take the oath of allegeance vnto the Turke. The Emperour as we haue said had giuen his brother MATHIAS what he demanded, and had pacified the estates of *Bohemia* as well as he could, suffering euery one to liue in the liberty of his religion, promising to set downe an order at the next assembly, which was this yeare in Ianuary. The Catholikes fought by all meanes to entertaine the Emperour in hatred with the Protestants, and to haue that disanulled, which had beene formerly granted; saying, that their opinions had beene condemned, and that the exercise of their religion was but by sufferance. The Protestants sent their Embassadors to the King of *Hungary*, and to the Electors and Princes of the Empire, to interceede for them to his maiesty, for the continuance of the free exercise of their religion.

The Basha of Agria attempts Fileck.

A combustion in Bohemia for religion.

The Emperour hauing forbidden the Protestants to make any assembly in the court of new *Prague*, they went vnto him, and besought him to appoint them a place where they might assemble, and to write their defence, and to present it vnto him, and to let the world know the instice of their demand the which they could not obtaine: So as on the eight of May, they resolued notwithstanding the Emperours prohibition, to goe and make their assembly in the court of new *Prague*; where they brake open the dores, and entred, putting themselues in defence, if any should come to assaile them. The Emperour hearing of this alteration, sent the first Burgraue of *Prague* with his chiefe officers, who said vnto them, that his Imperiall Maiesty had alwaies had a will to loue them as his faithfull subiects; and that he was resolued, shortly to call an assembly, and to end that controuersie touching the liberty of religions. The Protestants made answere by the Barron of *Budouits*, that they thanked his Imperiall Maiesty for his good will towards them; and besought him to beleeue that they had beene alwaies faithfull vnto him: yet they knew well what had beene treated hitherto in the states by some counsellors, who vnder pretext, of aduancing the Catholike religion, were the cause of these troubles which had followed; and they did hope to let his Maiesty vnderstand, that the end of such counsells and practices, could bring nothing but ruine to *Bohemia*, and the losse of his Realmes, and prouinces. As for the publication of the assemby of the estates, they desired it might be within three daies, to preuent many accidents which might happen. Both parties, both Catholikes and Protestants, remained 15 daies in continuall iealousie one of another, fearing surprises. But as soone as the Emperour had published the assembly, all was pacified, by reason of the Emperours declaration; whereby he did auow, that what the protestants had done, was for his seruice and the good of the Kingdome. At which assembly, there was free exercise of religion graunted to the Protestants, and Temples allowed them to preach in the vulgar tongue, declaring all them troublers of the publike peace, that should any way infringe it.

The troubles in Bohemia for religion pacified.

A complaint against the Iesuites.

The Iesuites were suspected to haue beene the cause of these broiles: both Catholikes and Protestants complained, and presented a petition vnto the King, that they being strangers, and come poore into *Prague*, had in a short time gotten great possessions, yet payed no tribute or contribution, neither bare any charge like vnto others: wherefore they required that hereafter they might beare the charges of the Common-wealth like others of the Clergie, that they should

should not purchase any more, nor accept any donations, by testament or otherwise, without his Majesties permission.

The death of the duke of Iuliers and Cleues, and the pretendors.

In March, WILLIAM Duke of *Iuliers, Cleues* and *Bergh*, Earl of *Mark* and *Rauenspourg*, died without children: to whose succession there were many Princes and Noble-men pretended; which drew great miseries vpon those Countries. Among the Princes of *Germany*, were the Elector of *Brandenbourg*, who was issued from MARY ELEANOR, eldest sister vnto the said WILLIAM deceased. The Count Palatine of *Newbourg* descended from ANNE the second sister. The third Pretendent was the widow of the Duke of *Deuxponts*. The fourth was the Marquesse of *Burgau*, who married SIBILLE the fourth sister. The Elector of *Saxony* pretended these estates to belong to him as masculine fees of the Empire; and that they had been giuen to his Predecessors, and to their Successors for the seruices which they had done to the Empire and Emperor, in case the Duke of *Cleues* should dy without issue male. In *France* was the Duke of *Neuers*; who maintained, that he was the onely Prince which carried the name and Arms of *Cleues*; and the Earl of *Maulaurier*, who is the right heir of the house of *Mark*, whereof he carries the name and Arms. Euery one maintained his pretension, fortifying themselues by Arms, and ingaging their friends: the relation of which war I refer to diuers others which haue written thereof; the cause being yet vndecided.

In October, there arriued at *Prague* an Ambassador from the grand Seignior with many rich Presents to to the Emperor: among the which there was a goodly pauilion, set with many pretious stones, foure goodly horse, with rich caparisons, a Turkish habit whereon there was nothing to be seen but gold and stone, with certain other pretious stones. Hauing presented his Letters, and seen the Emperor confirm the truce, he returned with Presents.

1610 *The prince of Anhalt sent ambassador to the Emperor from the princes of Germany.*

About the same time, the Prince of *Anhalt* came Ambassador to the Emperor from the Princes and Estates of the Empire; giuing him to vnderstand by his Chancellor, that the Princes required to haue *Donauerd* in *Suenia* (which had been some yeers before taken by the Duke of *Bauaria*, by the vertue of the Emperors Letters of proscription) restored again to the Empire and to the former estate, some burdens being taken away; that justice might be duely administred, and the peace of religion confirmed; that Princes Ambassadors when they came, might be dispatched without delay; that sutes in Courts might be amended: and for that Princes Ambassadors had been much neglected in Court, they required that some Protestants might be chosen into the Senat and Councell. The Emperor heard the Prince willingly; yet excusing himself, that by reason of the troubles in *Bohemia* he could not then attend it, he promised that hee would soon giue the Princes and States satisfaction.

This yeer there was an attempt against the person of GABRIEL BATTORI, Prince of *Transiluania*, by a Noble-man of that Country, beeing induced thereto by a wicked religious man: whereof the Prince being aduertised, and of the day of the execution, he made shew to go forth to hunt, hauing first laid an ambush without the Town; into the which hee drew the vndertakers, who followed him to execute their enterprize: whereas some of them were cut in pieces; and among them the religious man. Some report, that BATTORI banisht the rest: and some being fled into *Hungary*, he wrote his Letters to GEORGE TVRSON, intreating him to cause them to be apprehended, lest they should attempt the like there, being incited by the Iesuits, and the hatred to religion.

Assembly of the protestants princes at Halle.

The spirit of diuision had set all *Germanie* on fire, and drawn them into factions, for the defense of the Pretendents to the Duchy of *Iuliers*, either party seeking to fortifie it self; for the effecting whereof, they made seuerall Assemblies. The Princes Protestants Noble-men, with the Deputies of fifteen Imperiall Towns, holding the part of the Elector of *Brandenbourgh* and Palatine of *Neuebourg*, mette at *Halle* in *Suenia*; where there assisted an Ambassadour from the French King, who offred them protection in the King his Masters name; and to assist them with 8000 foot and 2000 horse, with cannon and munition, vpon condition that they should not alter any thing in matter of religion within the Country of *Iuliers*, and that the Catholicks should be maintained in the same rights and priuiledges which they enioyed during the life of the last Duke.

The Emperors partizans assembled at Prestbourg.

At the same time, the Princes and Towns of *Germany*, houlding the Emperors part, assembled at *Pirtzbourg* in *Franconia*; where they resolued of the forces which euery one should furnish for the Army which they appointed to raise: after which, they beganne to leuie souldiers throughout all parts of Europe; what succeeded, you shall heerafter hear.

The protestant Princes, hauing concluded of their succours for the warre, published a declaration

ration of the causes of their vnion; shewing, That their confederation was for the defence of the glory of the name of God, and the maintenance of iustice and peace in the Empire; and not contrary to their obedience which they did owe vnto the Emperor or against any estate of the holy Empire: beseeching his Imperiall Maiesty, and all the Electors, Princes, and States, not to giue credit to such as had malitiously published, that their vnion was made in contempt of the Imperiall Maiesty, and to oppresse the Roman religion, to prophane the monasteries, and to take againe with violence those goods which their predecessors had giuen to Churches, imployed in pious vses; and to trouble the peace of religion. Finally (relating the estate of the pretendents of *Iuliers*) they concluded that they were vnited with them, to the end they should not be by force molested in their iust possession of the estates of the house of *Iuliers*; intreating all Princes of the Empire, & others not to misconstrue their vnion; nor to hinder it, but rather to assist them, that all iealousies & distrusts being taken away, loue & concord may be firmly settled hereafter. 1610

An Assembly at Prague.

The Electors, Princes and Towns holding the Emperors party, which had bin assembled at *Pirtzbourg*, made another general assembly at *Prague*, in which assisted the Arch-dukes, MAXIMILIAN & FERDINAND of *Austria*. The propositions were reduced vnto 4. heads. 1. The reconciliation of the Emperor with his brother king MATHIAS. 2. The election of a King of the Romans. 3. The restitution of *Donauerdt*. 4. The composition of the trouble of IVLIERS. The king of *Hungary* sent his deputies to this assembly: from whom the Emperor demanded the restitution of *Austria*, & *Morauia*. The Elector of *Cullen*, the Arch-duke FERDINAND, and the Duke of *Brunswick*, went to *Vienna* to acquaint the King with the Emperours demand, and the proposition for the election of a king of the Romans. It was concluded in the assembly, that the Duke of *Bauaria* should leaue *Donauerdt* to its former liberty, without any exception, paying him his charges. And touching IVLIER's trouble, all the estates which had belonged to the last Duke IOHN WILLIAM, were conferd by the Emperor vpon the Elector of *Saxony*, and his house; conditionally that the house of *Saxony* should proue that they had more right to the said estates than the Princes pretending; that they should alter nothing in the exercise of the Catholick religion; that the said Elector should satisfie the demands of the Duke of *Neuers* and the Marquesse of *Burgau*, and should pay the charges disburst by the Emperor & the Arch-duke LEOPOLD in this war.

Articles of reconciliation betwixt the Emperor and King Mathias.

The third of Iuly a reconciliation was made betwixt the Emperor and his brother the king of *Hungary*, vpon these Articles. 1. That king MATHIAS should acknowledge his brother RODVLPHVS for Emperor, and the head of Christendome, king of *Bohemia*, Lord of the Marquisate of *Morauia*, and the first of the house of *Austria*. 2. That yearely the said king should send him 2000 vessels of wine and pay him 10000 florens. 3. That the said king nor the prouinces granted vnto him should not make any alliances without the consent of the Emperor. 4. That the king should demand pardon for those things which were past, of his Imperial maiesty; the which he should giue him, in a particular forme. 5. That the souldiers of either part should be dismist within one moneth. 6. That if it should be needful to make warre against the Turke, it should bee done by the Emperors authority. 7. That Germanes should be put in garrison in the forts of *Hungary* with the Hungarians: and that the Emperor should continue the ordinary paiment, which *Bohemia* did furnish for the intertainement of the said garrison. 8. That the Emperour and King should hereafter ioyne their forces, to punish rebellious subiects. 9. That if any of their officers did not cause the said Articles to be presently obserued, they should be depriued of their offices. 10. That the Electors & Princes assembled at *Prague* should subscribe the said Articles, and that they should be signed by either part. 11. That the county of *Tiroll* should be left wholly to the Emperor, and that neither king MATHIAS nor the Arch-dukes his brethren and cosins should pretend any title vnto it.

The Protestant Princes send to the Duke of Bauaria.

Soone after, the protestants Princes of *Germany*, who were vnited in the behalfe of the Princes pretending the succession of *Iuliers*, seeing that Duke MAXIMILIAN of *Bauaria*, the head of the vnion of the Catholike Princes, had leuied many souldiers, they sent an Embassie vnto him: where after many conferences, in the end they concluded, that by the first of November, the duke of *Bauaria* should dismis his Army; but for that the Arch-duke LEOPOLD had great troupes in his Bishoppricks of *Passau* and *Strasbourg*, he might put part of them into garrison to be ready vpon any new accident: moreouer that all acts of hostility should cease, betwixt the subiects of the Archbishop of *Cullen*, and the States of *Iuliers*: and if there should happen any difference betwixt the said parties, they should agree amiably, and not come to Armes.

The Emperor hauing giuen no order for the payment of LEOPOLD's Army (it hauing,

committed great spoiles in the Bishoprick of *Passau*) they entred into *Austria*, where they committed barbarous cruelties, being led by ROMEO. Many thought that he would passe vnto *Prague*, to force the Emperor to pay his Army: Others were of opinion that LEOPOLD aspired to make himselfe King of the Romans, and that he would imploy this Army to that effect. King MATHIAS (who was then disarmed) found presently that it was against him: wherefore he sent for all his subiects and friends, and sought to crosse the Leopoldians enterprises: He wrote to the States of *Bohemia*, that he would neuer beleeue the Emperour would breake the Peace, so newly sworne; yet he intreated them, if neede were, to succour him in his necessity. The Leopoldians entred into *Bohemia*, and surprized *Budweitz* by policie and spoyled it, and then marched towards *Prague*. The Emperor (being required by the States) sent a Herauld to the Arch-duke LEOPOLD, with commandement to retire the Army to *Cruman*, and there to attend their pay.

1611 Leopolds army enters Austria.

Hauing deliuered his charge in secret to the Arch-duke, he was brought to ROMEO; who willed him to returne to *Prague*, and to assure them, that they were friends to all such as were faithfull subiects to the Emperour, and were in Armes only to defend his authority; and that being entred into *Prague* (the which they hoped to doe the next day) they would not wrong any man: After whose return, they marched to *Prague*. Many of the Emperors Councell had intelligence with the Arch-duke LEOPOLD, fearing King MATHIAS; and had gotten Armes into diuers Monasteries, prouiding for all occurrents. They were Armed, and had gotten a gate at their deuotion, to draw LEOPOLD's souldiers secretly into petty *Prague*; the which they surprised on the fifteenth of February early in the morning, by the treachery of the Porter: yet there was a great conflict in the Town, with losse on both sides; but, in the end, the Inhabitants were forced to yeeld. After which, the Castle of *Prague* was yeelded to LEOPOLD, causing himselfe to be declared the Emperors Lieutenant generall, taking the oath of fidelity from all the Souldiers. In the meane time, the Nobility and Souldiers within old and new *Prague*, resolued to make a sallie vpon the Leopoldians which were in petty *Prague*: and they, on the other side, threatned to set fire on the Town.

They surprise petty Prague.

On the 18 of February, the Emperor sent a commandement both to the Leopoldians, and to the States of *Bohemia* and Nobility, to present themselues the next day in the castle of *Prague*, and there to sweare all obedience, and fidelity to his imperiall Maiesty, and to promise not to offend one another by Armes. The Herald hauing published this command to the Lepoldians, the States would not suffer him to enter into the old Town; giuing him charge to tell the Emperor, that he should proclaim a cessation of Arms for three daies, to the end they might haue time to consult of their affaires. In the end, it was concluded, that the old and new town should giue 200000 Florens, so as LEOPOLD's Army would leaue petty *Prague*, and depart presently out of *Bohemia*. During these combustions, King MATHIAS drew together his friends and forces: he had then two great affaires in hand. For GABRIEL BATTORI Prince of *Transiluania*, in the beginning of this yeer, had surprised *Hermestad* by intelligence; carried away his Lieutenant prisoner; thrust out all his partizans; and placed 1300 Haiduques in Garrison. The which did much trouble MATHIAS, hoping to haue had his reuenge this summer; the which he might easily haue effected, the Vaiuode of *Valachia* and BATTORI being in warre. But the King running to the neerest fire, caused his troups to turne head towards *Bohemia*, to succour the States which craued his aide.

They of Prague compound with Leopolds army

The Prince of Transiluania surprifeth Hermistad.

The Emperor hearing that his brother MATHIAS was entred *Bohemia* with an Army of 18000 men, to succor the States; he sent them word by an Herald, that if they would not take some course for the payment of LEOPOLD's Army, that it might be discharged, he would depriue them of their liberties: But they, hearing of the Kings approach, refused his demaund. The Emperor, foreseeing the danger if these two Armies should meete, caused 300000 Florens to be giuen to pay the Army for three monethes: and so LEOPOLD retired away by night, and recouered the Frontiers of *Bohemia*.

Leopold with his Army returnes from Prague and out of Bohemia.

ROMEO, Lieutenant to the Arch-duke LEOPOLD, would not leaue *Bohemia* as he had done *Prague*, without the full payment of his Army. Whereupon, he fortifies himselfe within *Budueis*, and furnisheth it with victuals, Arms, and pouder: he melts the Bels to cast Ordinance; and fortifies himselfe so well, as they must compound with him, before they get him out. As for King MATHIAS; hearing that LEOPOLD was gone from *Prague*, he sent word vnto the States, that he would not arriue there before the 24 of March. Before which time, diuers of the Emp. Councell were imprisoned; & among others, FRANCIS DENNAGEL who was also

Romeo fortifies himself in Budweitz.

also of secret counsel to the Arch-duke LEOPOLD. Being put to the Rack, he confest the Arch-dukes designes, and that he had beene sent by the Emperours to some Electors and Princes, to draw aide from them against King MATHIAS, they being at iarre: That LEOPOLDS resolution was to change many things not onely in the gouernment of *Prague*, but in the whole Empire, and that some great men of the Emperors Councel must be dismist. Whereunto DENNAGEL made answere; That it might be done in *Italy*, but that *Bohemia* was gouerned after another manner. That the Arch-dukes intention was to seize vpon all the townes of *Bohemia*, to vnite his forces with those of *Bohemia*, to defend the Emperour, and to imploy his Armes against King MATHIAS, whose entry into *Bohemia* they would hinder; And if this designe had succeeded, then by an Imperial edict they would haue forbidden the exercise of the Protestants religion throughout all *Bohemia*. He also confest that he was seruant to the Arch-duke LEOPOLD, and that he would gladly haue procured him the kingdom of *Bohemia*.

Demagels confession.

King MATHIAS hauing discouered his enemies counsells, marched on, and came within halfe a league of *Prague*; whither all the Nobility and others went to honour this rising sunne, leauing the sunne setting. He made his entry into *Prague* with great pompe: where after his arriuall the Emperour sent to congratulate his comming, by such of his Councel as he thought should be most pleasing vnto him. The Elector of *Saxony* aduised the states of *Bohemia* to bee well aduised in the pacifying of these troubles, and not to believe that the Emperour (who had so peaceably gouerned not onely *Bohemia* but the whole Empire these thirty fiue yeares) was the cause thereof; but that it proceeded from some busie and turbulent spirits, in the punishment of whom they must vse moderation; not chastizing the innocent with the culpable; That the lawes of *Bohemia* bee not violated, and the Imperiall Maiesty with the dignity of the Electors, and states of the Empire wronged: That all their counsells should tend to obey the Emperor onely, and not suffer his age to be oppresst with cares and discontents. By other priuate letters he aduertised HENRY IVLIERS Duke of *Brunswick*, not to abandon the Emperor, nor to suffer any thing to passe preiudicial to his Imperial maiesty, and admonished K. MATHIAS that al things proceeding with moderation, the house of *Austria* would be much contented.

The Duke of Saxony writes to the states of Bohemia.

The Emperour assembled the States of *Bohemia* vpon the twelfth of Aprill: where hee gaue them to vnderstand, that he could not conceale the brotherly affection which he bare to MATHIAS King of *Hungary* his first brother, and his successor designed in the Realme of *Bohemia*: he entreated them to resolue he might be crowned in his life time, as many of his predecessors had done to their successors; but with condition to suffer him to enioy the Realme during his life: As for certaine differences betwixt him and king MATHIAS, that they should treate thereof at the end of the Assembly. In the meane time he required them to giue him wherewith to entertaine the Imperiall Maiesty; That his officers might bee paied their wages; his counsellors imprisoned, set at liberty: And that all the power and royall authority in *Bohemia* should remaine to him.

The Emperour propositions to the States of Bohemia.

The estates in their Assembly drew many Articles, which king MATHIAS was to sweare before his coronation; And they were read in the presence of the Embassadors of *Moravia*: who also for themselues and the Silesians (who are incorporated to the crowne of *Bohemia*) presented their complaints and grieuances containing 49 Articles: And the inhabitants of *Prague* required the confirmation of eight Articles, before his coronation, the which concerned the priuate gouernment of their City: all which I am forced for breuity sake to omitt, and to referre the Reader to the originall, whereby hee may iudge what the estate of *Bohemia* might be after those demandes, the Emperour (who was the lawfull King) hauing nothing in a manner but the title. Hee had a good heart; but his body was growne old and weake: Hee had the the greatnesse of courage of his predecessors; but croft by fortune, hee is constrained to yeeld to that which they desire: And he that presseth him to this consent, we see him (being halfe forced) to quitt some of the flowers of the liberty of this crowne, to those which did him homage, before that heauen had taken away him, whose successor he had beene without condition. King MATHIAS hauing sworne to all their Articles, and the Emperour hauing freed all the subiects of *Bohemia* and incorporated prouinces, from their oath of allegeance, they proceeded to the Coronation of MATHIAS; whom the whole court and the inhabitants of *Prague* honoured much, hauing much desired it. And after the Coronation, certaine Deputies being appointed to end the differences betwixt the Emperour and King MATHIAS, they concluded (and signed vnto) these Articles: Firstly, That the Castle of *Prague* should remaine to the Emperour, and that the

Propositions of the States to Mathias.

King Mathias crowned King of Bohemia.

1611

king should lodge neere vnto it, hauing the Church common to them both. Secondly, That the gouernour of the Castle and the guard should sweare fidelity to both; and if there were any change to be made, it should be left to the Emperours disposition. Thirdly, That the gouernment of the Empire should remaine in the Emperor, and that he should not be disquieted in any thing that concerned the Imperial iurisdiction. Fourthly, That the gouernment of *Bohemia* and the prouinces depending, should be left to King MATHIAS, to whome the Emperor should yeeld al the right he pretended; but as for the difference for the title of king of *Bohemia* it should be referred to the next Assembly of the States. Fifthly, That in regard of the Cession, which the Emperour made vnto king MATHIAS of *Bohemia* and the prouinces depending, he should pay yearely vnto his imperiall maiesty 300000 florens, at two equall payments. Sixtly, That the Emperour should enioy the Segniories, demeasus and reuenues of *Budouits*, *Brandesi*, *Lissau*, and *Petzeran*, during his life; the which he should by no meanes ingage, sell, or transport. Seauenthly, That the Emperor should haue liberty to dispose by his testament of 200000 florens. Eightly, That the king should effect his promise made to the Emperour, touching the county of TYROL, and should satisfie his brother ALBERT, for his interest in *Austria*. Ninthly, That the Emperor should recommend king MATHIAS to the Electors and Princes of the Empire to be aduanced to the Imperiall dignity. Tenthly, That at the next Diet they should labour by all meanes to obtaine contribution and succours against the Turke. Eleuenthly, That the priuiledges of the Arch-duchie of *Austria* should be deliuered into the Kings hands; with this condition, that if the Emperour had need, the king should assist him. Twelfthly, and lastly, That within one yeare the Emperour should giue the inuestiture of *Bohemia* to the said king.

Articles of accord betwixt the Emperor and K. Mathias.

Troubles at Aix.

The towne of *Aix* (whereas the Emperor receiues his first Crowne) was in great combustions by reason of religion. The Catholike magistrate, by vertue of the Emperours commandement, had hindred the exercise of the Protestant religion within the towne and territory; the which the others taking very impatiently, they fell into a tumult and took Armes, seising vpon the towne-house and whole town, and dispossest the Catholike magistrate. The Catholikes fledde to the Arch-duke ALBERT and to the Elector of *Cullen*, for support: And the Protestants sent presently to the Princes possessing *Iuliers*, for aide, and to send some men of note to reconcile their differences. In the end by the mediation of the French Kings Embassadours, there were certaine Articles set downe for their reconciliation, but they took no great effect.

Brunswick, proscribed by the Emperour.

The Duke of *Brunswick* had (as we haue said) besieged the city of *Brunswick*, but had left it by reason of the hope of a peace. This yeare the Duke was at the Emperours court, to pursue the proscription of the said towne, in case of disobedience. The Hanse-townes (fearing that his fauour in court would preuaile more then the iustice of their cause) intreated king MATHIAS by their Letters, to fauour the right of the towne of *Brunswick*. But the Duke preuailed: for hee obtained Letters patents for the proscription of the Senate and inhabitants of *Brunswick*, as violaters of the publike peace; declaring them guilty of treason, and all their goods confiscate to the Duke, if that within one yeare they did not submit themselues vnder his obedience. Whereunto the magistrate and citizens published a declaration, containing a protestation of their innocency.

An Assembly of Electors at Nurembourg.

About the end of September the Electors had called a Diet to *Nurembourg*: from whence they sent Ambassadors to the Emperour, who found not any person of quality but the Duke of *Brunswick* about his Maiesty. They acquainted him with the present estate of the Empire; telling him, That the Electors required, aboue all things, a reformation in iustice; That he should make choice of more faithfull officers and Counsellors then he formerly had done; That a general Diet might be called in the Spring following; That what King MATHIAS had done, was nothing pleasing vnto them; That the reason of the bad gouernment of the Common-weale, was, for that his imperiall Maiesty did not impart the important affaires of the Empire vnto them, as his predecessors haue vsually done. They also besought him, in the name of the said Electors, that if he had no will to stay in *Bohemia*; to let them vnderstand the time when he meant to depart, and the place where he would make his residence: And as for the Election of a King of Romanes, they would not treate thereof without his consent; yet, not wishing that the Empire should goe out of the house of *Austria*, they desired to know which of them he would haue to succeede him.

Propositions made by the Electors, to the Emperour.

The Emperors answere.

The Emperour made answere, That he had long proiected to appoint a successor in the Empire, but the troubles in *Bohemia* had diuerted him; That he desired before they did treate of

of him that should succeede him, there should be a generall Diet, where he might assist; That he was of the Electors opinion, concerning the necessity to proceede to the Election of a King of the Romanes; but he aduised them to giue order, that he might tell them freely in the Assembly, what was necessary for the safety of the Common-weale. The Ambassadours being returned, with this answere, the Electors appointed a Diet to be held in Aprill following, in the yeere 1612, to choose a King of Romanes in the City of *Franckford*, after the accustomed manner.

The death of the Emperor Rodulph.

The Emperour RODVLPH growing sickly (in the end of December, after the old computation) with extreame paines in his Legges (the which increased daily) he yeelded his soule to God, on the tenth of Ianuary; hauing raigned Emperour aboue thirty fiue yeeres. They thought to haue kept his death secret, vntill the comming of King MATHIAS, and therefore they sent vppe his seruice at dinner time into his chamber, to the end no man should suspect it; but soone after, being known to TRANTMANSTORF, it was diuulged ouer all *Prague*, and in the meane time they sent Postes to aduertise King MATHIAS, and the Electors of the Empire.

THE LIFE OF MATHIAS, THE FIRST OF THAT NAME, AND HVNDRETH AND NINETEENTH ROMANE EMPEROVR.

(***)

AFter the death of RODVLPHVS (according to the Golden Bull, made by the Emperour CHARLES the Fourth; in the yeere one thousand three hundred fifty six) the Emperour being dead, the Elector Palatine, and he of *Saxony*, were appointed Vicars, Gouernors, and administrators of the Empire, vntill there were a King of Romanes chosen to be Emperour; either of them gouerning in his seuerall Iurisdiction. The Electour of *Mentz*, according to his charge, gaue notice to all the Electors to meete at *Franckford* in May, to proceede to the Election of a King of the Romanes; whither all the Princes came with their Traines: where, omitting the Ceremonies which were obserued in that Assembly; In the end, they ioyntly concluded to choose King MATHIAS, for King of the Romanes; who was crowned on the fourteenth of Iune, in the said City of *Franckford* with the ordinary Ceremonies; and on the sixteenth of Iune, the Queen, his wife, was crowned Empresse, who was also of the house of *Austria*, and descended from the branch of Tyroll. The Ceremony of his Election and coronation being ended

1612

ended with great magnificency; the Electors, Princes and Noble-men left *Franckford*, to retire home vnto their houses.

The Emperour hath no Towne in the Empire.

The Emperour, as Emperour and King of the Romanes, hath not any Citty or Towne within the Empire: The whole Territory of *Germany*, belongs to the Electors, Bishops, Abbats, Princes, Earles, Noble-men and Free Townes: yet if the Emperour had no place where to remaine but within the Empire, the Bishoppe of *Bamberg* is bound to giue him his Towne, and himselfe to retire to *Villac*. Wherefore the Emperour MATHIAS, who had kingdomes out of *Germany*, desiring to retire himselfe to *Prague*, the chiefe City of *Bohemia*, he parted from *Franckford* the three and twentith day of Iune, being accompanied by many Princes and Noble-men, and past by *Nurembourg* in the beginning of Iuly, where he had a very stately and magnificent reception. Before the Emperours departure from *Franckford*, the Citizens came and presented a Petition vnto him; whereby they required that they might be made acquainted with the priuiledges of the City, which had remained wholly in the custody of the Senate; That the Iewes, whose number exceeded, might be expelled; That there should be a course set downe for vsury, and a meale market erected in the City. To whom the Emperor gaue good words, and put them in hope: But when as after the Emperours departure, the Cittizens saw no point of their Petition performed, there grew a great dissension betwixt them and the Senate: the which would haue grown to a great combustion, if some wise and temperate men had not interposed themselues.

A controuersie at Franckford reconciled.

CÆSAR aduertised hereof, being yet at *Nurembourg*, he sent command to the Citizens to referre all controuersies to him; who made choice of the Archbishop of *Mentz*, and the Lantz-graue of *Hesse*, to heare the businesse, and to reconcile it; the which after many and troublesome treaties, by their wisedom and moderation, they pacified and gaue contentment to both parties.

The Emperour, leauing *Germany*, returned to *Bohemia*. The Estates, hearing of his comming to *Prague*, sent the Duke of *Teschin* with a thousand horse to receiue him, being accompanied by the Duke of *Brunswick*, and many Noble-men of *Germany*, who conducted him to the Cathedrall Church, and then to the Castle; where they made great shewes of ioy for his happy Election. Soone after, Ambassadours came vnto the Emperour from the Persians and Muscouites: The Persian, hauing deliuered his Kings Letters vnto the Emperour, he perswaded him to continue warres against the Turkes, as the deceased Emperour had promised; saying, That if he could preuaile nothing, he should then returne speedily home, his King hauing also resolued to conclude a Peace with the Turke; hauing made triall, to his griefe, that the Christians had made a peace with the Turkes, at such times as they might greatly haue annoyed them. The Muscouite Ambassadour said; That the Muscouite intreated his Maiesty, to be an Vmpire betwixt them and the King of *Poland*; that he would procure a Peace to those Countries, and prouide them a good and worthy Prince: That they had formerly required the King of *Poland's* sonne, to be their great Duke, and to that end and purpose they had diuers and sundry times, sent vnto the King: but when as they found that he had no such intent, but that vnder the pretext thereof, he might the more easily subdue them, they fell from him againe; and, ioyning battaile not farre from the City of *Musco*, they slew many Polonians; after which, they had an intent to call-in CHARLS, son to the King of *Swethen*; but, if the Emperour could by any other meanes prouide for them, they would most willingly obey him.

Ambassadors come from Persia & Muscouy, to Prague.

Newes came then to Court, of a controuersie growne betwixt NERONIVS the Emperours Ambassador at *Constantinople* and NASSVS Basha, about the confirmation of the Peace which had been made some yeeres before. The Ambassadour, perswading the Turkes to entertain the Peace which had been made, NASSVS Basha required him to shew wherin the Emperor had not been satisfied: To whom he answered, That the sixt Article of the Transaction had been violated; for that CÆSAR, as King of *Hungary*, hauing a lawfull Title vnto *Transiluania*, he required to haue that Article ratified; the which NASSVS denied, affirming that *Transiluania* did properly belong vnto the Sultan: vpon which point there grew a great contention betwixt them, whereby it appeared the Turkes sought nothing, but some colour to infringe the Peace.

The Emperour, being aduertized hereof, gaue answere vnto the Persian Ambassador, That he would by al means imbrace & entertain the friendship, which the king his master had desired of the deceased Emperour his brother: who, although he had resolued to continue the warre against the Turkes; yet, being hindred by the seditions of *Hungary*, he was then forced to make a Peace; but now seeing the Turkes (hauing seized vpon *Moldauia* and *Valachia*) to practise to inuade

uade *Transiluania*, he would conferre with the Princes and States of the Empire, and aduertise the King what was to be done; perswading him in the meane time to continue the warres. He answered the Muscouites, that he would interpose his authority, for the making of a Peace, betwixt them and the king of *Poland*, and to prouide a great Duke for those Countries.

The Emperour appoints a Diet at Ratisbone.

Soone after, the Emperour sent his Letters to the Electors and Princes of the Empire, complaining of the Turkes iniustice, and shewing how dishonorable a thing it would be, for the Christian Common-wealth, to suffer so goodly a Prouince to be inuaded, and spoiled by them, without any opposition: writing also his Letters to the States and Imperiall Cities; That, being aduanced to the Empire, his first and chiefest care was to settle peace and tranquillity, and that iustice might be duly administred, and that all iealousies and distrusts being taken away by a firme and desired concord, the states of the Empire might be ready vpon all occasions, with their ioynt forces to resist the enemy of the christian name; specially when against the peace made with him (hauing gotten *Moldauia* and *Valachia*) he practised to make *Transiluania* subiect vnto him: the which being lost, *Hungary*, and the Empire would be in great danger; and that hauing made a peace with the Persian, he had not desisted to call the treaty of peace in question, and to make a challenge to *Transiluania*. Wherefore if he should violate the peace, it were necessary they should haue forces, and the sinewes of warre ready, by a bountifull and necessary contribution; for the effecting whereof he appointed a Diet to be held at *Ratisbone* on the 24 of Aprill, 1613.

The Emperor going from *Prague* to *Viena*, GABRIEL BATTORY Prince of *Transiluania* standing in feare of BETHLEM GABOR (who they said had craued aide against him of the Turkes) sent his Embassadors; and crauing the Emperours assistance, he promised him all subiection, and obedience: and withall he sent him many rich presents. Whereupon the Emperor aduertised the Basha of *Buda*, that this attempt of the Turkes did manifestly impugne the articles of peace, by the which it was prouided, that the state of *Transiluania* should not be molested. To which the Basha made answere, that the Christians had driuen away much cattell from *Iacerin*: That the king of *Poland* had violated the peace; and that it was to be feared, that he would seize vpon *Transiluania* with *Valachia* and *Moldauia*; and therefore his Emperour was not to bee blamed, if he did seize vpon this prouince, which did immediately belong vnto him. Soone after, the Emperours Embassadour at the Sultans Port gaue him to vnderstand, that he did nourish a monster, and that BATTORI had also sent Embassadours to the Sultan, and had secret treaties with the Bashaes. There came also vnto the Emperor certaine Deputies from the Saxons which liue in diuerse cities of *Transiluania* who stole away in rustick habits, lest they should haue beene discouered, complaining much of the tyranny and cruelty of BATTORI; and that contrarie to his faith, and the oath which he had taken, he had depriued them of their priuiledges, and had in a manner ruined them. That from the first yeare of his tyrannicall rule and gouernment, he had practised to extirpate and to root out the antient families of the Saxons, making a relation of all his insolencies and tyrannyes: the which I cannot set downe in particular, being tied to straighter bounds. They also vnderstood that BATTORI did craue fauour and aide from the Turkes against the Saxons of *Transiluania*, excusing himselfe that he had sent Embassadours to the Emperour, being forced thereunto by feare, and that he had sought to peruert and diuert the Emperors minde with presents. CÆSAR hearing all this, bidde them be of good hope, promising to prouide a remedy for their miseries, at the next Assemby of the States of *Hungary* and the Empire.

Battori sends a counterfeit Embassage to the Emperour.

The cruelties of Battory against the Saxons in Transiluania.

An assembly of the states in Hungary.

The Emperour called an Assembly of the states of *Hungary* at *Possouia* or *Presbourg*, whither he went in person, during whose absence SIGISMVND BATORY sometimes Prince of *Transiluania*, hauing liued some yeares a priuate life at *Prague*, died there of an apoplexie, where he was honourably enterred. At the assembly at *Possonia*, there was much contention, for admitting of Germane souldiers into their frontier garrisons of *Hungary*. There was great reason to indure it, for that *Hungary* could not be defended against the Turks without the helpe of Germans; and that an infinite number of all degrees and qualities, had lost their liues in *Hungary*, it being commonly called the Church-yard of the Germanes. The Hungarians refused to subscribe to this request: but in the end the maior part yeelded; but with a limitation, that both Germanes and Hungarians should be equally admitted; and whereas the Gouernour was a Germane, his Lieutennant should be a Hungarian, and that there should be an equality obserued in their paies; that Walloones, Italians, French-men, and other strangers, should bee held for spoilers rather then defenders of the countrey, and be wholly excluded. And after the conclusion of al this, the Emperors wife was crowned Queene of *Hungary*, with great pompe & state.

The Emperors wife crowned Queene of Hungary.

1613. *The Turks meaning to war in Hungary, is diuerted by his rebels.*

In the meane time, the Turks notwithstanding the peace had fired and spoyled many villages and carried away many Christians into captiuity; committing many actes of hostility, so as all men feared a new warre in *Hungary*; but it happened by the prouidence of God, that the people of *Natolia* in *Asia* brake out into rebellion, and burnt and spoiled many places: And in *Arabia* a certain seditious fellow vsurped the title of a King, hauing drawn vnto him 50000 Æthiopians, and seised on the strong Fort of *Aden*, vpon the red sea: this was a great prejudice to the Turks, and very beneficiall to the Portugals and Persians. Whereupon, the Sultan, beeing incensed with this new rebellion, and an indignity which the King of *Persia* had done him, reuoked his forces that were appointed for *Transiluania*, to be imployed against the rebels of *Asia* and the Persians; disposing of an Army in the garrisons of the Frontiers of *Hungary*, commanding them to contain themselues: so as at this time the Hungarians were freed from the feare of warre.

The day for the Assembly at *Ratisbone* being come, all the Princes and States of the Empire repaired thither, and went forth of the City to meet the Emperor; whom they conducted into the City with great pomp, as you may reade at large in diuerse Authors. In the beginning of this Assembly, the Emperor deliuered to them the chief points and reasons why he had called them; setting down at large the Turks practices to seise vpon *Transiluania* contrary vnto the Articles of peace; the spoils which he had done, and the preparations which hee had made for war: Moreouer, although there were no fear of the Turk, yet it was necessary to leuie money to supply the frontier garrisons with munition, and for the building of two new Forts in *Canisia*. Wherefore, he intreated the States, that, considering the common danger, they would consent to make some contribution for the fiue next succeeding yeers, recommending this to the Electors, Princes and States.

The Protestants prefer a petition of their grieuances to the Emperor.

Before they came to the conclusion of these heads, the Deputies of the protestant Electors, Princes and States of the Empire, presented a petition of their grieuances vnto him, requiring to be eased (as they had often done to the Emperor RODVLPHVS) but could not obtain it: But now, seeing that his Majesty did so much desire to settle a peace in the Empire, hee would also be carefull to remoue all obstacles that might hinder it; being the only thing they desired, that, being eased of their grieuances, they might liue friendly and quietly, with the rest of the Electors, Princes, and Estates of the Empire. After which, they made a particular relation of all their complaints, concluding again with a petition to the Emperor for the same; and that if they might be eased thereof, they promised to bee ready to aduance any thing that might concern the publike good or his Majesties dignity.

The Emperor made answer to the Protestants petition, that hee would take consideration thereof; yet admonishing them not to preferre their owne priuate interest before the generall good of the state: but they intreated him, that he would not take it in ill part if they preferred a petition of their grieuances; which they could not auoid, for that in the yeer 1608, when they would not take knowledge of their grieuances, the Diet proued fruitlesse. Thus they pressing relief, and the Emperor standing firm to his first answer, they forbare to come to the Assembly; so that nothing could be concluded. After which the Catholiques made a declaration for the defense of their league, and deliuered it to some of the Councell; wherin they inueighed much against the Protestants of the Vnion, and laboured to lay the blame of all the miseries on them, making a long repetition of their grieuances: which contentions troubled the whole assembly for a long time.

During these fruitlesse contentions at the Diet of *Ratisbone*, newes came vnto the Emperor, that the Turks had made an irruption into *Transiluania*. Wee haue formerly made mention of the tyranny of GABRIEL BATTORI in these Countries, and how much he had oppressed the Saxon Cities: wherefore, hauing by this means diuerted the mindes of the Nobility and others, BETHLEM GABOR, who (fleeing his cruelty) had liued hitherto in exile, imbracing this occasion, repaired to the grand Seignior, and solicited him to expell BATTORI out of *Transiluania*, and to substitute him in his place; promising to be his vassall and tributary, and to deliuer into his hands *Lippa*, *Geneu*, and certain other Forts. The Sultan, yeelding to his request, commanded SANDER Basha to expell BATTORI: whereupon, he entred *Transiluania* with a great Army, and took diuerse places, being accompanied by BETHLEM. BATTORI, aduertised heerof, sent ISTVAN his Generall with a great Army to encounter him: but, being terrified with their numbers, he returned, persuading BATTORI to prouide for his safety. There entred another Basha into *Transiluania*, by the straights of the mountains not farre

Bethlem Gabor is made Prince of Transiluania by the Turk.

farre from *Cromstad*, hauing defeated the Zecclerians who kept those passages; so as in a maner all *Transiluania* was in the Turks power. In the mean time, the Turks in *Hungary* forced many villages to take the oath of obedience to the Sultan; carrying away all their goods and cattell that refused it. The Basha of *Agria* hauing notice that they cried To Arms in *Hungary*, *Bohemia* and *Silesia*; to suppresse these insolencies, sent an Ambassador to *Cassonia* to FORTGATSI, Generall of the Army; assuring him, that all these things were vnknowne to him, and that hee was willing to entertain the peace with the King of *Hungary* & the Roman Empire; that BATTORI had been the cause of all these troubles; whom the Sultan required to haue punisht for his tyranny: but he would not attend and fight with the Turks, but fled vnto *Varadine*; saying, that hee did it to the end that hee should not fall away from the Emperor, whose aide hee had implored. 1613

The Palatine of *Hungary* and FORTGATSI sent him some succours, but not such as were able to restore him; and the rather, for that the whole Prouince depended now vpon BETHLEM GABOR: who soon after was appointed Prince of *Transiluania* by SANDER Basha; with this admonition, that being taught by the example of BATTORI, he should not follow his steps; that he should chuse his Counsellors out of *Transiluania* and *Hungary*, and should doo nothing without the Sultans priuity. He laboured to free the further *Hungary* from the fear of inuasion; the Basha writing to FORTGATSI, that he had onely charge from the Sultan, to expell BATTORI out of *Transiluania*.

The Emperors speech to the States at Ratisbone.

The Diet at *Ratisbone* hauing been prorogued vntill the thirtith of September, the Emperor came and made an ample relation of all that had past in *Transiluania*. He earnestly intreated all the Electors, Princes and States, that as he himself had so much preferred the publike good of the Empire, that leauing his owne hereditary Prouinces, he had come thither not without the hazard of his life by reason of the plague; so they would fall into consideration of their common danger, and raise a certain summe of money for forty moneths, to resist the common enemy; who, hearing of their readinesse, might be diuerted from his enterprises: but, after much debating of these businesses, the Assembly was prorogued till another meeting.

The Emperor remaining with his Court at *Linтz*, an Ambassador came from *Muscouy*; who, hauing deliuered his Presents, said, that MICHAEL FENDROVITIVS the great Duke of *Muscouy*, issued from the great Dukes of *Muscouy*, and chosen to that Empire by the generall consent of all the Nobles, desired to continue the loue and friendship which the Emperors his Predecessors had with that state; and that he would disswade the King of *Poland* from his vniust attempts against *Muscouy*; and be a means that (hauing released some Noble-men which hee held prisoners) he would liue in peace with them. The Emperor, promising to bee a mediator betwixt him and the King of *Poland*, dismist his Ambassador with rewards.

BATTORI continued at *Varadine*. The Gouerner of *Toccay* brought him succours in the King of *Hungary*'s name; who, hearing what numbers hee had brought, said, that they would preuail nothing against the Turks forces; sending presently messengers to *Tirnauia* and other places for greater supplies. In the mean time he disdained the Gouerners company; resoluing if he could obtain no greater forces, to make his composition with the Turks, and to yield them that Fort for his restitution. The Gouerner, vnderstanding this, conferred with his friends; where they resolued to cut off this incumber, dealing with the Groom of his chamber to kill him as he slept: but when that succeeded not, he perswaded him to go out of the gates to view the Army; where he was shot by his owne souldiers. The tumult being ended, they took consultation with the Gouerner of *Varadine* to preserue the place for the Emperor: yet he perswaded them not to put any garrison into the Castle, lest the Turks should come and besiege it. Yet soon after, he yeelded it vp to BETHLEM GABOR.

Gabriel Battori, Prince of Transiluania, slain.

BATTORI being slain, the Turks left *Transiluania*. BETHLEM GABOR called the Estates to *Clausenbourg*: where they first of all restored all men that had been banished by BATTORI. They concluded free exercise of religion; that the Prince should acknowledge the Sultan for his superior; that he should entertain peace with his neighbours, especially the Roman Emperor; that he should make a league with the Princes of *Moldauia* and *Valachia*; that he should chuse his Councell out of three nations, and do nothing without their priuity; that he should maintain all the antient priuiledges; that he should maintain iustice; and that he should not hinder the free election of a Prince whom the Sultan should confirm. There were many other Articles concluded at this Assembly, which are too long to relate. After which, BETHLEM wrote Letters to the Palatine of *Hungary*, of all his proceedings in this action; concluding,

Bethlem calles the States to Clausenbourg.

ding that he was aduertiſed, there were ſome that preſumed to inuade ſome places belonging to that Prouince: the which he admoniſhed them not to attempt, ſeeing that he was ready to perform all good offices, to the Emperour, and King of *Hungary*: But, if they did continue in their deſignes, he would not diſſemble; but that he, and the Sultan in like manner, were bound by oath to defend them, who would haue as great a care as himſelf of the Prouince, and would neuer ſuffer any thing to be drawne away. Wherefore he intreated him, for the loue of his Countrey, and of Peace, to command all his Gouernours and Captaines, not to attempt any thing, whereby any combuſtions or alterations might ariſe, but euery man to enioy his owne in Peace.

The Turke admoniſh the Staes of Tranſiluania to yeeld obedience to Bethlem

There were ſome yet remaining in *Tranſiluania*, who, allied to BATTORI, had raiſed ſome tumults; and ſome, deſirous to draw that Prouince to the Emperour, had taken *Huſt* and ſome other places in his name. The Sultan, hearing this, ſent his Lrters to the Noble-men and Srates, letting them vnderſtand, that when as *Tranſiluania* yeelded obedience to his predeceſſors and him, they liued in quiet; and had often craued aide from him, and obtained it; concluding that he had made BETHLEM GABOR their Prince, to gouerne the Prouince vnder his protection: But, hearing there were many things done on CÆSARS ſide againſt the Peace, and many Townes and Forts taken; he had fully reſolued not to ſpoile any Fort in *Tranſiluania*, nor to doe wrong to any man, nor yet to ſuffer any man to doe it, but would defend that Prouince with all his power. Wherefore he deſired the Emperour ſhould know, that if he would haue this Peace inuiolable, he ſhould preſently make reſtitution of the ſaid places, to the Prince of *Tranſiluania*, or elſe ſignifie his mind vnto him by Letters.

An Aſſembly made by the Emperor at Lintz.

The Emp. continuing at *Lintz*, cald an Aſſembly of his hereditary Countris & Prouinces, *viz.* Bohemians, Auſtrians, Stirians, Carinthians, Carniolans, Sileſians, Luſatians, Morauians, and Hungarians: To whom he propounded, that the Peace had been broken by the Turkes, by their many incurſions, carrying away men and cattell, and committing many other inſolencies in hoſtile manner: And the rather, that beſides *Walachia*, and *Moldauia*, they had now of late ſeized vpon *Tranſiluania*, and fortified it with Garriſons, vnder the command of BETHLEM GABOR; that they had aſſembled the Eſtates, and admoniſhed the Emperour by Letters not to meddle with it.

In the end, he made mention of BETHLEMS deſigne, *hauing made himſelfe a vaſſaile to* the Turkes, to the end the Prouince might be vnited vnto them. Wherefore conſidering how preiudiciall it was to the Chriſtian ſtate, and behoouefull for the Turkes, he held it neceſſary by all meanes to be recouered, ſeeing the time was very fit to make warre vpon either of them. It was further demanded, ſeeing the Sultan did challenge this Prouince as his owne, and would not ſuffer the *Germanes*, to preſcribe any lawes to the Tranſiluanians, what he ſhould anſwere in this point, That if a Turkiſh Ambaſſador, contrary to the expreſſe conditions of Peace, and *inſtructed with no charge*, ſhould come, and that the Sultan ſhould refuſe to confirm the ſixt Article of the Tranſaction; whether this Ambaſſadour were to be admitted, and his Letters to be accepted by the Emperour. The laſt queſtion was, whether they ſhould make a new Tranſaction with the Sultan, *when as he would not ſtand to the firſt*; and how they ſhould proceede in the buſineſſe of *Moldauia*, *Walachia* and *Tranſiluania*; and what they ſhould doe, if *Hungary* in like ſort ſhould be inuaded before an Aſſembly. The Hungarians made anſwere, that they thought it fit to deuiſe ſome meanes how the Tranſaction made betwixt the Sultan, and the deceaſed Emperor might ſtand firme, and the Emperours authority maintained; and as for future neceſſity, it was fit ſome meanes were prouided for neceſſary defence.

The Iewes expelled at Wormes.

The inhabitants of *Wormes* had many yeers complained of the intolerable vſury of the Iews: The Citizens deſired much to be freed from this vnneceſſary loade, and to be vnburthened of their Intereſts; intreating the Senate, to puniſh their frauds as it was fit. The Senate therefore, meaning to ſet downe ſome courſe, made a new Edict: but the Iewes deſiring to preuent them, ſent a Petition to the Emperour; who, *deſiring to be better inſtructed in the cauſe*, required to haue all the Acts ſent vnto him, with the priuiledges of the City concerning the Iewes, which had been granted by former Emperors.

In the meane time, the cauſe was referred to the imperiall Chamber; and a penall iniunction ſent, to pay againe vnto the Citizens, whatſoeuer they had exacted, contrary to the conſtitution of the Empire. In the end, *there was a decree made, whereby the Senate was* inioyned by the Emperours authority, vpon a penaltie of 10000 marks of Gold, preſently after the receite theof, to reduce all vſury, both future, and that which was paſt, and not paid, to fiue in

in the hundred; and that they ſhould ſuffer them to make a defalcation of that which was paſt, vnleſſe they would incurre the ſaid penalty. This Edict was publiſhed in October the yeer before: which put the Citizens in good hope that all things would be well compounded. But, finding their hopes fruſtrate, *in the end they reſolued to caſt all the Iewes out of Worms*; the which they put in execution vpon the ſeuenth of April, being Eaſter Munday: at which time, ſome 300 of them coming together into the market place, they ſent ſeuenteen into the Iewes ſtreet, to let them vnderſtand, that they muſt preſently depart the City, carrying with them what they held moſt pretious, the reſt ſhould be put in Inuentory; and whatſoeuer they had recouered by iudgement, ſhould be reſtored to them. Hauing receiued this meſſage, they packed away within one houre, much lamenting their hard fortunes. The Magiſtrates blamed the Citizens for this attempt; and they conſtantly maintained the action: and after their departure they ruined their monuments, their Temple, and whatſoeuer belonged to the Iewiſh Ceremony. 1615

The peace reconfirmed betwixt the Emperor and the Turk.

In May, the Emperor being at *Vienna*, there came a Turkiſh Ambaſſador, attended with a great traine. Being brought to the Emperor, he deliuered his Preſents which were many, with his Letters; containing in ſubſtance, that the Sultan deſired much to maintain the peace with the Emperor; and that he ſhould ſend Commiſſioners to the Frontiers, as he would do, to take view of the wrongs which had been done on either ſide, and to make ſatisfaction. The Emperor, hauing heard his Ambaſſage, went to *Prague*, and left certain Counſellors to treat with him touching the confirmation of the peace; who ſaid, the Sultan had giuen him great charge to aduance it, for that, being ingaged in diuerſe warres, hee could not attend all together; that the ſonnes of EMIR, Gouerner of *Saida*, relying vpon the Perſians aid, had lately ſlaine the Baſha of *Damaſco*; and the ſonne of NASSVF Baſha had been ſtrangled in *Aſia*, where they put all to fire and ſword. The King of *Perſia* in like manner did not abſtain from Arms: and the Coſſacks of *Polonia* did much annoy his ſubiects. Being thus aſſaulted by many, he was forced to retire his ſouldiers out of *Hungary* to ſend them into *Aſia*, and to deſire a peace with the Emperor; the which was concluded vpon theſe conditions: that the treaty of peace, made in the yeer 1606, ſhould ſtand firm; and for that, ſince the time of that treaty, there had been many controuerſies for the ſpace of eight yeers, it was agreed, that the peace ſhould bee continued for twenty yeers longer; that, for 150 villages belonging to the Arch-biſhoprick of *Strigonia*, and had been formerly demanded by the Sultan, there ſhould be ſixty deliuered; that all controuerſies vpon the Frontiers ſhould be compounded within foure months by Commiſſioners; that the goods taken from the Turks at *Pallantua* by the Haiduques, ſhould be reſtored, and the Authors puniſhed; the priſoners on either ſide ſhould be releaſed, and the Forts built, during the laſt eight yeers ruined; that Prieſts, Ieſuits and Monks, might repair their Churches in the Turks Territories, and celebrate diuine ſeruice; that merchants might freely traffick to *Conſtantinople*, hauing the Emperors Letters-patents to ſhew to the Gouerners of the Frontiers and to the Ambaſſador and Conſull reſiding there; that the tribute once paid, the party might paſs on freely, and be no more queſtioned; that a merchant dying in the Turks Kingdom, his goods ſhould be deliuered to the Emperors Ambaſſador at *Conſtantinople*. Theſe Articles were ſigned by the Commiſſioners, and were to be confirmed by both the Emperors.

The Empire, after the peace concluded betwixt RODVLPHVS and Sultan ACHMAT, had not been afflicted with the heauy burden of forrain warres: yet was it not free from inteſtine combuſtions. The pretenſions for *Iuliers* had drawn all the Electors, Princes and States of the Empire, into factions: and the troubles of *Brunſwick*, with the mutinies of *Branckford* and *Wormes*, had much troubled the Quiet of *Germany*. The Duke of *Brunſwick* being dead, ther was hope of a reconciliation betwixt his ſonne and the City of *Brunſwick*, by the mediation of the Duke of *Wittemberg*: but, it taking no effect, the Duke preſently raiſed an Army, and beſieged it; and the Beſieged defended themſelues valiantly. The hanſe-towns raiſed forces to relieue them, vnder the conduct of the Earl of *Solmes*; who, approaching with his Troops, was aduertiſed from the Town, that, if they were not ſpeedily ſuccoured, they ſhould be forced to yeeld: whereupon, he reſolued to force his way by the ſword; which after a long fight hee effected, to the great comfort of the Townſ-men. After which, there was a truce made for ten daies, and in the end a peace concluded vpon certain Articles; which were confirmed by the Duke and the Citizens.

The City of Brunſwick beſieged by the Duke.

At the inauguration of the Emperor MATHIAS, there had been ſome controuerſie betwixt the Senate and the Citizens of *Branckford*; the which the Arch-biſhop of *Mentz* and the Lantzgraue of *Heſſe* compounded, vnder certain Articles: the which the Emperor ratified, and they

they promiſed to obſerue. In the yeer 1614, they fell into new combuſtions; ſo as a multitude, led by ſome of the baſer ſort of the Citizens, came to the Senate-houſe, and forced the old magiſtrates to giue-ouer their places. The Emperor, being aduertiſed heerof, ſent a Herald with commandement to reſtore the old Senate: the which the Citizens refuſed to obey, continuing conſtant in that reſolution. The Emperor after this ſent a proſcription againſt the chiefe Authors of this mutiny: whereupon, diuerſe of them were apprehended, and ſeuen of the chiefe executed: ſome were whipt, and others baniſht; being all men of baſe quality.

The Citizens of *Worms* hauing expelled the Iews as you haue heard, and continued all night in Arms, the Magiſtrates ſent to the Elector Palatine (who hath alwaies had a right of protection ouer the City of *Worms*, and in acknowledgement whereof they do yeerly pay him a certain fee) intreating him to aſſiſt them to force the Burgeſſes to their duties. The Elector, conſidering the importance of this innouation, ſent forces preſently thither, inueſted the Towne, and planted the cannon. The Burgeſſes cried preſently To Arms: but the Magiſtrate pacifi'd them, letting them vnderſtand that they were no enemies, but their beſt friends; aſſuring them, that there ſhould be no wrong done to any man, nor their liberties infringed: whereupon, the gates were opened, and the guard thereof and of the wals giuen to the ſouldiers. After which, the Magiſtrates making ſearch for the heads of this mutiny, there were twelue apprehended and put in priſon. The next day, in the preſence of the Electors Commiſſioners, the Inhabitants took a new oath of obedience to the Magiſtrate: and the Magiſtrate in like maner took the oath of alleageance to the Emperor and Empire. And thus the mutiny at *Worms* was pacified without any diſorder or prejudice to any man.

Collonitz *put in priſon by the Emperor.*

The yeer before, SIGIFRIDE COLLONITZ (a man famous for the great ſeruices he had done the Empire againſt the Turk) hauing called the Bege of *Strigonia* to combate for that he had willingly ſuffred the Turks to ſpoil his lands, was brought in diſgrace with the Emperor, and committed to priſon at *Newſtad*: his ſeruants were put in cuſtody, and all his papers & ſecrets ſearched by the Emperors command. But, finding nothing wherewith to charge him, he was releaſed, promiſing to attempt nothing againſt the Emperor nor the houſe of *Auſtria*: but, ſeeking to be reuenged of thoſe which made ſpoil of his lands, hee was taken again by the ſouldiers of *Landau*, and brought wounded vnto *Vienna*; where hee was againe committed to priſon.

The Burgeſſes of *Wormes*, who had been committed to priſon for the former mutiny, did this yeer on the ſeuen and twentith of May receiue their Sentence, which was to this effect; that a Doctor of the Law, who had pleaded the Citizens cauſe during the tumult, ſhould binde himſelf by oath, not onely to depart the City, but alſo out of the Palatinate and the Biſhoprick of *Spirer*; and that he ſhould plead no more, and moreouer ſhould pay 1000 Florences for a fine: Of the priſoners, one of them ſhould be ſhut vp in his houſe during his life; yet he ſhould haue leaue to go to the Church to hear diuine ſeruice, and three ſhould be whipt and baniſhed the Empire.

The King of Spain renounceth his title to the Realm of Bohemia.

The Emperor MATHIAS, being without hope of any iſſue, was very careful to leaue a ſucceſſor in the Realm of *Bohemia*: wherefore he adopted FERDINAND Arch-duke of *Auſtria* for his ſonne, recommended him to the Noble-men, and ſought by all means to aduance him to that Kingdome. Hauing imparted this reſolution to the King of *Spain*, hee eaſily procured him to renounce his right; the which the Earle of *Ognate* the Kings Ambaſſador with the Emperor did by a ſolemn Act, in fauour of the Arch-duke FERDINAND: and the Arch-duke FERDINAND in like manner by a ſolemn Act did promiſe reſtitution thereof to the King of *Spaine*, if he or his Deſcendents of the right line ſhould dy without iſſue male: which ſeuerall Acts, being paſt at *Prague*, the Emperor did ratifie and confirm.

The States of Bohemia aſſembled at Prague.

The Emperor, hauing obtained this renunciation from the King of *Spain*, and from MAXIMILIAN and ALBERTVS his brethren, called an Aſſembly of the States at *Prague*: where the chief Chancellor made a ſpeech vnto them; that the Emperor, hauing found them ſo faithfull and ready to do him ſeruice, would not onely be thankfull vnto them during his life, but would alſo endeauour to ſettle a future peace in the Kingdome, all cauſes of diſcord beeing taken away. Conſidering therefore that he was mortall, and being dead the Realm with the Prouinces annexed ſhould be left without a King, whereby might follow dangerous innouations, he had therefore reſolued (after the example of his Predeceſſors) to prouide them a good and fit King. Wherefore, ſeeing that MAXIMILIAN and ALBERT his brethren were growne aged, and himſelf not likely to haue any heirs, he had thought it good to adopt the Arch-duke FERDINAND for his many good parts and vertues, that he might bee ſworn and ſolemnly crowned future King of *Bohemia*; and the rather, for that his brethren would not pretend any title to this Kingdom: and the whole houſe of *Auſtria* had giuen their conſents to his election. Wherefore hee deſired them to chuſe FERDINAND for their future King, and that they would appoint a certain day for his Coronation; giuing them to vnderſtand, that the Archduke FERDINAND was ready for his part to take the oath, to confirm their priuiledges, and perform all other things that former Kings were wont to do.

1617

The States, hauing conſulted on this propoſition, ſoon after on the ninth of Iune made anſwer to the Emperor; giuing him firſt of all great thanks for his ſingular care for the peace and tranquillity of the Realm of *Bohemia*, and highly extolling the rare vertues of the Arch-duke FERDINAND. In the end they concluded, that they had choſen the ſaid Arch-duke for their King of *Bohemia*, and that he ſhould be proclaimed vpon condition, that if his Maieſty ſhould dy without any lawful iſſue male, he ſhould then take vpon him the gouernment of the Realm: and the day of his Coronation was appointed on the 29 of Iune. Moreouer, it was added, that he ſhould confirm to the States before his Coronation by oath, to maintain all the priuiledges, charters, immunities, municipall rights, conſtitutions and cuſtomes, as the Emperor and his Predeceſſors had done; and for that this confirmation, during the Emperors life could not bee performed, but muſt neceſſarily be deferd til his death, he ſhould a month after deliuer it in writing to the chief Burgraue of *Prague* if he were then liuing, or to the firſt officer of the kingdome; Moreouer, before his Coronation he ſhould promiſe to the States by writing, that hee would not deal with the gouernment, nor attempt any thing without the Emperors conſent, and the chief officers and Senates; that he ſhould reſt content till the Emperors death, with the title of elect and crowned King of *Bohemia*: the which if he ſhould infringe, the States ſhould not be bound to yeeld him obedience. After which, the Archduke FERDINAAND was proclaimed King of *Bohemia*, and crowned with the accuſtomed ceremonies.

The Arch-duke Ferdinand choſen & crowned King of Bohemia.

This made the hundreth yeer compleat after that MARTIN LVTTHER had oppoſed the Romiſh doctrine, and propounded his queſtions at *Wittemberg* againſt TEZELIVS his indulgences, reducing all to the triall of Gods word. IOHN GEORGE, Elector of *Saxony*, a Princeful of zeal and religion, in memory heerof commanded a Iubile to be celebrate throghout all his Electorate; writing to the Diuines of *Lipſick*, that whereas 100 yeers before it had pleaſed God to ſtir vp MARTIN LVTHER publikly to oppoſe the Popiſh doctrines, and to begin to reform religion, which had hitherto bin maintaind in al his territories againſt their diueliſh practices; He had decreed by good aduice to inſtitute a ſolemn feaſt, to thank God; the which ſhould continue 3 daies, from October. 31, till Nouemb. 2, commanding them to giue publick notice in their pulpits, to the end the people might prepare themſelues accordingly; that vpon the Eue the Pſalms ſhould be ſung, and preparation made to receiue the Communion the next day; that on either of the feaſt daies they ſhould haue two Sermons, one in the morning, the other in the afternoon, and their Text ſpecially appointed out of the holy Scriptures to that vſe. Which Iubile was duely obſerued in *Saxony*; and in imitation thereof, at *Heidelberg* in the Palatinate, and in other Prouinces and Cities of the reformed religion, was celebrated with great ſolemnity: and there were pieces of gold and ſiluer coined, both by the Elector of *Saxony*, and by ſome other Towns, in memory of this ſolemnity.

A Iubile celebrated by the Duke of Saxony in memory of Martin Luther

1618.

In the end of this yeer, the States of *Hungary* were aſſembled at *Poſſonia* or *Presbourg*. The Emperor went to *Vienna* with his wife and whole Court: but not able to aſſiſt at this Aſſembly by reaſon of ſicknes, he commanded FERDINAND, King of *Bohemia*, to ſupply his place. The reaſon of this Aſſembly, was, to redreſſe many grieuances, and to chuſe a King who might ſucceed the Emperor: in which, relation was made to the States of the Emperors great loue to *Hungary*, and his deſire to haue bin there preſent, if his infirmities had not preuented his reſolution; telling them, that as the peacefull gouernment of that Kingdom had bin alwaies dear to him, ſo he would vſe all means, that (peace being ſettled at home and abroad) all interrupting occaſions might be taken away. And conſidering his great age, and the many infirmities which did accompany it, he feared that the eſtate of *Hungary* would bee very miſerable, if hee ſhould dy before a new King were choſen to ſucceed him, of whom the ſafety of the Country might depend; which otherwiſe might be ſubiect to popular tumults and the incurſions of their neighbours: the which the Emperour deſired might bee preuented. *Imitating therefore his predeceſſors*, he requeſted they would preuent the calamities of future times, by their preſent counſells, and chuſe a King to ſucceede him, and to take vpon him the gouernment of that

1618 Realme, if his Maiesty should dy without any lawfull issue male: for the effecting whereof, MAXIMILIAN, and ALBERT Arch-dukes of *Austria* his brethren had not onely renounc't al their pretensions by Letters to the crowne of *Hungary*, but had often intreated him, that (forasmuch as they were aged and without children) he would provide for the necessity of that kingdom, by some other meanes. Wherefore he held it iust, profitable, and fit for the good of the State, that FERDINAND king of *Bohemia*, his cosin Germane (whom his Maiesty for his excellent parts, had adopted for his son) should be chosen, proclaimed, and crowned king of *Hungary* by the States. Wherefore he intreated them louingly (the former reasons considered) that they would chuse and proclaime his deare chosen sonne, King FERDINAND, for king of *Hungary*; assuring the estates that King FERDINAND should promise faithfully by his reuersall Letters, not to meddle with the gouernment of that Realme, without his maiesties expresse wil, and the aduice of the Hungarians; but should content himself with the bare title of king of *Hungary*, vntill that his Imperiall maiesty should otherwise dispose or dy; and if he should attempt any thing to the contrary, the States should be freed from their oath of obedience. Moreouer: that he should do any thing for the confirmation of the priuiledges of the kingdom, liberties, immunities, and all other things thereunto belonging, as the Emperor, and other kings of *Hungary* his predecessors had formerly done.

Whil'st they are about this proposition at *Possonia*, the Protestant States of *Bohemia*, made an assembly at *Prague*, the Emperour being absent at *Vienna*, for that his Letters Patents had beene violated. The Archbishop of *Prague*, hauing caused some of the Protestant Churches to bee ruined, and the subiects who had complained thereof put in prison; some Counsellors which remained at *Prague*, excused the fact, maintaining that there was nothing done against the Emperors Letters, nor the prouinciall constitution. The Emperor being aduertised of this assembly, admonished them by his Letters to forbeare, hearing that this assembly was made against his person: That what had beene done by the Archbishop was by his command: That they had exceeded the boundes of his Maiesties graunt, and had presumed to take vpon them the protection of others subiects, in an vniust cause against his sentence: That they had complained of his Maiesties Letters for the abrogating of the transactions, and bringing in souldiers into *Bohemia*, whereby they bred iealousies in the ignorant people, and had brought him in hatred with his faithfull subiects; whereby many dangers, and tumults, might arise in his absence, which he neuer had expected from some of them: That they had abused his bounty, and exceeded his grant: And that it was their duties to preuent all innouations and combustions. He had therefore resolued, after due inquiry to punish the authors. In the meane time he commanded them to forbeare from all assemblies, vntil he himself were present, or did otherwise determine: That they should not meddle with other folkes business, nor minister any occasion of sedition and tumult.

The Emperour complaines of the Protestant States of Bohemia.

This admonition did so little preuaile, as the States were the more incensed, seeking by all meanes to aduance the Assembly, against those that opposed it. The day being come, and the States being assembled, with some of the Citizens, out of all the Tribes of *Prague*, there was a Sermon in the Bohemian tongue for the preseruation of Religion, and the Churches not onely in *Prague*, but through the whole kingdome against their malitious aduersaries who sought to subuert them. On the 23 of May, the Noblemen came on horseback to Court, euery one hauing a seruant with two pistols charged; where they deliuerd their grieuances before the councellors and chiefe officers of the kingdom. The chiefe Burgraue, and POPPELIVS the grand Prior of S. MARIES, did seeme to yeeld vnto their requests: but SLABATA chiefe Iudge of the prouince, and SMESANSIVS opposed themselues; wherefore the States calling away the other two, they took SLABATA, SMESANSIVS, with a Secretarie, and cast them headlong out at a window, into the court of the Castle, the which was very deepe, yet by the will of God they were preserued aliue. There grew presently in the castle a great amazement and tumult: whereupon some of the States, and among them the Earle of *Thurn*, went through the city on horseback, perswading the people not to feare, nor to attempt any thing, promising that no man should be wrongd; and that they would maintain what had been done, and presently aduertise the Emperor thereof. The people being pacified and the chiefe Burgraue conducted quietly to his lodging, the States did binde the officers of the castle, with the gouerner, and porters and all the inhabitants of the three townes of *Prague*, vnto them by oath: and meeting daily in the prouincial chamber, being guarded by 800 shot, they made a league, promising to fight against the common enemies of God, the King, and Religion; and in that cause to liue and dy; to which end they prouided for the leuying of a good Army.

Some of the Emperors counsellers cast out at a window in Prague.

Hauing

Hauing afterwards published an apology, and declared the reasons why they were forced to prepare for their defense, they sent Letters also to the confederate Princes and States of *Silesia*, *Moravia* and *Lusatia*; whereby they acquainted them with all things that had past, and craued their aid in their future necessity. 1618

Letters from the protestant states of Bohemia to the Emperor.

By the defense or Apology which they had published, his Imperiall Maiesty might vnderstand (said they) the reasons why they had attempted to punish SLABATA, SMESANCIVS and FABRITIVS, as troublers of the publick peace; who by their traiterous practices, sought to deprive them of all the liberties granted them, and confirmed by the Emperor RODOLPHVS and his Majesty, and of all liberty of religion; practising such dangerous factions, that they had been able to ouerthrowe the State if God had not preuented it; that they must necessarily proceed to the punishment of some other factious people of the same quality: whereof they thought good now to aduertise his Majesty, as hauing regard to the dangers which threatned him in particular, and them in generall, hauing means in some sort to preuent these dangerous conspiracies which tended to deprive his Majesty, of the Realm, and them his faithfull subjects of their liberties: They had sought the meanes to maintain the Realm of *Bohemia* belonging to his Imperiall Majesty: and for that the States could not alwaies continue vnited together at *Prague*, they had therefore chosen Directors of the State of the three Euangelicall Orders; that remaining still there, they might ordain what they thought necessary for the preseruation of the immunities and priuiledges which his Majesty had granted: wherefore they hoped his Maiesty would hold them excused, hauing not attempted any thing with an intent to offend him or any of his Catholick subjects that were louers of peace; being ready to imploy their liues and goods for the defense of his Imperiall Majesty their soueraign Lord.

The Iesuites expeld Bohemia.

After this, they made a decree against the Iesuits, as the Authors of all the miseries and afflictions which had hapned in *Bohemia* and in many other Realms & States of Christendom; comparing them to the Templars, and saying that they had incited murderers to kill Kings, which would not liue after their manner; that they meddled with affairs of State, and held all them hereticks which were not Roman Catholicks; that they had slanderously defamed the Protestant States, and had made an explication contrary to the Letters of pacification made in the yeer 1609; that they had drawn the whole Countrey into the hands of certain perfidious Catholicks, by whose practices the Country was in danger of ruine. For which causes, they banished them for euer out of the Realm of *Bohemia*; enioyning them to depart within eight daies, and neuer to return: and to keep them from spoil during the time prefixed, they set 50 musketiers before their Colledge and Church. As for the other religious Orders, the said States took them into their protection; and the Earl of *Thurn* prouided daily to haue the begging Friers & the Cappuchens supplied with victuals.

Letters from the Emperor to the protestant states of Bohemia:

The Emperor, hearing of these alterations, wrote to them, that he could not allow of that which they had done in the Castle of *Prague* against the Counsellers of State, before they had been accused and heard; that they ought not to haue made so great leuies of souldiers without his priuity (seeing that no man declared himself their enemy) nor by consequence to aduance the ruine of Innocents, who knew not to what end all this tended; wherefore he enioind them to dismisse their souldiers, and not to attempt any thing against the ordinances of the Realm; that he would not conceal, that, hearing of their preparation to Arms, he had also commanded leuies to be made, as well for the defense of the Realm of *Bohemia* and of his faithfull subiects, as for the maintenance of the rank & authority which he held: yet he assured himself, they would rather imbrace peace than war, and not force him by their disobedience to come to Arms; the which he would willingly forbear if they would performe their duties.

And to the princes and States of the Empire.

The Emperor, seeing he could preuail nothing by his Letters and declarations, and that the Protestant States of *Bohemia* prepared still to Arms, therefore wrote his Letters to the Electors, Princes, and other States of the Empire, thereby to hinder them from making any leuies in the said States; aduertising them of all that had hapned in the Castle of *Prague*; and that the authors of these combustions, disdaining all obedience, and making no account of his remonstrances, persisted still in in their first resolution; and that to the preiudice and contempt of his Imperiall Maiesty, and of his soueraign dignity of King of *Bohemia*, they leuied soldiers from all parts, yea in the Roman Empire: and for that they did it without his expresse command, and against the Edicts, he aduertised all the States of the Empire to take order that no leuies of souldiers should be made in the Towns and other places of the Empire.

The Bishop of *Spire* had for some yeers laboured to fortifie the Towne of *Vdenheim*, seated

1618 vpon the riuer of *Rhine*, with good walls, large ditches, and strong rampiers, against all externall inuasion. The Elector Palatine had often sought by perswasions to diuert him from this worke: and the City of *Spire* had a priuiledge, that no castle or fort should be built within three miles of their city. The report was that SPINOLA had beene the Author of this fortification; and that he would man it with a strong garrison; it standing very commodiously in a marish ground, to hinder the free passage of the riuer of *Rhine*: The vnited Princes and States of the Empire after their assembly at *Hilburne*, sent 4000 horse and foote with 1200 Pioners to this Castle; which (being yeelded vnto them, without any opposition) they raised and laied euen with the ground; the Elector Palatine soone after publishing a declaration of the reasons which had moued him thereunto.

Ferdinand chosen and crowned king of Hungary.

The Estates of *Hungary* proceeded slowly, and were in a manner in suspence, by reason of the troubles in *Bohemia*; yet in the end they proceeded to the Election of FERDINAND king of *Bohemia* for their King in *Hungary*; but with these conditions: That hee should religiously obserue and cause to bee inuiolably obserued all the liberties, immunities, priuiledges, statutes, rights, and customes, of the Kingdom with the conclusions and treaties of *Vienna*, with all the Articles comprehended therein, and all others concluded both before and after the Coronation of the Emperours Maiesty in the yeares 1608 and 1609. The which Articles, being many in number I here forbeare to set downe in particular, being tied to straighter bounds. Which Articles being ratified by the Emperor vnder his Letters Patents, they proceeded to his coronation according to the accustomed manner.

The Emperors letters to the directors of the States of Bohemia.

All things tending to Armes in *Bohemia*, the Emperour sent Letters vnto the Directors for the Protestants Estates, whereby he assured them of his fatherly loue and affection, and gaue them meanes to suppresse the disorders and combustions within the Realme; yet in the meane time he had beene aduertised of the attempts and violences committed by the Earle of *Thurn*, who marching with his Army to *Budouitz*, had summoned the Consuls and Senators, as hee had donne the Magistrates of *Cromlau*, to dismisse the Emperours garrison, and to yeeld the towne vnto him, if not hee would put all to fire and sword: That it was not fit that hee being Emperour should endure these indignities: Wherefore hee was forced to commaunde the Leaders of his Army to enter speedily into *Bohemia*, to defend his faithfull subiects from all oppression: whereof he thought good to aduertise them, that by the consideration of the ruines which would follow this war, they might desist from their enterprise, and thereby auoid the assured ruine, which threatned them and theirs.

The answere of the directors to the Emperors letters.

To this Letter the Directors made answere, protesting that the Earle of *Thurn* had not committed any spoiles about *Budwitz*; but onely aduertised the inhabitants not to entertaine any strange souldiers; That he could not doe lesse then signifie these defences vnto them, being conformable to the ordinances of the Realme; That in case they would dismisse their souldiers and receiue no new garrison into their towne, the estates would forget that which was past; But hauing made refusall, and declared themselues enemies to the countrey, it was no wonder if the Earle had vsed some threats, although he had no intent to hurt them: Whereof the towne of *Cromlau* was a good example, whereas they forced not any man, nor put any souldiers into the towne, for that they had obeyed, and dismist their garrison; and therefore it was not needfull, that the Emperour should draw an Army into *Bohemia*, in regard of *Budwitz*, hoping that hee would neuer willingly consent thereunto, nor giue way to the pernitious counsels of their enemies. After this there were other replyes and answeres, touching the bringing in of forces into *Bohemia*, which I cannot insist vpon.

The Protestants Army in Bohemia.

The Protestant States hauing assured themselues of many townes and places within the Realme, resolued to make two Armies: the one vnder the leading of the Earle of *Thurn*, which should ly about *Budwitz* and towards the frontiers of *Austria*, by the which the Emperours troupes might enter into *Bohemia*; the other vnder the commande of the Earle of *Mandsfeldt* to besiege and force some townes within the Realme, which would not submit themselues to the Protestants obedience. Finally their troupes increased daily both of Germane souldiers and other strangers of their religion: And the protestant States of *Silesia* had leuied 6000 horse and foote, for the guard (as they said) of their prouince; But in effect it was to enter into *Bohemia* and to succour their confederates.

The Emperours Army.

The Emperours Army consisted of 10000 horse and foote, with many commanders and Captaines: as the Earles of *Bucheim*, *Tampierre*, and *Colalte*, HENRY IVLES of *Landemberg* Prince of *Saxony*, *Marada*, and *Molart*. The Earle of *Bucquoy* was expected with some troupes

Troops, and should be Generall; the which in the beginning bred some iealousie, and crossed their designes. It was bruited they meant to besiege *Prague*; where the Inhabitants laboured daily in the fortifications of the new Town: yet this Army did nothing but preserue it self and *Budvitz*. The Earl of *Tampierre* had commandement from the Emperor to enter with his Army into *Bohemia*, and to crosse the Earl of *Thurn's* designes vpon *Budvitz*. Coming to *Bistritz*, it yeelded; into which he put a garrison, thinking to do the like at *Neuhaus*: but hee was preuented by a garrison the Earl of *Thurn* had put into the Town and Castle. Whereupon the souldiers fired the suburbs; giuing new occasion of discontent to the Protestants against the Emp. 1618

Exploits of the Emperors Army in Bohemia.

Some fewe daies after, he attempted to force *Neuhaus* by Petard: but he was forced to retire with the losse of 200 men. Notwithstanding this disgrace, he entred further into *Bohemia*, and took *Pilgrum* and *Polna*. He had a designe to seise on some place vpon the riuer *Sasslaua*, within 7 or 8 leagues of *Prague*, there to fortifie himself, and to be daily at the gates of that great city: but the Protestants meeting him neer that riuer, there was a great skirmish and many good soldiers slain of either side. The Earl of *Tampierre* was forced to retire for want of victuals; who in his return lost many men, slain by the Peasants. These exploits did incense the Protestants very much against the Emperour, for the ruines and the burnings which the Earles Haiduques had committed.

Cardinall Clesselius sent captiue into Tiroll.

But let vs come to *Vienna*. King FERDINAND being returned thither with the Arch-duke MAXIMIL. they tooke counsell to remoue Cardinall CLESELIVS from Court, sending him word to come vnto the Castle at two of the clock in the after-noone, on the 20 of Iuly: whereupon he took his Coach with the Popes Nuntio, hauing much priuate discourse with him; where being arriued, he dismist the Nuntio, and went towards the Arch-dukes Cabinet. Being met vpon the way, he was giuen to vnderstand that the Arch-duke was not well, and desired to be excused; and being led into another roome, he was told that the house of *Austria* had decreed (with the Popes consent) not to suffer him any longer in Court, for his bad gouernement in the Prouince, and many other causes: wherefore laying aside his Cardinals habit, he should take an ordinary black gowne (which was offered him) and should presently follow such as attended for him. The Cardinal (who could not auoide it by any protestations) was presently conueyed by a secret passage to a Coach, and so conducted vnto the confines of *Stiria*, and from thence to *Tiroll*, with 200 horse. His secretary and seruants (who attended for him in the Court) were cald into the Arch-dukes Cabinet, where being commanded to deliuer the Cardinals keyes, they were committed. This was done with such secrecy, as no man discouered it in Court, neither did the Cardinals seruants know it, vntill at night they saw their Lords house searcht, and his goods seized. The Cardinal being sent away; the King and the Arch-duke went vnto the Emperor, whom they made acquainted with what had past.

In *Bohemia* the Protestant States, seeing the insolencies which the Imperialists had committed, wrote vnto the Emperor, and to the Electors Palatine and of *Saxony*, and to the Protestant States of *Silesia*, to make their complaints of the insolencies and violences which had bin done: And they did also write vnto king FERDINAND, and to the Arch-duke MAXIMILIAN, to moue his Imperiall Maiesty to giue eare vnto a good Peace.

Princes and other States assist the Protestants of Bohemia.

All the Protestant Princes and States of *Germany*, or neighbors to *Bohemia*, assisted them with men, money, or counsell, except the Elector of *Saxony*; who did all good offices to reconcile this quarell, being a friend to the house of *Austria*. The Protestants of *Morauia* and *Silesia* in the beginning sent Ambassadors to the Emperor and the Protestant Directors at *Prague*. The Morauians imploied themselues effectually to procure a peace, and refused to aid the Protestants of *Bohemia*: but at the yeers end they changed their opinion. As for the Princes and Protestant States of *Silesia*, they made shew to haue a particular intereest in this war with the Bohemians; to whom they sent 6000 horse and foot. They publisht a declaration to iustifie their action; concluding, that they found this trouble was meerly by reason of the contrauentions and persecutions made for religion; the Catholicks hauing raised the Protestants Temples, and committed them to prison which had built them; that the Emperors Officers, of causes of religion made crimes of rebellion; that the Protestants of *Bohemia* had surprised Letters of the Iesuits; containing, that *The time was come that Bohemia would be assured for the Catholicks, and that the Protestants would be depriued of their priuiledges; and the edicts for the peace of religion, reuoked*: the which the said Iesuits had often preacht in their Sermons: that if the Princes and States of *Silesia* had knowne there had bin any other action against the Bohemians but for religion, they would not haue succoured them; desiring aboue all things to be most obedient to the Emperor.

1618

The Electors and Protestant princes write to the Emperor.

The Prince of *Orange* and the States of the vnited Prouinces promiſed to aſſiſt them both with men and money. The Earl of *Hohenlo* or *Hollock* brought them goodly Troops out of the Duchie of *Brunſwick*. As for the Electors and Princes of the Vnion of *Germany*, who did much affect the Bohemians for their religion, they wrote to the Emperor, that experience and nature taught how precious a thing publike peace was; that they could neuer haue imagined, that his Imperiall Majeſty would haue ſuffred *Bohemia* to haue been engaged in ſo violent and cruell a warre, ſeeing there had been means to preſerue his royall authority, and to contain his ſubiects in obedience; that the ſucceſſe of ciuill warre was doubtfull, and the end ruinous and miſerable; that it was greatly to be feared, that this ciuill warre of *Bohemia* would ſet the neighbour-States on fire, and breed a great alteration during his Raign; that the queſtion being touching priuiledges granted to the Proteſtants of *Bohemia* for the liberty of their religion, they doubted not but if his Imperiall Maieſty would grant them a fauourable hearing, all things might be wel reconciled, ſeeing that many Electors and Princes offred to imploy themſelues: wherefore they intreated him to continue the propoſition of peace which they heard he had made, to pardon his ſubiects offenſes, to reſtrain his ſouldiers violences, and to quench the fire which was in his State; it being alſo to be feared, that the Turk, imbracing this occaſion of ciuill warre, would break the truce, and inuade the reſt of *Hungary*.

The Earl of Bucquoy enters into Bohemia.

Count BVCQVOY arriued in September with ſome Troops, and marched towards *Budvitz*; where, at his coming to the Army, he made a proclamation vpon pain of death, that none ſhould ſet fire vpon any place, nor commit any violence. They write, that, beeing at *Vienna*, it was tould him that the ruſtick and new ſouldiers of *Bohemia* would bee eaſily vanquiſhed: but he found the contrary, being at *Budvitz*; where there were two Armies, one of either ſide the riuer of *Maloz*: the which made the Earle to contain himſelf within his trenches.

Foure Arbitrators appointed by the Emperor to treat a peace in Bohemia.

The Emperor hauing reſolued to referre the difference betwixt him and the Proteſtants of *Bohemia*, to the arbitrement of foure perſons, two Catholiques, and two Proteſtants; that is to ſay, the Elector of *Mentz* and the Duke of *Bauaria*, Catholiques; and the Electors Palatine and of *Saxony*, Proteſtants: to them he wrote his Letters, intreating them to take ſome paines to reconcile this difference; appointing the place of their meeting to bee at *Pilſen*. The Elector of *Saxony* ſent one preſently to *Prague*, to exhort them to accommodate themſelues to the Emperors intention. To whom they anſwered, that they would willingly referre themſelues to thoſe foure Princes: but as for the place of meeting (hauing reſolued to beſiege *Pilſen*) they could not yeeld vnto it, the Inhabitants beeing Catholiques, and great enemies to the Proteſtants; deſiring him to conſider that the Directors abſenting themſelues, the Imperialiſts might make ſome enterpriſe vpon the Towns of *Prague*; whereof the ſurpriſe which the Earle of *Tampierre* had lately made of the Town and Caſtle of *Cammits*, was a ſufficient proof.

The Earl of *Mandsfelds* had commandement from the States to beſiege *Pilſen*; and the Inhabitants, ſeeing the Army approach, ſet fire on the ſuburbs. The Emperor heerupon wrote to the Elector of *Saxony*, and taxed the Bohemians to haue beſieged the Town, which he had appointed for the conference; deſiring, that the ſaid Electors Ambaſſador ſhould return to *Prague*, and propound a ſuſpenſion of Arms in the Electors name to preuent the forcing of *Pilſen*, and to reſolue with the Directors vpon the aſſurance of the conditions and the place of conference. The Electors Ambaſſador went to *Prague*, where he had nothing but words from the directors. The Duke of *Bauaria* wrote alſo vnto the ſaid States, that if they continued this ſiege, they would ſhew the contrary to that which they had formerly publiſhed in their apologie and proteſtation.

The directors reaſons for the ſiege of Pilſen.

The Proteſtants, growing then ſtrong, made anſwer to the Elector of *Saxony* and the Duke of *Bauaria*, that they had not been well informed of the cauſes of the ſiege of *Pilſen*; the which they would not haue vndertaken, if there had not been great occaſions offred; that the Inhabitants of *Pilſen* had promiſed to ioin with them in friendſhip, and had broken their faith, ſuffring a new garriſon to come into their Town; which had ouerrun the whole Prouince, taken many Proteſtants of quality priſoners, ſpoiled the Country, and ruined the Farms of the Proteſtant Nobility; and ſeeing that no warning could diuert them from theſe acts of hoſtility, they had reſolued to preſent a ſiege to draw them to their duties: but they grew more inſolent, threatning to ruine all the Proteſtants houſes within the Prouince: Wherupon, they had giuen commandement to the Earle of *Mandsfelt* to preſſe the ſiege, that the Inhabitants might be forced to vnite themſelues with the other Towns of *Bohemia*, and to liue in peace.

The Earl of *Thurn* in the mean time going towards the Frontiers of *Sileſia* to ioine with the Mar-

1618

Marqueſſe of *Iagerndorff* and the *Sileſians*, the Earle of *Bucquoy* made an enterpriſe vpon the Towne and Caſtle of *Neuhaus*, meaning to ſurprize it by night; but it ſucceeded not, for hee found the garriſon and inhabitants readie in Armes, ſo as hee durſt not attempt to batter it. The Earle of *Thurn* hauing ioyned with the *Sileſians*, being within twenty foure houres march, he returned with his troupes to *Buduitz*. The Earle of *Thurn* hauing recouered *Pilgram*, with all the places which TAMPIERRE had taken at his entrie into *Bohemia*, he made his Armie to turne head, to charge the Earle of *Bucquoy* in his lodging at *Camnits*; whereof beeing aduertiſed he cauſed his troupes preſently to returne towards *Buduits*: yet he could not doe it ſo ſpeedily, but the Proteſtants Fore-ward came to skirmiſh with the Rere-ward of the Imperialiſts, whereas BVCQVOY had ſome difficulty to retire his Cannon: and if he had not broken a bridge, and lodged ſome Harquebuziers in a wood, where the Proteſtants were to paſſe, he had beene in danger to haue beene defeated. The Proteſtants hauing paſt the wood, they returned againe to fight: the which was valiantly maintained on both ſides, during five houres ſpace; but if the night had not fauoured the Imperialiſts in their retrait, the Proteſtants had gotten an abſolute victory. The loſſe was equall: but the Proteſtants had the place of battaile, and 200 priſoners.

The Earle of Thurne comes to charge the Earle of Bucquoy.

Thirty waggons taken by the Proteſtants.

After this exploit the Earle of *Thurne* hearing there were 30 waggons comming from *Viena* to *Buduitz*, with a conuoy of 800 men, he laied an ambuſh for them: which charging them within a mile of *Buduitz*, they put the ſouldiers to flight, and took the waggons. The ſiege continued ſtill at *Pilſen*: where hauing made a breach they were vpon tearmes of compoſition, but the inhabitants grew obſtinate; whereupon MANDSFIELD doubted his batteries, and made a great breach right againſt a houſe which the Emperor RODVLPHVS had built; the which the ſouldiers took by aſſault and lodged there. Yet the inhabitants and garriſon annoyed them much from S. BARTHOLMEVVS Church, and began to ſet fire on their houſes to keep them from paſſing: ſo as all things tended to a great ruine and deſolation, if God in an inſtant had not mollified their hearts on either ſide.

Pilſen reduced vnder the obedience of the proteſtants.

The Proteſtant commanders forſeeing the ruine and inuitable loſſe of this towne, and the conſequence thereof, ſent to aduiſe the Burgeſſes and ſouldiers not to loſe themſelues, and that there was meanes to giue them an honourable compoſition: that the Burgeſſes ſhould bee preſerued in their goods and liberties, ioyning to the vnion of the Proteſtant eſtates, carrying all their Armes into the palace, an deliuering the keyes of the towne vnto the Earle MANDSFIELD: As for the ſouldiers (if they would not ſerue the States) they ſhould depart with their Armes and bee conducted to a place of ſafety: and ſo the towne was yeelded the next day vnto Count MANDSFIELD, and ſome of the ſouldiers followed the Proteſtants Army.

Cromlau taken by the Imperialiſts.

After the taking of *Pilſen*, all the towns of *Bohemia* yeelded to the Proteſtant Eſtates, except *Buduitz*, and ſome few places thereabouts, which were couered by the Imperiall Armie: and the Earle of *Bucquoy* extending his limits took *Cromlau*, which he mand with a good garriſon. Winter being farre aduanc't, the Directors lodged part of the Earle of *Thurn's* footmen in *Newhaus* and other townes neare to *Buduitz* and *Cromlau*. With the reſt (being in a manner all horſemen) the Earle tranſported the warres into *Auſtria*, making an incurſion within nine miles of *Viena*, where they ſpoiled many Burroughes, Monaſteries and Churches, and among others the Abbey of *Swethall* (which was a retreat for the Auſtrian Boot-halers) in the which they found a great bootie: they chaſed away the Abbot, who retired to *Vienna*; and hauing mann'd it with a good garriſon, they returned into *Bohemia* with great ſpoiles. The Emperour hearing that the Sileſians were in COVNT THVRN'S Foreward, hee wrote vnto the Princes and Proteſtant States of *Sileſia*, that he would neuer haue thought the Sileſians would haue attempted to come and ſpoile his faithfull ſubiects of *Auſtria*: That the Proteſtants of *Bohemia* hauing demanded ſuccours to defend themſelues, he would not beleeue that they would haue imployed them to wrong him out of *Bohemia*, and in the view of his capitall City of *Auſtria*: wherefore he aduiſed them to retire their troupes.

The Emperors complaint to the States of Sileſia.

The Sileſians deſiring to be ſatisfied in this point, The Proteſtants of *Bohemia* made them anſwere, that they were not to be blamed for this attempt, ſeeing that the Auſtrians had come into *Bohemia*, and committed horrible inſolencies, and carried away great ſpoiles; the Abbey of *Swethal* being their firſt retraite; ſo as they had reaſon to ſeize vpon that Abbey, to preuent their enemies entring into their countrey that way: That their enterpriſe to tranſport the warre into *Auſtria*, was done for two ends. The firſt to force their enemies to ſeeke a peace. The

second, that there were many Protestants in *Austria* which desired to vnite themselues in the cause of religion with the Bohemians and Silesians, and to be assured of the liberty of Religion: That the same day they had receiued Letters from the States of *Morauia*, signifying, that they had dismist their Gouernor and his Lieutenant, being Roman Catholiques, and had established Protestants, and that they desired to vnite and combine themselues with all the other Protestants of the neighbour Countries, for the defence of Religion. That they also expected Letters from the Protestants of *Austria*, both aboue and beneath *Ense*, and their answere made vnto the Emperor: wherefore they intreated the said States, and Protestant Princes of *Silesia*, not to giue credit to their enemies, but to beleeue that the entry of their troups into *Austria*, concerned the generall good of the Protestants of all the neighbor Prouinces to *Bohemia*.

The Emperors demands to the Protestants of Austria.

The Protestants of *Austria* aboue the Riuer of *Ene*, hauing built a Fort vpon the Riuer of *Danuow*, to hinder the passage of the Forrest by the which they entred into *Bohemia*, the Duke of *Bauaria* and the Townesmen of *Passau*, gaue charge vnto their Agents to make their complaints vnto the Emperour: who at their requeast sent the chief Marshall of his Court to the said States, to perswade them to raze that Fort, to leaue a free passage into *Bohemia* by the Forrest; to carry themselues louingly and friendly towards the Earle of *Bucquoy*, Generall of the Imperiall Army at *Budweitz*; to relieue him with corne and victuals, and to suffer the Souldiers to passe freely from *Bohemia* into *Austria*, and from *Austria* into *Bohemia*. Thereunto the said States made a long answere; That the Fort was built vpon the lands of *Austria*, with no intent to offend any man, but only for the defence of the Countrey. That they were not resolued to open the passage by the Forrest, by reason of the Neighborhood of the Bohemians. That it would be dangerous vnto them to haue any familiarity with Count BVCQVOY, seeing they were so neere to the Bohemians, who might easily inuade and spoile their Countrey, as they had threatned by their Letters. As for the victuall and munition which was demanded for the Armie, they were ready to supply him, so as the Earle would send for it and fetch it at his own perill.

1. Answere.

1619 2. Answere.

The Protestant States of lower *Austria*, being prest by the Emperour to make head and resist the Bohemians, and to preferre the publique good before their owne priuate Intrest, touching the point of Religion: they made answere, That they had great cause to complaine of the Catholiques, for that they could not enioy the free exercise of their Religion, granted by the deceased Emperour MAXIMILIAN: That they could hardly beleeue that his Imperiall Maiesty would euer haue attempted a warr against the Bohemians, without the generall consent of the States of *Austria*, and without their approbation being then assembled, and hauing not made them acquainted with the causes of that Assembly: That whatsoeuer concerned this warre of *Bohemia*, was kept hidden from them as a mystery, and that the Earle of *Bucquoy* Generall of the Army, and the chiefe officers being strangers, it had giuen them cause of discontent and iealousie: For that they could not obtaine from the Catholiques an answere to their iust demand, *for the free exercise of their Religion: That they doubted not if they had taken aduice at the generall Assembly of the States of Austria* before the beginning of this warre, all the ensuing miseries had not happened; as might be verified by former presidents: That his Maiesty refusing in this action to follow the antient presidents, and to giue care vnto the wholsom counsell of the Electors and Princes, it was reasonable that the miseries which had happened should be imputed to those which gaue him counsell to warre, who should now finde meanes to free their countrey from so many afflictions: That they would not aduize his Imperiall Maiesty to begin a warre, knowing that the end is alwaies doubtfull, and the errors irreparable: much lesse to such a warre as this, in the which we may behold plainely the ruine of *Bohemia*, with the ouerthrowe of Iustice, of the Lawes, and all good constitutions, and which drawes after it all sorts of miseries: That to diuert all these great calamities, and more, which threatned those Countries, they could giue his Maiesty no better aduice, then to make choice of some worthy personages of the States of *Austria*, to send them vnto the Directors of *Bohemia*, to exhort them to abstaine from all acts of hostility; and that his Maiesty for his part would doe the like, and then call a generall Assembly of the States of *Bohemia*, and there to consult of the meanes to settle a peace in their countrey.

An enterprise vpon Cromlau.

On the 8 of Ianuary the Protestants had an enterprise vpon *Cromlau*, where the Hungarians were in Garrison: who were aduertized of this plot, and were in Arms; so as they returned to their quarter neere to *Newhaus*, without any exploit. In this returne, the Earle of *Bucquoy* sallied forth of *Budweitz* with 1000 horse, to giue them the chase: but he found opposition and sharpe incounters, so as the Protestants forced the Imperialists to retire towards *Budweitz*: Some write that

that there were slaine of both sides 500 men, and that the losse was equall.

In the beginning of the yeere, the Emperour wrote his Letters to the Directors of *Bohemia*, *to induce them to a suspension of Armes*; and the Elector of *Saxony* (to whom the Emperor had referred the conditions) sent his Ambassadour also to the Directors, to know their will: But, they excused themselues, that they could not giue any answere, without the aduice of the States of *Silesia*: Yet afterwards they sent him an answere, and intreated him to consider well how this suspension might be made, and vpon what assurance, that it should not be violated: For, all these troubles (said they) hay no other beginning, but for promises made and not obserued: That the Earle of *Bucquoy*, Generall of the Army, was a stranger, and had no dignity in the Romane Empire: That hauing many times transgrest euen the Emperors commandements, and continued the burnings in *Bohemia*, he might when he pleased breake the suspension: And that in the last troubles of *Austria*, during the Truce, the Earle of *Tampierre* had transgrest; to whom they only made a verball reprehension. Hereupon the Elector of *Saxony*, seeing the Emperor with the States of *Morauia*, *Silesia* and *Austria*, desire a treaty for the concluding a peace with the Bohemians; he appointed the place of meeting in the Town of *Egra*, on the foureteenth of April: whereof he aduertised the Directors of *Bohemia*. 1619.

Proscription of the Earle Mandsfeldt.

The Emperor was much incensed against Count ERNEST of *Mandsfeldt*, who had commanded the Protestants Army at the siege of *Pilsen*: whereupon, hee caused a proscription or banishment to be set vp against him in all the publike places of *Vienna*; intimating, that whereas by the Imperiall constitutions, all men of what dignity or quality soeuer were forbidden to carry Armes against the Emperor, or against any State of the Empire vpon paine of Proscription; to the end that the Peace of the Empire might be the more religiously obserued: yet it was notorious, that ERNEST of *Mandsfelds* had not only leuied souldiers without his priuity, conducted them into *Bohemia*, and imployed them against his faithfull subiects; but also had besieged and forced the Towne of *Pilsen*, whereby he had incurred the punishments inflicted by the said constitutions: Wherefore according to the same he declared him a Proscript and banished man, abandoning his life and goods to him that could take them.

The death of the Emperor Mathias.

The Directors of *Bohemia*, being aduertised that they leuied in *Flanders* six thousand Foote and two thousand Horse for the Emperour, they sent forth a commandement, That all Bohemians, hauing attained the age of twenty yeers, should be ready in Armes; the Caualiers with two horses, and the Souldiers with their Musket or Harquebuze, and reduce themselues into companies. Moreouer, they gaue them to vnderstand, that touching the suspension propounded by the Emperour, there had been nothing concluded by the Elector of *Saxony*, who had only said that the Assembly to treate of a Peace should be held at *Egra*, and that they should begin by a suspension of Armes; the which was not very certain to be concluded, for that the Earle of *Tampierre*, hauing leuied new troupes, had renewed his incursions; putting all to fire and sword as he past, and that comming into the towne of *Graessen*, and not able to take the Castle, he had set fire of the Town. On the tenth of March one thousand six hundred nineteen, the Emperour MATHIAS died in his Castle at *Vienna*, being sixty two yeers old and fifteene daies. After which FREDERICK the Elector Palatine, and the Electors of *Saxony*, being Viceroyes of the Empire during the vacancy, wrote their Letters vnto all the Princes and States of the Empire, in their seuerall Iurisdictions, for the maintenance of the Peace of the Empire, vntill the Election of a new Emperor.

The Earle of Thurn enters Morauia.

The Protestant States of *Bohemia*, by their decree, had expelled the Iesuites out of *Prague*, and out of the whole Realme, who retired to *Brin* in *Morauia*, which is a member of the Crown of *Bohemia*: Into the which the old Earle of *Thurn* was now entred with an Army, to draw them into an offensiue and defensiue league with the Bohemians; vnder fauour of whose Armes the Protestants of *Morauia* sent their Deputies to an assembly at *Znaim*. The Cardinall of *Dietrichstein*, who was great Master and Captaine generall of *Morauia* for FERDINAND, had called an assembly of the Catholique States at *Brin*, and with the said Cardinall ioyned the Senate, the Prince of *Lichtenstein*, the Baron of *Tzerotine* and others, who would gladly haue maintained their Faith to FERDINAND, but they wanted forces to make good their authority: For the Burgesses and Towne-house enclined to the Protestants, whose deputies came with a conuoy of 800 horse from *Znaim* to the gates of *Brin*; where they entred the third of May, and went presently to Councell: and soon after the Townesmen went to Arms, drawing in 7 Cornets of German horse-men: Then they seized vpon the keyes of the Towne, the Ports, Bulwarkes, and all the approaches.

After

1619 After this, the Proteſtant States came from Councell to the market-place: Where inuironed by the Towne-men they inuited one another to take an Oath there publikely in the ſight of heauen, to maintaine the liberty of Religion, the authority of the States and their priuiledges. From thence they went to the Cardinall, to the Prince of *Liechtenſtein*, *Tzerotin*, and other Noblemen Catholiques, being in their ſeuerall lodgings: who ſeeing this alteration and apprehending the danger, gaue them to vnderſtand, that they deſired Peace, and to maintain themſelues vnited with the Proteſtants, for the preſeruation of the authority of the States. But this could not ſatisfie them: For in the end they commanded the Cardinall to forbeare to call himſelfe Captaine generall of *Morauia*, or to execute the charge, which he promiſed to doe; and alſo to ſend back his Commiſſion to King FERDINAND, and to remaine vnited to the will of the States: And it is written that the ſame night of the third of May, they ſent a Commandement vnto the Cardinall and to TZEROTIN, not to goe out of their lodgings vpon paine of death, placing guards about them.

Cardinal Dittrichſtein and Tzerotin, detained priſoners by the Proteſtants.

The next day, they changed all the officers, depoſed the Papiſticall Senators, and placed Proteſtants. In the end, they made an irreuocable Decree to baniſh the Ieſuites out of *Brin* and *Morauia*, as the Bohemians had formerly done: And on the laſt of Iuly following, a generall Lengue was concluded betweene the Proteſtants of *Bohemia*, *Sileſia*, *Morauia* and *Luſatia*, vpon certain Articles, which are too long to relate.

The Ieſuites expelled Morauia.

The Directors had reſolued to preſſe the States of *Morauia* to chaſe the Ieſuites out of their Prouince, for two reaſons which moued them. Firſt, That ſince they had been chaſed out of *Bohemia*, they had practiſed to breake the vnion and correſpondency which the State of *Bohemia* had with the States of *Morauia*, and their neighbours: And Secondly, That they animated the people to hold good for the houſe of *Auſtria*. Whereupon, the Directors of *Bohemia* made a Proclamation in *Brin* with the conſent of the Magiſtrate, that the Ieſuites ſhould depart out of *Morauia* within fifteen daies, vpon paine of corporall puniſhment: But, for that it was not made in the name of the States of *Morauia*, the Ieſuites regarded it not. Whereupon the Directors of *Bohemia* ſent two Commiſſaries, who (fauoured by the Magiſtrates of *Brin*) went directly to the Ieſuits Colledge; and finding them ready to ſit downe to dinner, commanded them in the name of the States of *Bohemia* to depart the Towne preſently. The Ieſuits deſired leaue to take their refection: which being denied, they were forced to pack vp their baggage and begon. Before they were a league out of *Brin* their Colledge was on fire, and burnt with ſuch violence as it was wholly conſumed, and ſome twenty houſes adioyning. The Proteſtants ſaid that it was a practice of the Ieſuits to ruine the Towne of *Brin*: and the Ieſuites on the other ſide affirmed, that the Proteſtants had ſet it on fire to incenſe the people, to maſſacre both them and the Catholiques.

The exploits of the Imperials.

The Earle of *Thurne* after the Emperours death vpon an aduertiſement giuen him by the Proteſtants of *Auſtria*, of an enterpriſe vpon *Vienna* (which they held aſſured by reaſon of the great intelligence they had with them of their Religion) being entred into *Auſtria*, hee was aduertized vpon the way that the enterpriſe was diſcouered: which made him returne into *Bohemia*, hauing receiued ſome loſſe by the Imperialiſts. The Earle of *Bucquoy*, being in *Budwitz*, with ſome forces more then ordinary, hauing receiued the Troupes of *Hungary*, and 1000 horſe from the Low-countries, he reſolued to goe out *Budvitz* with his Army to aſſaile the Caſtle of *Natolic*; the which being ſummoned yeelded preſently: After which, he went and forced the quarter of Count MANDSFELDT, and defeated all his troupes being 3000 men; at which charge they tooke ſeuen Enſignes, two Cornets, the one being Count MAMDSFELDTS, three peeces of Ordinance, eight or nine hundred ſlain, one thouſand foure hundred priſoners; among which there was a Captaine of Horſe, ſeuen of foote, foure Lieutenants, ſix Enſignes, and the Sergeant Maior to Count MANDSFELDT: And ſo hauing taken a great booty, they returned to *Budvitz*: Herupon the Proteſtants, being with their Army within two leagues of *Budvitz*, retired in order of battaile, towards *Verinau* and *Newhaus*.

Count Manſfelts quarter forced by Bucquoy.

The Directors of *Bohemia*, ſeeing the Imperialiſts fortified, and to haue had good ſucceſſe in ſome enterpriſes, they ſent vnto the Proteſtant States of *Morauia*, *Auſtria*, *Sileſia*, and *Germany*, for ſuccors: and withall they wrote Letters vnto BETHLEM GABOR Prince of *Tranſiluania*, acquainting him with the eſtate of their affaires, and the cauſe of their warres; intreating him to aſſiſt them in the generall defenſe of Religion. To whom he made a long anſwere; aſſuring them, that for the pacifying of thoſe combuſtions in Chriſtendome, he would not be an idle ſpectator, but would imploy both heart and hand, to find out fit and holſome remedies: But

Bethlems Letters to the Directors of Bohemia.

But for that his Countrey lies in the very mouth of the Turke, who in his Connſells (like vnto the waues of the Sea) is neuer quiet, but ſtill watchfull vpon the leaſt diſcord of Chriſtians (and the rather now, when as all things were pacified in *Aſia* and *Perſia*) to take from them all meanes to annoy, and to inuade the neighbour Prouinces, and (the diuiſion of Chriſtians being ſpeedily ſuppreſt) to ſettle a more firm ſecurity, he had propounded vnto himſelfe two things: The one, to procure the fauour and good liking of the Ottoman Emperour, for the working of this reconciliation; the other, that he might truely vnderſtand the ſtate and intent of the States of *Bohemia*: wherefore by the Prouidence of God, theſe occaſions did ſo concurre, as he vnderſtood by their Letters of the ſeuenth of Auguſt, how they ſtood affected vnto him; And in like manner, on the ſeuenteenth of the ſame moneth, he had receiued from the Sultan, his conſent and fauour (beyond his expectation) for the preſeruation of Chriſtian affaires. Whereupon, he promiſed to be with an Army the next moneth vpon the confines of *Morauia*, vnleſſe ſome great cauſe ſhould ſtay him in *Hungary*; perſwading them to preſerue their forces together; and not to hazard any battaile before his comming. 1619

Bethlin goes with an Army into Hungary.

The Directors hauing ſent an Ambaſſadour with Letters in anſwere of his; vpon the receipt thereof, hee preſently gathered together a great Army at *Clauſenbourg*: with the which, he marched into the higher *Hungary*, with eighteene Cannon: Where, the people being terrified, hee reconciled the Noble-men vnto him, HVMANOI only excepted; who, being too weake to make reſiſtance, fled into *Poland*.

Caſſouia taken.

He ſent part of his Army to beſiege *Caſſouia*: the which being vnable to make reſiſtance, and out of hope of all ſuccors, yielded vnto him, taking an Oath to BETHLIN, and the States of *Hungary*. This ſtrooke a great terror into the Hungarians, and made the Ieſuites and Clergy-men to flie the Countrie.

THE LIFE OF FERDINAND THE SECOND OF THAT NAME, AND HVNDRETH AND TWENTITH ROMANE EMPEROVR.

(***)

THE death of the Emperour MATHIAS being publiſhed; the Elector, Archbiſhop of *Mentz*, Chancellor of *Germany* (according to the duty of his charge) gaue notice thereof to the reſt of the Electors of the Empire; and appointed a day for their meeting at *Franckford* vpon *Mein*, on the tenth of Iuly this yeere one thouſand ſix hundred nineteene, for the chooſing of a new King of Romans: Whither, FERDINAND King of *Bohemia*, with the Electors of *Mentz*, *Cullen* and *Treues* came in perſon: but, the Elector Palatine, the Duke of *Saxony*, and the Marqueſſe of *Brandenbourg*, ſent their Ambaſſadors. Before they fell to the Election, they entred into conſultation touching the combuſtions of *Bohemia*; writing Letters to the Directors, importing that they were deſirous to imploy their beſt care and endeuors to compound the diſſenſions which had growne betwixt them and the deceaſed Emperour MATHIAS, and their new king

The Electors meete at Frankford to chooſe a king of Romans.

FERDI-

1619 They write vnto the Directors of Bohemia.

FERDINAND, according to right and equity, and to settle a desired peace in the kingdome; entreating them to com to *Ratisbon* the 20 of Nouemb. following, remouing al impediments which might make the treaty difficult; and in the meane time to abstaine from all acts of hostility: but receiuing no answere, they gaue them to vnderstand by other Letters, that FERDINAND (being chosen Emperor) had promised to be present at the treaty of *Ratisbone*, or to send his Ambassadours: wherefore they thought good to admonish them, that they might prepare themselues accordingly; and so moderate their counsels, as all extremities being layed aside, all men might conceiue an vndoubted hope of the conclusion of a peace.

The Bohemians oppose against Ferdinand touching the Electorship.

The Directors of *Bohemia* were carefull to send 3 Ambassadors to *Franckfort* to the election; but, they were not suffered to enter into the towne: whereupon, they retired to *Hannaw*: from whence they wrote Letters vnto the Elector of *Mentz*, intimating, that King FERDINAND had no right to the Electorship of *Bohemia*, for that he had neuer beene in actuall possession of that kingdome; neither had the summation beene made immediately to the residence of *Prague* as it ought to haue beene, but was sent directly to *Viena*. Wherefore they humbly entreated him to impart their Letter vnto the rest of the Electors, and take order that the Diet assigned might be suspended and deferred vntill the troubles and combustions were pacified, and the point of Election decided: If not, that they would be pleased to call the States of the Crowne of *Bohemia* to the Diet, for that they pretended a proprietarie right to the Election. But, this preuailed nothing with the Ecclesiasticall Electors; who would needs proceede to an Election: so as on the 18 of August, FERDINAND was chosen King of Romanes, and crowned the 30 with the accustomed solemnity.

Ferdinand crowned king of Romanes.

This Emperour was called Arc-hduke of *Austria* of *Grets* in *Stiria*, to distinguish the Families. For, the Emperour FERDINAND the First had three sonnes. MAIMELIAN, the eldest (who succeeded him in the Empire) had diuerse sons; all which were stiled Arch-dukes of *Austria*, without any distinction. FERDINAND, his second son, was intituled Arch-duke of *Austria* of *Grets*; from whom this Emperour now liuing, descends. And CHARLES, the third son to FERDINAND the First, was Arch-duke of *Austria* of *Inspruck*.

These ciuill warres of *Bohemia* troubled the mindes of many Christian Princes, fearing that this distraction would open a gappe for the barbarous Turk to aduance his conquests in Christendome. Our Kings Maiesty of great *Britannie* (who hath alwaies been a Prince of peace) desirous to see these dangerous warres suppresst in the breeding, by some good accord; sent an honourable Embassie by the Lord HAYS, Viscount of *Doncaster*, now Earle of *Carlile*, to FERDINAND newly chosen Emperour, to treate of a reconciliation betwixt him and his subjects of *Bohemia*; but it did not sort with his Maiesties religious intent and desire; for in the *Interim*, the States of *Bohemia* (being distasted with the reiection of their Ambassadours at *Franckfort*, and before the receit of the Electors Letters after the Emperors Electors) being assembled together in *Prague* with the Deputies of the incorporated Prouinces, concluded and protested by oath, neuer to acknowledge FERDINAND for their King, resoluing to proceede to a new Election; so as on the 26 of August *Stilo vetere* they made choise of FREDERICK the Fift Elector Palatine of the *Rhine* to be their King; whereof they aduertised him by Letters, and that he had beene solemnlie proclaimed; yet he would not presently accept of this election, without the aduice of the Princes and Protestant States of the vnion in *Germany*; whom he entreated to meete at *Rottemburg*, to assist him with their counsells: where they were all of opinion, that he should accept of this dignity, as necessarie for the generall good of *Germany*, and of other Princes and States their confederates.

The Bohemians reiected king Ferdinand and chose the Elector Palatine.

The manner of the Electors acceptance of the Crowne of Bohemia.

The manner of the Bohemians proceeding to winne the Elector Palatine to allow of their Election and to accept of the Crowne, hath not been written so particularly by any Author, as I haue receiued it by the relation of a worthy iudicious Knight, who was in those parts, and informed himselfe curiously of euery circumstance how it past. The States of *Bohemia* (as he saith) hauing made choice of the Elector Palatine to be their King, sent their Ambassadours vnto him being at *Heidelberg* in the lower Palatinate: whom although he entertained well; yet he gaue them a dilatorie answere, being not yet fully resolued: which was the cause of a meeting at *Walfaxon* in the vpper Palatinate, betwixt the Elector Palatine and the Directors of *Bohemia*. At this assembly, the Elector seemed not vnwilling to embrace so braue and free an offer: yet he held it not fit to accept thereof suddenly and rashly; knowing well to what cares, toiles, and danger, this dignity was subject: and therefore he entreated them to haue patience and to respite him for a time, vntill he had acquainted the King of great *Britannie* his father-in-law, with

with their Election; whose approbation he much desired in the acceptance therof: whereupon he sent CHRISTOPHER, Baron of *Done*, as his Ambassador, to acquaint his Maiesty with their proceedings; promising, vpon his returne, to giue them a direct answere. 1619

The Lords of *Bohemia* held themselues no way safe, vntill they had preuailed with the Elector Palatin, and wonne him to accept of that Crowne; being conceited that if he were once crowned, not only himself, but all his friends and allies would imploy their forces, and be engaged in their defence. Whereupon, they took aduice, what persons they might treate withall, and who had greatest power and interest in the affection of the Elector: In the end they fell vpon CHRISTIAN, Prince of *Anhalt*, to whom they made such golden promises both for himselfe and for all such as depended vpon him, as he forgot the dutie of a true and faithfull counsellor, and became one of their partie; preuailing so much by his perswasions with the Elector Palatin, as he yeelded suddenly to accept of the Crowne of *Bohemia*, before the arriuall of his Ambassadour into *England*.

The Elector Accepts of the Crown of Bohemia.

The offers which the Bohemians made to the Prince of *Anhalt* and the rest, were, That the Prince should be Generall of all the Army: That CHRISTOPHER, Baron of *Done*, should be Chamberlaine of *Bohemia*; That TOTHOSIVS, his brother (who was afterwards sent hither as Ambassadour) should haue the best marriage in *Bohemia*; and (which was worst of all) that the Earle of *Holoch* should be made Lieutenant generall of the Army. These great offers drew all these great persons (who aymed at their owne priuate ends) to the Bohemians purposes: Besides, they gaue way to others in both the Palatinats, to come into those places which these men had formerly enioyed. The King being crowned, and these men possessed of those places, they did as needy greedy men vse to doe, looking only to their owne profit, and neglected wholly the honour of the King and safety of the State; still disgracing Count THVRN and Count MANDSFELDT, who were the only men that euer gaue good counsels, or performed any worthy and generous Act during the warre.

The newes of the Electors suddaine acceptance of the Crowne of *Bohemia*, were very distastefull to our kings Maiesty, the Prince Palatines father in law; who held it a president of dangerous consequence for all Christian Kings; to auow this suddaine translation of a Crowne by the authority of the people; nor yet warrantable by the word of God, to transferre a Crowne vpon any pretext of Religion, being bound to obey our kings and temporall superiors whatsoeuer they be: and therefore he protested to remaine Newter touching the affaires of the kingdom of *Bohemia*.

The Emperour, after his coronation, went to *Ausbourg*: and from thence (being accompanied by the Duke of *Bauaria*) he came to *Munich*, the Dukes chiefe place of residence; where he had a princely reception. During his abode there, as some write, he had much conference with the Duke, touching the warres of *Bohemia*; promising, that if he would assist him in those warres, he would giue him the Electorshippe of the *Rhyne* and the vpper Palatinat, for a reward of his labour: and for such summes of money as he should disburse, he ingaged vnto him lands in the vpper *Austria*. This was a sweet baite, able to moue any ambitious Prince to forget all the ties & bonds of blood and consanguinity, vpon hope to adde a Princely title to his own dignity, and a large extent of land to his Territories. You may presume by the future euents what their conclusion then was: After which the Emperour went to *Gretz* and so to *Vienna*.

The Emperors promise to the D. of Bauaria.

In the meane time before the Emperours returne into *Austria* BVCQVOY hauing taken *Pisseck* in *Bohemia*, he resolued to goe to *Thabor*: But, being preuented by the Bohemians, hee went and encampt at *Merovits*. The Bohemians followed him, and campt opposite vnto him, obseruing all his enterprises; so as they had many skirmishes: And the fourth of September, a troupe of Spaniards, going somwhat farre from the Campe, were charged by the Bohemians, and siue hundred of them slaine. Thus the two Armies lay encamped; when as suddenly BVCQVOY receiued aduertisement, from the Arch-duke LEOPOLD, of the vnexpected comming of BETHLIN GABOR into *Hungary*; commanding him to man his chiefe Castles and Townes, and to returne into *Austria*: But, before his departure out of *Bohemia* he took the Castle of *Resemberg*; and hauing fortified all the passages he left the Countrey. After which, the Bohemians sent part of their Army to recouer *Bechin*: the which they forced with the petard, slew most of the Garrison; and took the Gouernor with his Lieutenant, and sent them to *Prague*. After which, they recouered *Thin*, which BVCQVOY had formerly taken: and in the meane time the Earle of *Tampierre* had taken *Lundebourg* in *Moravia* for the Emperor; but with great losse of his men.

Bucquoy goes out of Bohemia.

1620 GABOR, hauing settled all things at *Cassonia* to his will, sent RHEDI and SETSCHIVS with 1800 men, and twelue peeces of Ordinance to *Fillec* and other places; which yielded vnto them. Then writing their Letters to other townes vpon the Frontiers, they exhorted them to submit themselues willingly to the Transiluanian; assuring them that this expedition was made with the knowledge and consent of many States of the Christian Common-Wealth. After which, they subdued *Vaccia*, *Tirnau*, *Neutra*, *Nouigrade*, *Possinga*, and others: The Haiduques of *Iermath* deliuered vp their Gouernour with the Fort. After which, *Neuheusal* yeelded, and the Gouernor was sent bound to *Cassouia*. The Palatine of *Hungary* wrote his Letters to BETHLIN GABOR, exhorting him to remember his Faith to the Romane Empire and his common Countrey, and to desist from his enterprises. And withall, writing to RHEDI, he wisht him to consider how great the powers of the Kings of *Spaine* and *France* were, who were so strictly allied to the house of *Austria*, and that the Electors of the Empire (some fewe excepted) would vndoubtedly send succours to CÆSAR. Whereunto they answered, that they doubted not of the forces of the Kings of *Spaine* and *France*, or of the assistance of the Electors of *Germany*; but they did hope before their comming all should be finished, and their dinner made ready.

The Palatine of Hungary exhorts Bethlin to desist.

In the meane time there was an Assembly of the Princes and States, held at *Preslaue* in *Silesia*, for the confirmation of that which had been concluded by the States of *Bohemia* at *Prague*; where they had concluded, that King FERDINAND, now chosen Roman Emperour, had depriued himselfe of the kingdome of *Bohemia* and the rest of the Prouinces, and that the States and all the subiects were freed from their oath of obedience; whereby they had recouered their right to choose a new King; whereupon they had elected FREDERICK, the fift of that name, Count Palatine of the *Rhine*, Duke of *Bauaria*, and Elector of the sacred Empire, for their King. This was confirmed by all the States of *Silesia*; who exacted a solemn Oath from the Clergie of *Preslaue*, that they should faithfully obserue and keepe what-soeuer had beene formerly decreed in the Assembly at *Prague*, and liue a quiet life, free from all practices against the Protestants: That they should attempt nothing against the Emperours Letters-patents, touching the excercise of Religion; that they should respect no mans fauour, nor hatred: that they should not be diuerted from their Oath with any intreaties, or rewardes, promises, or threats; nor with any absolutions, treaties, constitutions of Councels, or Decrees Not to keep Faith with Heretiques, or any other exception whatsoeuer. All which they did wittingly and willingly renounce, vnder the penalty ordained by God and the Magistrates, and the losse of all their benefices, faculties, and goods which they held in *Silesia*.

The Elector Palatine hauing settled his affaires in the Palatinate, and committed the ciuil gouernement to IOHN Duke of *Dupons*, a Prince of that house, and the affairs of warre to IOHN Earle of *Nassau* the elder; he went with the Princesse his wife, and children and his whole Court to *Amberge*, from whence he certified the Elector of *Saxony* by his Letters, of his resolution, and of the reasons which had induced him to accept thereof. To whom the Elector of *Saxony* made a generall answere; concluding, that he referred all to the prouidence and will of God, wishing with all his heart, that he might imbrace such counsell, as might be fitting for his Electorall and Kingly dignity, profitable to his subiects, honourable to the whole Empire, helpefull to the kingdome of *Bohemia* and the annexed Prouinces, and might tend to the procuring of a Peace, and the auoiding of all ruine and desolation. In the meane time, he would pray vnto Almighty God to diuert all danger from the bounds of the Empire, and that no occasion might be giuen the Turks, to obtaine that which hitherto they could not do by Arms.

In the beginning of October, a Collonell called GOLTSTEINE, entred *Bohemia* with 400 shotte, committing infinite insolencies and spoiles in the territory of *Saser*: where the Countrey-men fell vpon them, and slew most part. Count BVCQVOY, being called out of *Bohemia* by the Arch-duke LEOPOLD, presently took *Horne* a Towne in the lower *Austria*, and left it againe, and then marcht to *Suam*, a Towne in *Morauia*, with nine thousand Horse and Foote; which hee presently summoned: but the Garrison prepared for defence; and he, hearing that twelue thousand Hungarians and Transiluanians drew neere, marched away by night, and went to ioyne with the Earle of *Tampierre*. In the meane time, the Transiluanians ioyned with the Bohemians, and Morauians; and certaine companies of the Hungarians left the Earle of *Tampietre*, to goe vnto the Transiluanians.

The Transiluanians ioyne with the Bohemians.

A great fight betwixt the Imperials and the protestants.

The Earle of *Thurn*, seeing himselfe thus fortified, hauing six and twenty thousand men in his Army; resolued, with RHEDIUS Generall of the Transiluanians, to goe and fight

fight with Count BVCQVOY; who, finding his forces too weak, left his first lodging, and went and encamped at the outward bridge of the riuer of *Danuow*: whither the Archduke LEOPOLD came from *Vienna* to view the Army. The enemy came with great fury vpon the reareward, and slue fiue hundred of the Earle of *Tampierre*'s men. LEOPOLD presst Count BVCQVOY to fight: but he, finding his counsell to be very dangerous, contained himselfe within his Camp. In the euening they began to skirmish; the which continued almost till midnight; their ordinance playing continually, with no small losse on either side. In the morning, the Fight beganne againe very furiously; where many were slaine and murdered by the ordinance. The Earle of *Bucquoy* had a great losse in his Camp, there being three barrells of powder set on fire by negligence and carelessesse, and very many slaine and drowned in the riuer. The Fight continued vntill it was night: but, being ouerpressed by the Bohemians, they abandoned a Fort at the end of the bridge, and retired vnto the other side, breaking the bridge after them. The number of the dead bodies was vncertaine: but there were very many carried the next day vnto *Vienna* in waggons, whereof most died soon after. Count BVCQVOY was shotte into the arme; and his Lieutenant Generall had three seuerall wounds, but they were not mortall. 1619.

BETHLIN GABOR in the mean time marcht with a great Army to *Presburg*, taking in the way the Castle of *Petronel*, the which he burnt. The newes heerof being brought vnto *Vienna*, they sent three companies of foot with three piece of ordinance by boat; which entred the suburbs of *Preisbourg* on the 13 of October. The night was very tempestuous, rainy and windy; and the Transiluanians imbraced this occasion, and surprised the souldiers, who slept without fear; whereof most of them were slain, and their Commander with some few others fled away. The suburbs being surprised, BETHLIN summoned the Palatine to answer him, whether he would defend the Town and Castle, or yeeld it without force. Hauing some daies granted to consult with PALFI and other Noble-men; being not able to defend it, he resolued to yeeld it. *Bethlin takes Presbourg.*

In the mean time, the new elect King of *Bohemia*, with his wife, children, and whole train, came to *Walsacken*; whither the Ambassadors of *Bohemia* and the incorporated Prouinces came vnto him: whereas one, in the name of all the rest, deliuered the reasons why they had *reiected* the Emperors gouernment in *Bohemia*, and made choice of him to be their King; giuing him many thanks for his acceptance, and praying for his happy and long continuance. Which ended, he deliuered vnto them his reuersall Letters: by the which he promised before his Coronation to take the oath after the example of his predecessors Kings of *Bohemia*, to confirme all the priuiledges, immunities, liberties, rights, statutes, and the antient laudable customes of *Bohemia*; and especially the Charter granted by the Emperor RODVLPH the Second, as king of *Bohemia*, to the States and Inhabitants of the said Realm, for the free exercise of their religion, or whatsoeuer else might concern the good of the Realm and the incorporated Prouinces: which Letters of reuersall were confirmed vnder his hand and seal; these being receiued by the Deputies, they returned to *Egra*. After which, the King with his Queen and whole Court past on, and arriued at *Prague* the last of October.

I may not omit the Elector Palatines course before his going into *Bohemia*. Hauing met with diuerse of the confederate Princes at *Rottenbourg*, before his departure hee sent to the Arch-bishop and Elector of *Mentz*; to whom he propounded, that whereas it had pleased God that he had been lately chosen King of *Bohemia*, and was resolued to accept thereof, he desired to know of his Grace, in what tearms his estate stood with the Electorall house of *Mentz*; and whether that correspondency which had for a long time been maintained betwixt both houses, should continue still firm and inuiolable: and whereas the Prince Palatine vnderstood, that there were good forces neer at hand, hee demanded whither they went, and whether his Grace would vouchsafe them passage. To these the Elector of *Mentz* answered, that he would obserue the antient correspondency which the Electors of *Mentz* haue had with the Electors Palatines, inuiolaby in all lawfull things; that touching that which concerned the tumults in *Bohemia*, hee was appointed no Iudge, neither did they concern him; as for the Army, he knew nothing certain: that hitherto he had denied no man passage, and continued still in the same minde, so as they gaue good security according to the constitutions of the Roman Empire, to repair all damages: yet he would conferre touching this Article with the other Electors. And soon after, the Vicar generall or Gouerner of *Heidelberg* had staid all the reuenues of the Clergy, which they of *Mentz*, *Spire*, *Wormes*, and the *Teuton* Knights hold in the Palatinate. *The Palatine to the Archbishop of Mentz, and his answere.*

The Elector of *Mentz*, being moued with the many complaints of the Clergie, sent vnto the

1619 Vicar generall and the Councell of the Palatinate, to expostulate with them for the seizure of the Clergies rents; adding withall, that hitherto there had not onely a good concord been maintained betwixt the Electorall house of *Mentz* and the Palatinate; but, before the departure of the Prince Elector Palatine to *Prague*, he had sent an Ambassadour for the confirmation and future maintenance of the said correspondency betwixt both houses, so as he neuer expected this prohibition would haue been made by so good a neighbour. Whereunto they made answere, That they were not ignorant of the promises made on either side; but, being aduertised that the Clergy had promised a great summe of money to the Crowne of *Spaine*, for the oppression of the Bohemians, to whom the Elector Palatine was especially bound; for this consideration they had granted this inhibition of Ecclesiasticall rents, neither were they to be blamed, nor any man of iudgement would thinke it fit for aide to go vnto forrain Princes, out of the territories of their owne Prince, to subdue the Bohemians, and their Lo. the PALATINE: If therefore the Elector of *Mentz*, and others whom it concerned, would take a course that there should be no aides sent to preiudice the Bohemians, and their Lord the Palatine; then no other resolution might be expected: And soon after the Elector of *Mentz*, hauing written other Letters to the Elector Palatine, freed the Clergy from this inhibition.

A complaint.

The answere of Counsellors of the Elector Palatine, to the Elector of Mentz.

The King of *Bohemia* (as we haue said) being comn to *Prague* on the last of October, was met by the Directors and Nobility, with certain troups of horse and foot, and so was conducted into the Citty, they being all in Arms; where he was receiued with great ioy and acclamations. After which, it was decreed by the generall States of *Bohemia*, That the king should receiue a moity of the tributes, rents, and contributions; and the Queen, a fourth part; and euery man should pay his due, yeerly, at the feast of S. GEORGE: That the Directors should be freed from their Oath, and giue an account vnto the Assembly, of such money as they had disbursed for the Common-weale; That the Directors and Gouernors for the kingdom, should yield the gouernment of Arms vnto the king, who should imploy them for the defence of himselfe, the kingdom, and incorporated Prouinces; vsing yet the aduice of the Governors of the Realm and Prouinces; That Commissioners should be sent out, to examine what harms had bin done in the Countries, that consideration might be had therof at the next State-assembly, &c. MANDSFELDT, meaning to recouer certain places which BVCQVOY had taken, marcht to *Wintzenburg*; where, the Gouernor refusing to yield vpon summons, the Earle forced a Port with the Petard; where, entring, he put all the garrison to the sword, except some fewe that were taken prisoners: After which, diuers towns and Castles yeelded willingly, the garrisons departing to *Budwitz*. Then the Earl marcht to *Praguditz*, where the garrison put themselues in defence; but he took the town by force. On the 24 of October the Army marcht to *Wodean*: which they knowing was but weakely mand, and that two Noblemen of *Bohemia* (which had serued the Emperor) were retired into the town, hauing stopt all the passages, they sought to force it; but the garrison made great resistance: yet the next day the Gouernor compounded to depart: the which was willingly granted, so as the two Noblemen might be deliuered vnto them, who were sent to *Prague*, and committed to prison.

The King of Bohemia enters Prague.

A decree made.

Diuers townes recouered by the Protestants of Bohemia.

All things in the meane time were made ready for the coronation at *Prague*; a Theater was erected in the Temple; no suspected person admitted; all cloysters and corners searcht for feare of treason; the Chanons and Clergy men remoued out of the Cathedrall Church, and another appointed them for diuine seruice, and a weekely stipend allowed them: They changed the Armes of the kingdome vpon the new-gate; and for those of the house of *Austria* which stood vpon the breast of the Lion of *Bohemia*, they set the armes of the Palatinate. All things being thus in a readinesse, FREDERICK was crowned King the fourth of Nouember, all the Citizens and souldiers being in Armes. The office was performed by the Administrator and an Elder, who supplied the places of Bishoppes in that action, the which was performed with great pompe and zeale. The particularities whereof you may reade at large in GOTARDVS. And on the seuenth of Nouember the Lady ELIZABETH, wife to King FREDERICK was in like manner crowned with the same ceremonies. After which, the King made publike declaration of the causes which had moued him to take vpon him the gouernement of *Bohemia* with the incorporated Prouinces, sending it to all Christian Princes and States; and withall, writing particular Letters, That he had receiued the gouernement and Crowne of *Bohemia* with the incorporated Prouinces, with the accustomed solemnities, and the generall applause of all the States and people; That no priuate profit of his owne had induced him thereunto; but, a desire to free the afflicted from a generall ruine had moued him to take vpon him their Protecti-

The coronation of the king of Bohemia, and of the Queen.

Publike declaration made.

protection; and that he would equally defend both Catholiques and Protestants, in the free exercise of their Religion; hoping they would ioyfully allow of his dignity, and not faile to assist him, with their counsel and aide, against the inuasion of his Enemies. 1619

On the tenth of November there came an Ambassador from BETHLIN GABOR and the States of *Hungary* to *Prague*, who propounded certaine Articles to the Councell. First, They required that there should be a perpetuall League concluded betwixt *Hungary*, *Transiluania*, and *Bohemia* with the incorporated Prouinces; and that they should fight with their ioynt forces for the common good. 2. That no Prouince should conclude a Peace or begin a war, without the priuity and consent of the rest; and that they should not make any peace with the house of *Austria*, to the preiudice of the other part: But if they would make any league with other Kings, Princes or States, it should be with the consent of the rest. 3. That they should continue the warre against the house of *Austria*, at the common charge of the Prouinces. 4. That whereas BETHLIN GABOR had assisted the Bohemians with his Army, to his great charge, and at their request; in consideration thereof, they should pay him 100000 Dollers. 5. That it being necessary in this dangerous Estate of affaires, that the limits and forts should be well mand against the Turkes inuasions; they required (for that the benefit redounded to the whole Christian World) that the Crowne of *Bohemia* and the incorporated Prouinces, should pay yeerely 300000 Dollers. 6. That it was necessary, Ambassadors were sent in the name of the new King and States, with others from *Hungary*, to the Sultans Port; and that the Prince of *Transiluania* was ready to vndertake that Ambassie. 7. That, whereas the treasure of *Hungary* was much exhausted, they required that the hereditary lands of the house of *Austria* (which in time might be conquered, in *Stiria*, *Carinthia*, *Carniola*, and other places) should be annexed to the Crowne of *Hungary*. 8. That if the Polonians should attempt any thing against *Transiluania* and *Hungary*, in fauour of the Emperour; then all the Prouinces, especially *Silesia*, should bee bound to send aide vnto that Prince. 9. That the States should moue their King to confirme the said Articles; and that they should giue caution for the performance thereof: and they in like manner should receiue assurance from them.

Ambassador from the Transiluanian and Hungarian to the States of Bohemia.

Propositions.

The King of *Bohemia* (before his going to the Assembly at *Nurem*; hauing heard the Prince of Transiluania's Ambassadour) made answere, that he could not presently giue him a full resolution; for that some of their demands concerned the whole Romane Empire: That as concerning the League, the Earle of *Hohenloe* should come presently to the States at *Presbourg* with full power and authority to conferre with them touching the raising or leuying of a great Summe of money. With which answere the Ambassadour returned forthwith to *Presbourg*.

The King of *Poland* sent vnto the Bohemians to solicite them to a Peace with the Emperour, and they returned him in wrighting a declaration of their reiection; perswading the King and the States of *Polonia*, to remember their old treaties, and not to attempt any thing against them. Some Counsellors perswaded the King not to engage himselfe in these combustions; nor to attempt any thing against the Realme of *Bohemia* or the incorporated Prouinces: That hee should remember, that when as *Polonia* was on fire with intestine warres, they contained themselues: That they entertained friendshippe with the Turkes and Tartarians: That the Hungarians, the English, the vnited Prouinces, the Danes, with many other Princes and States were their confederates: In so much that it appeared plainely the warre would bee long and bloody, and dangerous for *Poland*, if they ingaged themselues in it.

The Polonians perswade their King not to aide the Emperor.

In the meane time, there being rumours of great preparations for warre in *Polonia*, and that HVMAN OI (who fled thither from *Hungary*) would inuade *Silesia*, *Moravia*, or *Hungary*, with a great Army; they commanded euery twentith man in *Silesia* to take Armes, and had eight thousand choice men alwaies in readinesse. The lower *Austria* was wonderfully afflicted by the insolency of Souldiers, and the inhabitants were forced to flie with their wiues and children. About *Vienna*, the Earles of BVCQVOY and TAMPIERRE, spoiled and burnt many villages, that they might not be of any vse to the enemy; which bred a great dearth in *Vienna*, especially when it came to be besieged. BVCQVOY and TAMPIERRE, hearing that the gouernor of *Heinbourg* had been defeated by the Hungarians, they went to succour him with 6000 horse and foot, where there was a great encounter and many slaine on either side; after which they returned to *Vienna*: but there were 1600 Hungarians forsooke them, and went to their Countrey-men.

The miserable State of lower Austria.

The fire of these ciuill and intestine warres of *Bohemia*, beganne to flame out in *Germany*; the Electors, Princes and Imperiall Cities and States grew into factions, and made particular Assemblies, to prouide forces to support their parties; eyther pretending a feare to be supplanted in their religion. And although I am tied to strict bounds, and cannot relate actions at large, considering the copiousnes of my subject, and the short time this Emperour hath yet raigned, vnlesse I should make it exceed the liues of many of his Predecessors; yet, to giue the Reader the better satisfaction, I hould it fit to set downe in particular how they were cantoned, as you may judge by their particular Assemblies.

Assembly of the Protestant Princes at Nuremb.

The Electors, Princes, and Protestant States of the Vnion, met at *Nuremburg* in Nouember; whither came in person the Elector Palatine newly chosen King of *Bohemia*, AVGVSTVS and FREDERICK Palatines of *Newburg*, IOHN ERNEST Duke of *Saxony*, WEIMAR, with his two brethren, ERNEST of *Brandenburg*, Marquesse of *Olnosbach* or *Amsbach*, with his brother; IOHN FREDERICK Duke of *Wittemberg*, with his two brethren; MAVRICE Lantzgraue of *Hesse*, and FREDERICK Marquess of *Baden*: the rest sent their Ambassadors; namely, the Elector of *Brandenburg*, the Duke of *Deuxponts*, the Marquesse of *Culmbach*, the Prince of *Lunbourg*, the Duke of *Brunswick*, the Marquesse of *Baden*, the Earls of *Veterouia*, the Earles of *Francouia*, the Earl of *Oetingen*, and in the name of the Nobles and Knights. There came also Deputies from the Imperiall Cities; as, *Strausbourg*, *Francfort*, *Nuremburg*, *Wormes*, *Vlme*, *Spire*, *Rottembourg*, *Hall*, *Nordlingen*, *Landau*, *Vimpfen*, *Buren*, and from the Protestants of the higher & lower *Austria*: all these fauoured the Bohemian party.

The Catholique Princes & States assembly at Virsbourg.

The Electors, Princes, and Catholique States which adhered to the Emperor, met at *Virsbourg* in *Franconia*: whither came Ambassadors from the Emperor, from the Electors of *Mentz*, *Cullen* and *Treues*, from the Dukes of *Bauaria* and *Lorrain*, from the Palatine of *Newbourg*, and from many Princes, Bishops, Abbats and Prelates; as, those of *Saltzbourg*, *Ausbourg*, *Virsbourg*, *Rotuil*, *Wormes*, *Spire*, *Heildesheim*, *Constance*, *Strausbourg*, *Passaw*, *Ratisbone*, *Erisingen*, *Basle*, *Munster*, *Paterborn*, *Liege*, *Fuld*, *Elwangen*, *Kepten*, and others. Thither came also Agents for the king of *Spain*. In this Assembly, the means how to maintain peace in *Germany* were treated of, and how to defend themselues against the Arms of the Protestant Princes, and what leuies euerie one should make; so as it seemed all tended to warre in *Germany*, both parties beeing much incensed.

The Emperor sends to the Assembly at Nuremberg.

The Emperor sent the Earl of *Hohensollern* to the assembly at *Nuremberg*; who, making a long relation to them of the troubles of *Bohemia*, and of his Majesties peaceable inclination, exhorted the Electors, Princes and States there assembled, to giue credit to his words and promises, rather than to false impostures and slanders; and not to suffer themselues to bee corrupted by the false reports of the Bohemians; but rather to imploy their counsels and care to preuent so many miseries as would vndoubtedly growe in the Kingdome of *Bohemia*, if matters continued in the same estate they then were: the which might giue a great aduantage to the Enemie of Christendome, and be very dangerous for the Empire. Wherefore, they should direct their consultations to some good end, so as the honour of the Imperiall Majesty might be preserued; who protested, not to do any thing that were not iust and honest, and worthy of his Imperiall grace and fauour; promising to recompense the pains and merits of such as had imploi'd themselues to end so great occasions of trouble.

Their answere.

Heerto the Assembly at *Nuremberg* made answer, that they were glad of his Maiesties good resolution, conformable to theirs, which was onely to preuent the miserable estate of the sacred Empire. They made repetition of the dissensions of the Empire, and of the grieuances of the Protestants; which I must for breuities sake omit. But, touching the affairs of *Bohemia*, they said that they were not to be blamed, if, seeing the Catholiques begin motions of warre, they were carefull of the welfare of their subiects, and prepared themselues to some kinde of defense; knowing, that they are not onely bound to chase away the danger out of the frontiers of their Country, but also to succour the Protestants; yea, euen the Elector Palatine FREDERICK, chosen King of *Bohemia*, especially when he shall be molested in his lawfull inheritance and seigneuries in *Germany*; being bound thereto by the Imperiall constitutions, and by their Vnion.

They therefore besought his Imperiall Majesty to dispose his counsels for the pacifying of the present troubles in *Bohemia*, and to be carefull that no disaster might fall vpon the Empire. As for them, they would neuer suffer themselues to be wonne by any contrary perswasion; hoping, that his Majesty would not giue ear to those which were more desirous to entertain forrain

rain forces in the Empire, than to seek the safety and authority of the Emperor; and that hee should rather giue eare to the iust reasons of so many Electors, Princes, and States of the Empire, then vnto the discourses of certaine men, who breathed nothing but warre, and a desire to ruine and roote out those whom they falsely called Heretiques. 1619

An Apologie made for the Emperor.

By this answer the earl of *Hoensolemn* finding that this assembly at *Nuremburg* was wholly bent to support the Elector Palatine in the possession of his new Election to the Crowne of *Bohemia* against the Emperour; he made a long Apology, and presented it to the same Assembly. It contained a short relation of all the troubles of *Bohemia*, during the life of the Emperour MATHIAS, with answeres to their oppositions against the admission of King FERDINAND to the Election of a new Emperour, and to their declaration touching their reiection of FERDINAND, and their Election of a new king: finally, his conclusion was, that the States of *Bohemia* had no free Election to chuse a king if any male or female of the blood royall were liuing, which hath beene the occasion of all their warres: a point which I will not decide, but leaue it to ENEAS SILVIVS DV BRAVIVS, and others which haue written learnedly thereof.

Exploites of the Transsiluanian.

The Prince of *Transsiluania* after the assembly at *Presbourg*, made an incursion with his Army towards *Viena*, putting all to the sword: He took *Eberstorf*, with other townes and villages, spoiling some and wasting the rest by fire, and then returned to *Presbourg*. In their retrait, they write that Count BVCQVOY and TAMPIERRE charged the Rereward, and slew 2000 Hungarians.

The Emperor requires an oath from the States of high Austria.

The Emperour commanded the States of high *Austria*, to send their Deputies to court, to take their dew oath of allegeance, whereby they might preuent the imminent danger, and giue no cause of greater miseries: But they delaying to make any answere, he sent other Letters vnto them, signifying, That they had not onely forborne to send him an answere, but had also made an incursion into the lower *Austria*, and surprised certaine townes; which were apparant signes of hostility. Wherefore he admonisht them againe to send their Deputies to take the oath; to call back their souldiers; and to desist from their enterprises; if not, he would vse other remedies. About that time there came out of the Duchie of *Milan*, into the Bishopprick of *Passau* (hauing past the Alpes through *Swisserland*) 9000 souldiers, leauing behinde them mournefull marks of their bloudy cruelty; who hauing no meanes to passe into the vpper *Austria*, the countrey-men hauing stopt vp the passages; part of them past into *Bohemia* towards *Budwitz*, vnder the leading of *Don* BELTHAZER: who being entred, caused the Kings edict to be set vp in all places written to this sense; That it was knowne to all men, how that his subiects of *Bohemia*, partly through their owne malice, and partly by the perswasion of others, had runne into rebellion, violated the oath which they had taken to him, being their elected and crowned King, and had presumed to chuse them another King, and settle him in his throne. Wherefore to preserue his right and to defend his subiects from ruine, he had beene constrained to send in new forces; That he doubted not but there were many who either not pleased with these attempts, or changing their opinions, would performe their due obedience to their lawfull King; admonishing all others, that remembring the oath whereunto they were bound, and hauing a care of their wiues, children and families, they should speedily returne to their obedience, and giue in their names, to such commanders as hee should haue in the Countrey, and thereby preserue themselues from ruine; promising pardon to all that should demaund it in this manner.

The Emperors edict against the Bohemians.

Vienna besieged by the Hungarians and Bohemians.

The Emperour being come to *Viena*, the Hungarians and Bohemians marcht with a great Army towards the City; they took *Eberstorf*, and then laied siege vnto *Viena*, spoiling all the townes and villages round about. The Countrey people flying into the City, there grew a great dearth of corne, which made the enemy hope that in short time they should force them to yield by famine. In the meane time HVNNAVOI made an irruption into *Hungary* with 8000 Polonians: but he was incountred by RAGOTZI, whom the Prince of *Transsiluania* had left at *Cassouia*, and receiued a great ouerthrow. Then ioyning with *Radul*, and the Earle of *Alsbem*, being in all three or foure thousand men, they encountred the Polonians againe: where there was a cruell combat, the which continued almost the whole night, there being slaine on either part three thousand men. The Polonians retiring, made a shew of of flight; whereupon the Hungarian footfell presently to spoil: but the Polonians returning suddenly (the Hungarian horsmen flying away) they were for the most part slaine. RAGOTSI hauing escaped, cried presently To Armes, to repaire this losse: and BETHLIN being aduertised thereof, he forbare to presse

A great slaughter of Polonians and Hungarians.

Bethlin Gabor leaueth Viena.

Vienna; and sending part of his Army into *Hungary*, to *Rheda*, he returned to *Presbourg*, having taken *Edenbourg*, and mand it with a garrison of 400 men.

The States of the vpper and lower *Austria*, had many consultations for their defence against the incursions of BETHLIN GABOR Prince of *Transiluania*. Vnder the pretext of this defence, the Protestant States leuied forces: and hauing drawne together some thousands of horse and foote, they seized vpon *Lipsa*, which they ruined for that the citizens had made resistance. After which they took *Sibilsberg*, *Leisdorf* and *Bechling*; and then they marcht to the Monastery of *Melcha*, which was very well fortified. The Abbat offered certain thousands of florens, to haue his monastery spared, but he could not preuaile: they hauing three seuerall batteries, they cut off the water from the Garrison: and the souldiers which fetcht it from the riuer of *Dannow*, were much annoyed by the shott; but it was relieued by BVCQVOY. Not long before, the Earle of *Mandsfield* had recouered *Pisseck*, after a moneths siege, being valiantly defended by Don MARTINO a Spaniard; who was taken prisoner with diuerse other Captaines, and sent to *Pilsen*. The souldiers, being 400 in number, and many of them sick, were let goe freely with their baggage, and conducted to the frontiers of *Austria*. *Pisseck* being taken after this manner, the Emperors souldiers left all the garrison towns in *Bohemia* (except *Budwitz* & CROMLAV) retiring into places of more safety, and carrying with them what they had gotten. There was such a stink in *Pisseck*, by reason of the dead carcases of men and beasts, that both souldiers and citizens were forced to leaue the towne: the which, MANDSFIELD caused to be repaired, and manned with a good garrison.

Diuers townes taken by the Protestants.

Pisseck taken by C. Mandsfeldt.

BETHLIN GABOR (as we haue said) being retired towards *Presbourg* to resist the inuasion of HVMANOI, and the Bohemians being gone towards *Morauia*; Count BVCQVOY, embracing this occasion, followed the Hungarians towards *Presbourg*: Where hauing taken some places which had reuolted from the Emperour, he slew one thousand fiue hundred Hungarians. And the Emperour, hearing there was some small difference betwixt the Hungarians & Bohemians, sent his Commissioners to the Hungarians to perswade them to obedience, and to dissuade them from entring into League with the Bohemians. During these seuerall actions in seuerall places, the prouinciall States of *Morauia* met at *Olmus*; whereas they seised vpon all the goods of the Clergy, amounting to many millions, and put all the plate which was in the Romane Catholike Temples into coyne; wherewith they payed their souldiers. And the States of *Lusatia* were also assembled to prouide for the necessity of the prouince: who with the protestants of *Austria* (hearing that there were 12000 souldiers come out of *Italy* to *Passau* for the Emperour) drew all their forces towards those frontiers for their defence.

Assembly of the States of Morauia & Lusatia.

The King of *Poland*, meaning to assist the Emperour conditionally, made a declaration; That for as much as the troubles of *Bohemia* concerned Religion, and that the Bohemians with their confederats, had expelled a Bishoppe out of *Silesia*, and burthened the Clergy contrary to their priuiledges, liberties, and immunities; he was therefore resolued to assist the Emperour with thirty thousand Souldiers. But if the Bohemians and Silesians would restore their Bishop, Clergy; and other Romane Catholiques to their former dignitie, and maintaine them in their priuiledges, and withall reuerse what they had done against the house of *Austria*; he was then resolued not to meddle any more in those quarrels; yet, notwithstanding, he kept his forces ready, attending a finall resolution of the Bohemians.

The Poland promiseth to aid the Emperour conditionally.

In the beginning of Nouember, certaine troupes of the Earle of BVCQVOY's meaning to surprise *Odenbourg*, BETHLIN GABOR posted thither, and entred the Town, and mand it with two thousand Hungarians. That moneth, IOHN CHARLES the Emperours eldest sonne died at *Gretz*; and within few daies after, IOHN SIGISMVND Marquesse of *Brandenbourg* left this life. On the one and twentith of this moneth, all the images in the Church of the Castle of *Prague*, were demolished by the kings commandement; and on Christmasse day, the kings Preacher made a Sermon, prouing by the sacred Scriptures, That images were not to be allowed in Temples: After which, the King, with his brother, and the whole Court, receiued the Communion.

On the seuen and twentith of Nouember, the Lady ELIZABETH, Queene of *Bohemia*, was deliuered of a sonne, to the great ioy of his maiesty, and the whole court. The chiefe officers of the Crowne of *Bohemia* came vnto the King to congratulate the birth of his new heire, all the Bells rung, and the ordinance of the towne often discharged. This yeare in December the Earle of *Fustemberg* Ambassadour from the Emperour arriued at *Paris*, where he was receiued with great state, defrayed at the Kings charge and serued by his officers. The subiect of his

The Queene of Bohemia deliuered of a son.

1620

The Emperors Ambassadour comes to Paris.

his Ambassage was, To demand aid and assistance from the King against the Elector Palatine who had inuaded his Realm of *Bohemia*; from the which the Duke of *Bouillon* by his Letters did seek to dissuade the King; shewing, that those troubles grew not from any question of religion, but from matter of State; hoping withall, that his Maiesty would not fauour and assist the house of *Austria* against a Prince of the Electorall house of the Palatine, alwaies allied vnto his Crown and house; by whom the Kings, his Predecessors, and especially his father of happy memory, had been assisted in the defense of his house and person, and of his lawfull succession. The King desired to let the Emperor and German Princes knowe, that if he intermeddled in their quarels, it should be onely (after the manner of his Predecessors) in sending an honourable Embassie; which, visiting the Emperor, and the Princes and States of the Empire of both the Vnions, should labour to reconcile the troubles of *Bohemia*, and the combustions which began to growe in *Germany* among the Princes. 1620

The Emperor had great succors promised him by the King of *Spain*: and the Pope commanded a great contribution to be made by the Clergy throughout all *Italy*, *Spain*, *Brabant*, *Flanders*, and other Prouinces, for the payment of the Emperors Army. And in the mean time the Elector of *Saxony* (lest he should seem to be too secure) took order for the leuying of certain troops of horse and foot, and the prouiding of sufficient Commanders. Count BVCQVOY, making an expedition towards the vpper *Austria*, took the Town of *Lipsa*, being without a garrison.

Before his coming, STARENBERG, chief Gouerner of that Prouince, hauing left the siege of the Monastery of *Melcha*, marched towards the Frontier with his Army, to attend Count BVCQVOY. The peasants in the mean time, coming from the vpper part, moued with the zeal of religion, slue and put to slight all the Italians which remaind of BALTHAZAR's forces. The lower *Austria* was much afflicted with hunger and other miseries. The States of vpper *Austria* were prest daily to come to *Vienna* to take the oath, the Emperor offring them victuals and a safe conduct: but they protracted the time from day to day. In the mean time, the Hungarians, with the Bohemians and incorporated Prouinces, being assembled at *Presbourg*, they concluded a perpetuall league vpon certain Articles; which I am forced to omit to auoid tediousnes.

A league concluded betwixt Hungarians and Bohemians.

The Arch-duke LEOPOLD went from *Vienna* into *Alsatia*; where he leuied many troops of horse and foot for the Duke of *Bauaria*: and, there coming into those parts fiue hundred Venetians which desired passage, they were denied it, and sent to the Duke of *Bauaria* to serue in his Army. There were also great forces leuied for the Emperor and Duke of *Bauaria* in the Bishoprick of *Cullen* and the Territories adjacent. To preuent these leuies, the States of the vnited Prouinces wrote to the Electors of *Cullen* and *Treues*, exhorting them not to suffer any thing to be attempted against their confederates, especially against the Elector Palatine and his Territories, vnlesse they would haue the like done in their jurisdiction. Part of these forces when they could not get passage through *Hassia* and the County of *Nassau*, they entred into *Francconia*, where they were forced to stay some weeks, being hindred by the Princes of the Vnion: and in the end they were constrained to repasse the riuer of *Rhine*, and to return the same way they came. The Duke of *Bauaria*, being aduertised heerof, he sent to the Deputies of the vnited Princes and States: where there was a transaction made for the passage of these Troops, the number whereof was certainly knowne; and that the vnited Princes and States should haue also free liberty to passe through *Bauaria*. The conditions were, that they should passe away within three or foure daies; the footmen by the Dioceese of *Bamberg*, and the horsemen by *Wisburg*: that the Army should commit no insolencies in the estates of the vnited Princes: that they should march on with speed towards *Bauaria*, and should pay for that which they took in their passage.

After this, there followed a truce betwixt the Emperor and BETHLIN GABOR Prince of *Transiluania*, the which should continue till the Feast of Saint MICHAEL following, that the Realm of *Bohemia* and the incorporated Prouinces should be comprehended in that truce if they would; and all troubles ceasing, a treaty should bee made for the conclusion of a peace: that, during the truce, all things should remain in the same state they were in, and BETHLIN should hould the Countries, Castles, Forts and Towns which he had subdued, vntill it were otherwise disposed of; that an Assembly should be appointed at *Neuheusall* by the Emperors consent and authority, and there all grieuances repaired, and all dissensions betwixt the Emperor and the States of the Kingdome compounded; that the commerce should be free in all places, and the passages open; that the souldiers of *Polonia* should forbear to enter into the Realme of

A truce concluded betwixt the Emperor & Bethlin.

Hun-

1620 *Hungary*; that the truce and league should be inuiolably kept and obserued, and all acts of hostility cease.

The Arch-duke Leopold raiseth forces in Loraine.

This yeer in Ianuary (for, they begin to account the yeer from the birth of CHRIST) the States of *Austria* met again at *Horn*; where the Emperor sent to presse them to take the oath of alleageance: whereto they consented, so as the souldiers might be dismissed, the league betwixt *Hungary* and *Bohemia* confirmed, and a firm peace concluded; if not, they were not bound to do any more. About the same time, the Arch-duke LEOPOLD searcht all the store-houses in *Alsatia*, drew out great store of ordinance, and caused many troupes of horse and foot to be leuied. He gaue commission to raise 1500 horse in *Loraine*, and some thousands of foot there, and on the the frontiers of *France*; and appointed money for the paiment thereof.

In February, the Emperour held a secret Councell at *Vienna*; where there assisted the Popes Nuntio, the Embassadors of *Spaine* and *Florence*, the Earles of *Bucquoy* and *Tampierre*, with other Commanders at warre; where they consulted of a new enterprise against *Bohemia*: For the recouery of which Countrie, the Emperor protested, that he would spend the last drop of his bloud; and the rather, for that the Florentine Embassadour had brought eight hundred Souldiers to his Maiestie; and moreouer, there was promised from *Spaine*, *Italy* and the Lowe-countries three millions of gold, with the which the Emperor thought to performe great matters. During this consultation, *Niclasbourg* in *Morauia* was besieged by the Morauians; and in the end the towne was taken; but, the Castle held out, and was battered continually for sixteene daies together. The Cardinall of *Dietherichstein*, was much perplexed, and grieued, pressing the Emperour to send forces to relieue this towne, for that the Emperour and others had carried much wealth into it, as into a place of safety. Whereupon, the Earles of *Bucquoy* and *Tampierre*, resoluing to take it from the enemy, cast a long bridge ouer the riuer of *Dannow*: but they were so hindred by great frosts and cold that they were forced to desist from their enterprise.

Niclasburg taken by the Morauians.

This moneth of February, the King of *Bohemia* went into *Morauia*, being accompanied by his brother and other Princes: he made his entrey into *Brin*; where he was receiued with great pompe by the Senate and States, who conducted him to the Iesuites Church: where hauing heard Diuine seruice, he went to the Palace, and their receiued the oath from the States, and confirmed all their priuiledges: after which he took his way towards *Silesia*. He was scarce gon out of *Morauia*, but there entred 4000 Cossaques from *Dolonia*: yet they staied not long there, but marcht day and night vntill they came into *Austria*, sending some which knew the Countrie, to discouer, breaking all the bridges behinde them as they past. In their passage, they spoiled many villages and townes; and among others, *Meserits*, where at that time there was celebrated a very solmne mariage: but, they mart'd the feast, and carried away their ornaments; which they sold afterwards at *Viena* for a little money.

The Horsemen of *Morauia*, being aduertised hereof somewhat too late, followed them with all speed; and, ouertaking them in *Austria* about midnight, neere vnto the banks of *Dannow*, they slew 1000 of them, the rest passing ouer the Riuer vnto *Vienna*. These Souldiers afterwards committed horrible murders and spoiles in the lower *Austria*: they wasted fiftie villages belonging to the Protestants; forcing many of the inhabitants to fly into the woods with their wiues and Children, where they perished with hunger and cold. It was reported, that 8000 more followed them. Whereupon, the Silesians and Morauians went to Armes, and sent to *Bethlin* for aide: who gaue notice to the King of *Polonia*, that if he attempted any thing against him or his confederates, he would cause the Turkes and Tartarians to inuade *Polonia*: and withall he sent word vnto *Viena*, that vnlesse they discharged the Cossaques (whom they had drawne in, contrary to the truce) he would presently assist the oppressed with 16000 Hungarians.

At the same time Count BVCQVOY (hauing receiued some losse by the Bohemians at *Chiese*) went with 8000 horse and foote to *Langelos*; where ther were seuen companies of the Earle of *Mandsfeldts* in garrison, he himselfe being gone to *Prague*. Comming to the towne hee sent some troupes before, and laid the rest in ambush: The garrison salying forth fell into this ambush, where there was a great fight: but the Bohemian horsemen being dispersst, there were 900 footemen slaine, where the Imperialls also lost 400 men.

Some write that this enterprise of the Earle of *Bucquoi's* was vpon a quarter of the Bohemians Army, where the Barron of *Fettz* Marshall of the Army commanded, and who in the charge was slaine and their troupes put to rout; That there were slaine vpon the place 600 horsemen and 300 foote, among which were many Noblemen, Captaines & Commanders, and namely a Duke

Duke of *Saxony* who serued the Bohemian party. There were almost 300 prisoners taken; most gentlemen and officers, and as they write BVCQOIS losse was very small.

Some few daies after, they charged a troupe of the Earle of *Holochs* and slew 600. So pursuing their victories, they forced *Laam*, and slew 200 which were there in garrison. The Earle of *Tampierre*, hearing of this successe, ioyned his forces with Count BVCQVOY: and then they resolued to goe to *Prague*, commanding the souldiers to make sufficient prouision of poulder and victuall for six daies. But the Prince of *Anhalt*, hauing presently gathered together the Bohemian and Morauian forces at *Egenbourg*, stopt all the passages; commanding all the officers and souldiers which were in *Prague*, to return to the Camp within 24 houres. The Spaniards, which came vnder BALTHAZAR, made an incursion towards *Wodian*, and *Pragodits*, spoiling the countrey with fire and sword. After which they went to besiege *Muldau*: but, the garrison, not able to keepe it, yeelded it vpon composition. Whereupon, there was a new commandement, that euery twentith man in *Bohemia* should be alwaies ready in Armes.

The king of Bohemia enters Vratislania.

FREDERICK K. of *Bohemia* comming to *Pressau*, the Princes and Noblemen of *Silesia* met him with a great traine: entring into the City, there marcht before three Senators, with many citizens, who had presented him with the keys of their City by their aduocate; after whom, followed the Gentlemen of *Presslaue*; then the Barons, and after them, the Princes of *Silesia*: After whom came the kings brother, betwixt the Duke of *Lignits*, and the Marquesse of *Iagerndorf*. The Marshall of the Realme, carrying a sword, marcht alone: and the King followed him; and after him, the whole Traine. There were 50 shott at the gate: and all the Citizens were in Armes euen to the Kings court. Comming to the market place, there was a triumphant Arch, with very rare musick. From whence, the king was conducted to S. ELIZABETH'S Church; where he was entertained by the chiefe Pastor, with an Oration in Latin: and hauing heard Diuine seruice he went vnto the Palace; where, on the seauen and twentith of February, he receiued an oath of the Noblemen; and the day following, foure Chanons, the Abbats and Priors of the monasteries, came to court and took the same oath: after whom, the citizens did the like. All this being happily performed, and certaine Deputies being appointed by the Princes of *Silesia* to go in Embassage to *Constantinople* and *Poland*, in the behalfe of the Realme of *Bohemia* and the incorporated prouinces; the king hauing viewed the city and the bishopps Palace, and confirmed all their priuiledges, he prepared to goe vnto *Lusatia*: but, hearing of Count BVCQVOI's attempts, he deferd that Iourney and returned to *Prague*.

Count Bucquoy defeated by the Prince of Anhalt.

The Bohemians hauing resolued to assemble the States at *Prague*, by the kings commandement; the Emperour resolued to doe the like at *Buduitz*, to hinder and direct the assembly, meaning to prosecute all the States which should not come to *Buduitz* with fire and sword, and in like manner to besiege *Prague*. BVCQVOY and TAMPIERRE marched forward with their Army meaning to seize vpon *Horne*, and the Castle of *Echenberg*, places neere adioyning; but being ready to assaile the castle, the States of that prouince thinking it would be very preiudiciall vnto them, entreated the Prince of *Anhalt* (Generall for the king of *Bohemia*) to releeue the said Castle: who although he were inferior in number to the Imperialists, yet knowing how much it did import, hee resolued to stop BVCQVOIS passage towards *Buduitz*: to which end he marched forward with his Army being fortified with certaine troupes which came vnto him, so as he was esteemed to haue 12000 men. The 10 of March the Armies met and ioyned battaile. BVCQVOY thought to terrifie the Bohemians with a stratagem, causing the bodies of trees to be laid vpon cariages, as if he had had many Cannons; which at the first fight amased the horsmen: but hauing discouered his sleight by their neerer approach, they charged valiantly. The Prince of *Anhalt* vsed another policie, causing his Artillery to be charged with smal shot behinde his horsemen; who were commanded after they had set vpon the enemy, to open their rankes in the middest: which being speedily executed according to direction, all their ordinance was discharged together, which made a great spoile vpon the enemies horsmen, and forced their Army to retire into a wood. Whereupon the P. of *Anhalt*, finding his aduantage, planted his ordinance vpon certaine hils, which did so annoy the enemy as he forced them to leaue the wood, and at their comming out pursued them so hotly, as they were forced to fly to *Crembs* a Towne 15 English miles from thence: the pursuit continued diuers daies. By report of prisoners they lost aboue 2000 men most Polonians and Cossacks, with their munition, baggage, bullets for Cannon and many horses. The Sergeant Maior of the Army was slaine, with the Generall of the Cossaques with his Lieutenant, and diuerse other Captaines and officers: The Earle of *Tampierres* horse was slaine vnder him, and hee was relieued by a Cossaque who mounted

1620 mounted him vpon his owne. At his coming to *Vienna* he made great complaints to the Emperor of Count BVCQVOY; who they write was so much grieued for this losse, that hee would not for three daies together speak with any man. It is thought, the Bohemians lost not aboue 100 men in that fight, and some hurt.

An assembly of the States at Pragut. In the mean time, there was an Assembly of the States at *Prague*; where they consulted of the confirmation of the league with the States of *Hungary* and the Prince of *Transiluania*, and to offer it to other Princes and States, for the sending of an Ambassie vnto the Turks Port, and to make a perpetuall peace with the Sultan; to prouide for the charges and presents of this Ambassie; to prouide money for the necessary defense of the frontier Forts in *Hungary* euery yeer, for the punishing of those traiterous rebels of the Country, which refused to acknowledge the King for their head; for the repelling of the enemies forces, and refuting of Edicts published within the Realm; for the prouiding of present money (after the example of the vnited Belgick States) for the paiment of souldiers; for the prouiding of a storehouse with arms, victuals and horses for publike seruice; for the making of hospitals for sick and wounded souldiers; to make a necessary prouision against all vnexpected irruptions, to prohibit the insolency of souldiers, to reform the prouinciall constitutions, to appoint a place for the keeping of the Crown and Regall ornaments, and to assign reuenues for the King, after the presidents of former Kings and Princes.

An edict against the King of Bohemia. This yeer in February, the Emperor sent forth an Edict against the election and crowning of the Elector Palatine K. of *Bohemia*; in the which, after a long deduction of the troubles and tragedies committed in *Bohemia*, and of the insolency and rebellion (as he tearms it) of the Bohemians, both against his Predecessor the Emperor MATHIAS and himself, notwithstanding their fatherly care and affection to the good of their subjects, and their desire to reduce them to their obedience by all milde and friendly courses; which they had obstinately refused, and (contrary to all law and equity) had rejected him for their King, and chosen them another: this their election by his Imperiall and Royall authority he disannulled, and declared void and of no effect; protesting before God and the world, to bend all his thoughts and means to recouer the Prouinces vsurped from him by force and rebellion, and to reuenge his Imperiall and Royall Majesty so much wronged in his authority. Lastly, he implored the fauour and aid of all Kings, Princes, and Christian Potentates, to whom the newes of this dangerous example of the rebellion of these traiterous subiects should come. But chiefly he exhorted and required the Electors of the sacred Empire, with the Princes and States thereof (much wronged in this election, made against all iustice) to giue him aid and assistance, promising to require them with the like fauour and curtesie, and to imploy his Imperiall authority for the defense of their estates & segniories.

Assembly of the Catholick Electors at Mulhus. This yeer, the Electors and Princes of the Empire, adhering to the Emperor, assembled at *Mulhus* in *Thuringia*: whither came in person the Electors of *Mentz*, *Cullen* and *Saxony*; and he of *Treues* sent his Ambassador: the like did the Duke of *Bauaria*, and LEVVES Lantzgraue of *Hesse*. Being come together, they treated of the means to free the Empire from so many dangers which seemed to threaten her ruine; sending their Letters to all the Princes, States and Imperiall Towns whom they held opposite to the Emperor; namely, to the Elector Palatine (whom they did not stile King of *Bohemia* in their superscription) to the States of *Bohemia* and incorporated Prouinces, to the Princes of the Vnion, to the States of *Austria*, to the Earles of the *Vetterauia*, to them of the country of *Suevia*, to the whole Nobility of the *Rhine*, *Franconia* and *Suevia*, and to the Imperiall Towns of *Nurembourg*, *Strausbourg*, *Vlme*, *Spire* and *Wormes* (all, Estates depending vpon the Empire) and likewise vnto the States of *Hungary*: All which Letters were dated vpon the eleuenth day of March, and did wholly concerne the great troubles of *Bohemia*.

Their Letters to the States of the Vnion.

To the King of Bohemia. In their Letters to the Elector Palatine King of *Bohemia*, they made a relation of his acceptance of that Crown, contrary to their former admonition and expectation; whereby he had approued the Bohemians attempts against the Emperor whom they had wholly reiected. They exhorted him to consider of the great error he had committed, being the first Elector; who had neuer been wronged by the Emperor, but rather honoured; hauing chosen him with the other Electors to treat of the peace of *Bohemia*: the which charge he had accepted, and often promised to perform; being his duty to aid the Emperor, his fellow Elector, and to endeuour by all means to see peace maintained throughout all the States of the Empire; wishing him to consider what preiudice might befall the Roman Empire and the neighbour Kingdomes, especially

cially that of *Bohemia*, by this reiection and the new Election, which could neuer be approued either by God or men. That his posterity thereby would receiue infamy, and his family in generall danger. Lastly, they exhorted him, that as a Christian Prince born of German blood, and an Elector, to consider carefully of these things, and not to giue way to these miseries, but rather applie his counsels, that the Bohemians might lay down Armes; that all leuies of Souldiers might cease; That *Bohemia* and the incorporated Prouinces might be restored to the Emperor; That all things might be againe compounded by a friendly Peace, according to the wishes and desires of all good men; and that he, being Elector, would make it appeare to the World, that he had more regard to the safety of his Countrey, then his own particular. 1620

To the States of Bohemia. The Electors Letters, to the States of *Bohemia* and the incorporated Prouinces, were to the same effect; wishing them to giue way to their wholsome admonitions, and not to giue care to those who (rather seeking a remedy for their crimes and offences in confusion) had more respect to their priuate profit, then to the publique good of their Countrey: which if they did, it was to be feared that the other States, faithfull to the Empire, by the Emperours commandement, would seeke meanes to reuenge the losse of that kingdome of *Bohemia*, and free the Empire from danger and ruine.

To the Princes of the Vnion. Their Letters to the Princes of the Vnion did import; that They did not beleeue that, being Princes, they were pleased with these combustions, hoping they would not doe any thing which might encrease them, or hinder the Emperour from recouering his Realme of *Bohemia*; being bound, by the constitutions of the Empire, to assist the Emperor as soueraign head of the Christian World; That it was a dangerous thing, if they allowed of this reiection, and the new Election which the Bohemians had made; That if they continued these troubles, not only *Bohemia* would be ruined, but also *Hungary* lost; and, in the end, *Germany* it selfe exposed to the spoile of the Barbarians, at the tyrannous discretion of the Turke. In the end, they entreated them so to employ themselues, both to the Elector Palatine and the States of *Bohemia*; that the miseries, which threatned these Realmes, Prouinces, and Frontiers of the Empire, might be diuerted; and that the complaint might not passe to their posterity, that they had beene the cause that their country had been shamefully reduced vnder the yoak of the Ottoman seruitude.

The Electors Answeres. FREDERICK Elector Palatine, chosen King of *Bohemia*, made answere to the Electors Letters, whereby he complaines that they had not giuen him the Title and qualitie of King; That the Emperor could not be iudge and partie in his owne cause; That they should forbeare to counsell him any more to quitte the Realme of *Bohemia*, and that they should assure themselues he would not forget any thing to preserue the right of his vocation to the said crowne.

The States answere. The States of *Bohemia* made answere; That by the Letters sent (as well to their King lawfully chosen, crowned, anointed and sworne, as to them and the States of the incorporated Prouinces) appeared how diuerslie the Electors and Princes assembled at *Mulhus*, had thought of the State of *Bohemia*, after so many publications made by Letters and Apologies, which iustified the equity of their cause; That they had seene threates made to their King, and them contained in the said Letters: But the question being now not only touching the preseruation of their Countrey and Liberty, but also their Religion and Consciences; they would not resolue alone, but as all things had been formerly managed by their common consent with the incorporated Prouinces, so they would attend to send them an ample answere, with their ioynt aduice. What answere the Protestant Princes made vnto their Letter, you shall heare hereafter from the Assembly at *Vlme*.

After that vnfortunate battaile with the Prince of *Anhalt*; the Earle of *Bucquoy*, being returned to *Cremau*, the Cossaques went to their ordinary spoiling in the lower *Austria*: where, sparing neither Catholiques nor Protestants, they grew so odious to all men, that their owne fellow Souldiers, namely the Wallons, slew some of them, and carried some Captiues to *Cremau*, for the Sacriledges which they had committed. The Emperor, publishing another Edict, commanded the States of *Austria* to appeare at *Viena* on the 8 of Aprill, there to take the Oath of obedience; saying, that he had now obtained from the Arch-duke ALBERT, a full cession of his right; threatning, that he would hold them for treacherous contemners, if they appeared not, and would force them to obedience. The soldiers, which had remained in *Veteraua*; and could get no passage, cam into the territory of *Treues*, being very troublesom to the inhabitants: and, seeking in vain to passe into the territory of *Cullen*, the Peasants armed withstood them: and though they had set some villages on fire; yet they, neglecting the fire, slew many of them, and put the rest to flight. Many which had got passage, being come to the confines of *Bauaria*, fel in-

The Emperour calles the States of Austria to take the Oath.

1620 to a mutinie, who tearing their colours asunder, went to the Marquess of *Onolzbacs* camp, and most of the rest returned home.

The Marquesse of *Durlac* commanding the Army for the Princes of the Vnion, went and planted his Camp betwixt *Brisac* and *Fribourg*, giuing notice to the neighbour States, that he had receiued commandement not to suffer any souldiers to passe into *Asasia*. There went before in this expedition, three troupes of horse, with foure peece of ordinance, and 100 Carts full of Armes. Then followed foure troupes of Armed men foure companies of foote, with 70 Carts with Armes, and then three troupes of horse, with 150 waggons loaden with Armes and other warlike instruments; amongst which there were some waggons with six wheeles to turne euery way. Soone after, the Arch-duke LEOPOLD sent to craue passage for these troupes: to whom the Marquesse made answere, that it was not in him to graunt; that they must goe to *Onolzbacs*, and that hauing obtained leaue there he would not oppose.

The Christening of the Kings sonne at Pragne.

The Christning of the Kings Sonne of *Bohemia*, was performed with great solemnity on the last of March. There were present the King himselfe, his brother, two Princes of the house of *Saxony*, the Prince of *Anhalt*, the Earle of *Hohenlo*, with many other Noblemen. There were Deputies sent to be the Godfathers for the Duchie of *Silesia* for BETHLIN GABOR Prince of *Transiluania*, for the States of *Bohemia*, and for the Marquisates of *Moravia* and *Lusatia*.

The Emperors monitoriall Letters to the King of Bohemia.

On the thirtith of Aprill, the Emperour sent out his monitoriall Letters to the Elector Palatine, for that the Bohemians had chosen him their king: where after relation of the whole proceeding of these Bohemian troubles, by his absolute power and Imperiall authority he did enioin & expresse commande the Elector Palatine, vpon paine of his indignation, and the rigor of Iustice, and the lawes and constitutions of the sacred Empire, to lay downe Armes and cease from al Acts of hostility towards his Imperial and Royall Maiesty; and by the first of Iune next comming without all delay to relinquish all pretensions and wholly to abandon the said Realme of *Bohemia*. And if after that time expired, the said Count Palatine should continue obstinate and refractarie, he was then resolued to proceede against him according to the constitutions and ordinances of the Empire. And to the end he should not haue any excuse or pretend any cause of ignorance, he sent vnto him a copie of the said Letters.

There were also three other Monitoriall letters. The first directed to the Protestant Princes and States of the Empire which did adhere to the Bohemian party; containing, that against the Edicts of the deceased Emperor MATHIAS, some Princes and Estates of the Empire fauoured his rebellious subiects of *Bohemia*, and assisted their new King vnlawfully chosen, with men and money: and contrariwise would not giue passage to such soldiers as he had leuied for his iust defence, and to recouer his realm: To preuent the which he might iustly in this rebellion execute that which was ordained by the Imperial constitutions: But he preferred his clemency before rigour, admonishing them to abandon this faction, especially of the Elector Palatine their pretended head, and rather striue to maintaine the imperiall authority.

To the Colonels and Captaines of the Bohemian partie.

The second Letter, was to all the Colonels, Captains and Officers at war, following the Bohemian party, enioining them to abandon it, & to return vnto their houses, vpon paine of proscription and the losse of life and goods. And in the third, he admonished the Imperiall Townes, that hauing bin aduertised that som of them did aid his rebels of *Bohemia* and the Palatine there head, with men, monie and means, and to that end had leauied contributions vpon the inhabitants of their Towns (a just subiect for the which they had incurred the penalties of the Imperiall constitutions) preferring his clemency before his iustice, he admonisheth them hereafter to giue no succors nor aide in any sort whatsoeuer to the said Elector Palatine & Bohemians, vpon paine to incurre the said Imperiall punishments.

The Prince Palatins answere to the monitoriall Letter.

To this declaration or monitoriall Letter of the Emperor, the Palatine chosen King of *Bohemia* made an ample answere, conteining diuers points, which in breefe are these: That the Emperour hath not any right to the crowne of *Bohemia* but so farre fourth as it is a fee of the Empire. That the iudges of the Emperours court are no competent iudges in the cause of the Bohemians, neither can they determine of the right of the Princes and States of the Empire. That the Emperour cannot cause his pretensions to the crowne of *Bohemia* to bee decided before his counsellors, but must seeke the iurisdiction of his aduerse partie and there demaund iudgement: when as any one commenceth an action against the Emperour as he is Emperour the action is iudged by the Elector Palatine. The Emperor according to the constitutions of the Empire cannot denounce banishment or proscription before the parties be first heard. The Elector Palatine as King of *Bohemia* is not bound to obey the Emperours monitoriall Letters.

This

This he thought good to make knowne vnto the world, as he ought, for his necessarie defence: That he hoped that such as should know the vanity of this the Emperours Edict wold not vndertake the execution therof, if he commanded any, nor imploy the charge, but rather refuse it; remembring what one owes vnto another being vniustly oppressed in the Empire: that is, that they should repell all violence from their Prouinces, and do their best indeuours to maintaine the Countrey in peace: which he required of all the Electors, Princes and States of the Empire. 1620.

The State of Bohemia declar the kings son his successor after his death.

On the twentie eightth of Aprill the States of *Bauaria* hauing ratified the league betweene them and the Hungarians; in the presence of TVRSO Ambassadour to Prince BETHLIN and the States of *Hungary*; it was propounded in councell, that their King hauing a sonne of six yeares of age, he should be declared King of *Bohemia*, after the decease of his Father; the which would for euer assure the peace, preuent all troubles, and settle the State of *Bohemia*: The which the Deputies aswell of the States of *Bohemia*, as of the incorporated prouinces thought expedient to be done: whereupon they made a decree which they caused to be proclaimed. Their King was so well pleased with this declaration made in fauour of his Sonne, as feasting the States the next night at supper, hee caused all the Cannon at *Prague* to bee discharged in signe of ioy.

A sedition at Tabor pacified.

Soone after there happened a strange sedition at *Tabor* in *Bohemia*; for many thousands of Pesants being drawne together, demaunded either to be discharged from souldiers, or that they should prescribe them lawes whereby they should abstaine from all force and violence to their wiues and children. Commissioners were sent from *Prague* who reduced them to their duties. They also required to be freed from all impositions, alleaging that it was offered them by the Emperor; the which they verified by Letters which they produced: Moreouer, that part of the Iesuits goods and others, which had beene wholly confiscated, should bee appropriated vnto them. The first point of their demande was granted, and likewise the third: As for the second it was refered to another consultation: By which meanes they were pacified, & returned to their countrey labours; many of them enrolled themselues and became souldiers.

MANDSFIELD seeing his troupes encreased by 2000 Hungarians, made a roade towards *Buduitz*, where he tooke great store of Cattell, and entered into the Abbey of *Guldencrone* and took the Towne of *Thein*: the Hungarians, committed great insolencies, and entreated the Monks and Churchmen very roughly.

The Bohemians defeated Carstein.

The warre continuing in the lower *Austria*, the Earle of *Tampierre* of the Imperiall party, hearing that 5 companies of Bohemian foote and 2 of horse were lodged in *Carstein*, he went from the Imperiall Army with 1000 horse and 1500 shot, making such speede, as entring the Towne by night, he put all to sword which he found in Armes. Some seeking to saue themselues in the Castle, he pursued them so hotly, as the bridge being drawne many casting themselues into the ditch to auoide the sword were drowned. On the other side the Bohemians encountring a great number of Cossaques seeking for spoile after their accustomed manner in *Gillesdorf*, they charged them so furiously as there were 200 slaine vpon the place and the booty recouered.

The Cossaques defeated.

The Wallons and Cossaques of the Emperors partie, running between the frontiers of *Hungary* and *Moravia*, surprised *Marcoucen*, belonging to the Baron of *Landau*, which they wholly spoiled. Soone after on the eightth of Iune, the Baron recovered it againe, and put all the Imperiall Garrison to the sword. In like manner the Moravians being aduertised that in *Sonneberg* there lodged a Conuoy of many cartes which went vnto the Imperiall Army vnder the escorte of 200 souldiers, who beeing so neere vnto their Army, thought themselues to bee secure, they made such speede as they surprised the towne by breake of day, slew all which made resistance and carried the conuoy to the Bohemians Army.

A Conuoy of the Imperials taken.

Lower Austrias complaints to the Emp.

The Inhabitants of the lower *Austria*, bearing the whole burthen of the watre and sustaining great losses by both parties, made the States of that Countrey to send Deputies to *Viena*, to present a Petition vnto the Emperour, shewing their complaints against the ruines, spoiles, burnings, murders and rapes, committed by the Wallons and Cossaques: and therein they represented the ruine of *Stoccerau* which was wholly inhabited by catholikes, and did belong to his Imperial Maiesty, whereas on the fourth of May after that the Wallons & Cossaques had committed all the villanies that can be spoken, they set fire on the towne and ruined it quite. They knew well his Imperiall Maiesty was not the cause of these miseries, but they besought him by the mercy of God and by the wounds of our Saiuour IESVS CHRIST, that taking pitty of his subiects, he would be pleased hereafter to free them from souldiers, that they

1620 they might once againe taste of Peace and quietnesse; but the Deputies, which presented this petition, were forced to return without answer, for that they ioined in league with the Bohemians, & would not take the oath of allegance to the Emperor; whereto they had bin oft called.

The Earle of *Strum*, hauing leuied 500 horse in the Territories of the vnited Prouinces for the Bohemian party, marching through *Westphalia*, he was set vpon by the Peasants of the country, who defeated part of his Troops: yet he continued on his journey with the rest, and came into *Bohemia*. Soon after, IOHN ERNEST of *Saxony*, Prince of *Weimar*, hauing also leuied in the same Countries 200 horse and 2000 foot for the Bohemians, found not any one to oppose his passage, but onely the Earl of *Bucheim*; who (being not able to make head) was forced to let him passe towards *Bohemia*: where he arriued without any let, and had his Quarter neer to *Egra*; where the Peasants, discontent with such guests, would haue risen.

About the same time, Colonell GRAY, a Scottish Knight, leuied a Regiment of 2200 foot, Voluntaries, English and Scottish, for the King of *Bohemia*'s seruice. They landed at *Hamburg* in a manner all together, of which there were not aboue eight hundred Scots. They marched vnarmed, and, most, without Swords, through the Duke of *Luneburg*'s Countrey, where they found good vsage; then they passed the Riuer of *Elbe* into the Marquisate of *Brandenburg*'s, where they had very kinde entertainement, and so continued their iourney without any crosse (but by their own diuisions) vntill they came into *Lusatia*, where they receeiued their Armes, and so passed into *Bohemia*.

Ambassadors sent from the French King into Germany.

The French-king being desired (by the Earle of *Tustembourg* the Emperors Ambassador, as we haue related, in the end of the last yeere) to giue his Maiesty aide and assistance; being resolued to procure Peace, and reconcile the troubles in *Germany*, rather then to adde matter which might entertaine the warre; he made choice of the Duke of *Angoulesme*, Earle of *Annergne*, base son to CHARLES the 9, to goe into *Germany* as his extraordinary Ambassadour, accompanied with the Baron of *Bethunes* and the Abbat of *Preaux*; to goe aswell to the Protestant Princes and States (who are all antient Allies to the Crowne of *France*) as to the Emperour; to exhort them, first, to take some course that the said Protestant Princes and States, on the one side, and the Catholique Princes and States on the other, might not fall to warre as it was very likely; and that they might only giue succor to the Emperor, or the Bohemians, according to their affections, and that within the Realme of *Bohemia* and *Austria*, and not else-where. And, Secondly, to labor for some good reconciliation between the Emperor, and the States of *Bohemia*, and the Elector Palatine, whom they had chosen for their King.

Assembly of the Protestant princes at Vlm.

These Ambassadors, being honorably attended with 400 horse, parted, in May, and arriued at *Vlme* the sixt of Iune, where the Protestant Princes of the Vnion were then assembled. The French Ambassadors, comming into the Assembly, and hauing the place of precedence giuen them; the Duke of *Angoulesme* gaue them to vnderstand, that the king had commanded them to visite all in particular, and to assure them of his loue as his good friends and Allies, and to let them know, That, hearing of the contributions in in *Germany*, he was desirous (like vnto other kings his predecessors) to be a mediator in their controuersies, and to let them know, as a most iust Prince, that after he had giuen Peace to his owne subiects, he would be most glad if hee might procure it to his good friends, neighbours and Allies, whom he coniured to contribute what was necessary for their parts; considering, that if the Generall suffer by the fury of ciuill warres, whereas Religion and temporall interests haue a share, with greater reason reason priuate men shall be much oppressed: A feare which should touch you neere; seeing, that besides the miseries which are prepared for you by this present danger, the successe is most perillous and without remedy, but by reconciliation; the which vndoubtedly will come out of season if you suffer the Enemy of Christendome to make vse of your diuisions: It is in you, my Masters, to lay open vnto vs the meanes of your rest and Peace: the which we will gladly embrace, aswel to performe the commandement of the King our Master, as to discharge our Consciences for the generall good of all Christendom, & the particular affection we beare to all your interests.

Their answer.

The Princes hauing giuen thanks to the most Christian King, for his loue and affection towards them for the Peace of *Germany*; there were many propositions made, touching the grieuances which they suffered, and whereof they had often complained to his Imperiall Maiesty, and to the Catholique Princes, whereof they gaue instructions to the said Ambassadours, which was the subiect of a second speech, made by the Duke of *Angoulesme* on this manner: My Masters, It were superfluous to offer any new matter on his Maiesties behalfe; seeing that his intentions being so good, and his assurances so certaine, there wants not any thing, but that his

his good offices might be seconded with a happy encounter, for the good and quiet of all *Germany*, which must be furthered by the iust and reasonable propositions of the parties interessed, and not to stand vpon such things, which only seeme to colour the pretences of warre, and to make it not only more bloody, but also lesse iust in their eyes, which, hauing no passion vnto the businesse but the generall good, might rightly condemne them: That if the King had beleeued, that, from the complaints of the vnited and correspondent Princes and States, these present troubles would haue sprung, he would not haue failed to haue carefully embraced any occasion to haue vsed all good offices for remedy thereof; well remembring himselfe of the good affection and seruices which they haue done to his Crowne: Which, the more easilie they may beleeue, seeing that (following the glorious actions of his Ancestors) as well in the case of *Wesell*, as that of *Gulich*, he had contributed all the power and authority he had; and ioyned it with the king of great Brittaine; which had surely brought forth a profitable agreement for both parties, had not both the one and the other seemed vnwilling to make any vse thereof: a subiect, verily, which might haue occasioned the King to slight the course of their affaires; but that his bounty and goodnesse hath herein surpassed all common sense; for that being yet willing to doe the like through all Christendome, he hath now sent vs to procure the Peace and rest of all these people which are in combustion, and whose ruine is very neere if it be not preuented. That to stand talking of grieuances past, will no way prouide for the cause present; and yet we will willingly receiue your memorialls, which promise to giue all your assistance therein: which, when the Emperour shall deserre, the businesse will not be decided without an Assembly of both parties; in which, each forming his complaints, it will rather be a renuing of the causes of diuision, then a re-establishment of former order: That herein there is question of a Crowne taken from off the head of a Prince who was in possession thereof; here is the ground of the businesse whereupon depend eth not only the Peace of *Germany*, but may prooue the opening of a gappe vnto the generall enemy of the Christian Faith: That the leuying of Armes by the neighbour Princes on either part, doe intend the defence of the Palatinate: That verily it would not be iust the Emperor should be Iudge in his owne cause, and inuade the Palatinate, and forcibly appropriate it vnto himselfe, without any other subiect then by vertue of the Imperiall Ban. But, in this Action, we must carefully obserue by the progresse of the businesse, who shall be in fault; from whom shall proceede the first offence; and, in a word, bend the eyes of equity and not of passion vpon the first motiue of these calamities. For, although it may be alleaged that the Elector Palatine (without any practice of his) hath been chosen by the States of *Bohemia* for their King: yet it doth not follow, that, in receiuing it, the Emperor hath not a iust cause to seeke a remedy for this mischiefe which so neerely toucheth him, transferring it vpon him from whom he receiued it; seeing it depended vpon the free will of the Elector Palatine, to refuse or accept the Crowne as others had done: yea, BETHLIN GABOR Prince of *Transiluania*, shewed himselfe more staid; seeing, that refusing the Title of King, he only admitted of that of Prince; lesse significant, but as powerfull: That for these reasons wee neede not doubt that the Emperour and all his house will sooner lose all they haue, then leaue things at this stay: That the enemies of your Peace and quiet will be very glad that the troubles of *Bohemia* happen to hazard that Crowne, whereby they may haue meanes to inuade that which is next at hand and most commodious: That the forraine forces, whereof you make reckoning, some of them are without vigour, and the other without power; seeing that opposition in Arms will impeach the one, and the other will want meanes to entertaine those which they haue leuied: That the zeale alone which we beare to their good, according to our Kings commandement, hath giuen vs this freedome of speech, which we pray you to accept as from your most affectionate friends and well wishers, as we haue fauourably receiued what was presented vnto vs by the Elector PALATIN's Deputie: vnto whom if our Presence might be ought auaileable, and the causes why we doe not visit him were removed, we should be verie glad to assure him by word of mouth, of the King his good intention, and of the good affection which in particular we all should haue, to do him seruice, as we will make knowne when occasion shall serue; assuring you that we will be euer readie to be of the like mind towards you all.

The Duke of Bauaria Generall for the Catholiques, sends to the Assembly at Vlme.

The Duke of *Bauaria*, Generall of the vnited Catholikes in *Germany*, hauing sent his Ambassador to *Vlme*, they began to treat of the meanes how to maintaine the peace in the Empire, and that the Armies leuied by the Catholikes vnited and the Protestant Princes (whereof the Marquesse of *Anspach* was Generall) should not encounter: In th'end by the mediation of the French Ambassadors, after a moneths consultation, an accord was made, as you shall heare hereafter.

1620 There had beene leuied manie troupes of Horſe and Foote by the Catholike Vnion, and the commandement of the Arch-duke LEOPOLD Biſhop of *Strasbourg* and *Paſſaw*, to the number of ſix or ſeuen thouſand Foote, and one thouſand fiue hundred horſe, in the Countries of *Trenes*, *Mentz*, *Luxenbourg*, *Alſatia*, *Lorain*, and euen in *Flanders*: But, GEORGE FREDERICK of *Brandenbourg*, Marqueſſe of *Durlach* (whoſe lands ly neere vnto *Strasbourg*) as Lieutenant to the Princes of the vnion, prepared himſelfe to oppoſe their paſſage which they would make at *Briſach*, betwixt *Baſile* and *Strasbourg*; and, hauing gathered ſome forces together, he went and encamped on the other ſide of the *Rhine*. The Arch-duke LEOPOLD, aduertiſed of this contradiction, ſent him many Letters; but had no other anſwere, but that he muſt obtaine a paſſage from the Marqueſſe of *Ansbach*, Generall for their Vnion; which obtained, he would not hinder them: So as the Arch-duke was forced to ſend vnto the Marqueſſe; who, with the other *Germane* Princes (who are very warie in their reſolutions) ſeeing that the Emperour had written vnto them, that all the ſouldiers ſhould paſſe without doing any wrong vnto their Territories; they gaue charge vnto the Marqueſſe of *Durlach*, to ſuffer them to paſſe, according to the conſtitutions of the Empire: whereupon the paſſage was open for their troups, being ſeuen or eight thouſand men, who marched ſpeedily towards *Bauaria*.

The Marqueſſe of Durlach in Armes to ſtop the Catholiques.

The Proteſtants anſwere.

At the ſame time the Princes of the Vnion, aſſembled at *Vlme*, made anſwere to the Letters ſent from the Electors and Princes aſſembled at *Mulhus*, to this effect; That the troubles and diſſenſions happened in *Bohemia*, and which had ſpred farther, had amazed them, for the danger which might befall the whole Empire; wiſhing they had not happened or were pacified; That they had fore-ſeene theſe inconueniences when the Bohemians were reiected at the Election of the Emperour, and were not ſuffered to enter into *Franckfort*: Which, being done contrary to the law of Nations, had incenſed them, and giuen them occaſion to chooſe another King; That, matters being as they were, there was no remedy: they were grieued, and left the euent to God, who would call them to an account that were the cauſe of ſo many miſeries; That it was a fearefull thing (as euery man might conceiue) when as in matters which concern Conſcience they found no eaſe, and yet they would haue been glad they had applied milder remedies, to this euill, then that of Warre; being willing to haue imployed themſelues therein, if they had thought their labours would haue been taken in good part. To iudge whether the reiection or election of a new King had been done according to the laws of the Countrey; they could not doe it, being a point of too high a ſtraine; neither would they, by their cenſure, preiudice the whole Romane Empire, leauing that buſineſſe: yet, notwithſtanding, they would preſerue the authority of the Emperour, wherein their Vnion might aſſiſt him; That it had been more expedient for the Empire, if the Electors and Princes had ſuppreſt all complaints, ſettled a generall peace, and reconciled the troubles of *Bohemia*; That they were doubtfull whether the threats, publiſhed againſt them, might bring any remedy; Finally, they did not ſee what might be deſired more of them which directed all their actions to the glory of God, to the preſeruation of the Empire, and that Iuſtice and concord might be maintained throughout all *Germany*.

The Duke of *Bauaria*, hauing drawne his Army together, being twenty fiue thouſand Foot and Horſe, paſſed the Riuer of *Dannow* at *Oonauerd*. The Marqueſſe of *Ansbach*, Generall for the Vnion, hauing thirteene thouſand Horſe and Foote, marched towards them, being fortified by ſome other troupes from *Virtemberg* and *Vlme*: The two Armies came ſo neere together that they might talke one to another: In the meane time, this accord was made at *Vlme*, by the mediation of the Ambaſſadors of *France*;

n Accord beeen the Princes of the Vnion, the Catholiques, made at Vlme.

We, MAXIMILIAN Duke of *Bauaria*, Count Palatine of the *Rhine*; and We, IOACHIN ERNEST, Marqueſſe of *Ansbach* and *Brandenburg*, make knowne to all men, that conſidering the diſorders, miſeries and calamities which are crept into the Roman Empire and neighbour Nations by means of combuſtions and wars, threatning a totall ruine and deſolation; by means whereof, not onely the Electors, Princes, and Catholick States vnited, but alſo the Proteſtants haue taken occaſion to make Leuies and prepare to warre: the which hath bred a bad intelligence betwixt them, mixt with iealouſie and diſtruſt; with this perſwaſion, that this raiſing of Forces by the Vnions, is to moleſt one another, and ſo to diſturb the common peace of the Empire, and to bring it to the extremities of warre: To preuent the which, and to take away all occaſions of bad intelligence, iealouſie and diſtruſt; by the mediation of the Ambaſſadors of the French King, they concluded theſe Articles following:

First, We promiſe for our ſelues in particular, and for all the Electors, Princes and States aſſociated

ſociated of both the Vnions, that not any of them (vpon any cauſe or pretext whatſoeuer) ſhall aſſaile or moleſt by way of hoſtility, force and armes, the perſons and territories of the other party, nor innouate any thing concerning religion and the publique peace. 1620.

Secondly, it was agreed, that if any one vpon vrgent neceſſity ſhould require free paſſage (giuing good and ſufficient caution, according to the conſtitutions of the Empire) for defenſe of his perſon and ſubiects, it ſhould not be denied, prouided the demand were made in time and place, and not ſuddenly when they are vpon the Frontiers, or entred into another mans Country; which would be an oppreſſion to their ſubiects.

Thirdly, the Duke of *Bauaria* and the Catholick States vnited did exclude out of this Treaty the Kingdom of *Bohemia* and the incorporated Prouinces, and did onely comprehend the principalities, lands, countries and ſegniories belonging to the Electors, Princes, and States of both Vnions; yea, the Palatinate and other lands adiacent and annexed by ſucceſſiue right, in regard of the good intelligence and correſpondency which was between the ſaid Palatinate and the other principalities (the continuance whereof is in a manner aſſured): and the ſaid Treaty ſhall not extend further, or haue any other interpretation.

And We, IOACHIN ERNEST Marqueſſe of *Ansbach*, with the Electors, Princes and States vnited, referre our ſelues wholly to the declaration which the Electors, Princes, and Catholique States haue made, as alſo to the exception of the Realm of *Bohemia* and the incorporated Prouinces; not meaning to comprehend them in this Treaty, leauing thoſe affairs to their ordinary courſe.

Fourthly, it is agreed, that in regard of the ſhortnes of time, and the abſence of the greateſt and ſoundeſt part of the States of the Empire, both Catholiques and Proteſtants, they ſhall deferre the reſtitution and compenſation of loſſes and oppreſſions hapned by reaſon of Leuies of ſouldiers, to a more conuenient time.

After this accord, the French Ambaſſadors with their whole train embarked vpon the *Dannow* the ſixt of Iuly, and arriued at *Vienna* the twentith; where they found a hundred caroches attending them, euery one hauing ſix horſes, which conducted them to their lodgings. As for their audience with the Emperor, their ſtay at *Vienna*, their mediation to accommodate the affairs of *Hungary* with BETHLIN GABOR, it belongs to the following Hiſtory.

In the beginning of Iune and during the aſſembly at *Vlmes* formerly ſpoken of, diuers reports went throughout all *Germany* of the preparation of 2 royall Armies to be leuied in *Flanders*: the one vnder the leading of Marqueſſe SPINOLA conſiſting of 30000 men for the conqueſt of the Palatinate; the other of 12000 foote and 3000 horſe vnder the conduct of *Don* LOVIS *de Velaſco* to oppoſe the Prince of *Orenge* and the States of *Holland*, in caſe they ſhould vndertake any thing in SPINOLA's abſence vpon thoſe places which the Spaniard holds in *Cleueland* or vpon the Archbiſhoprick of *Cullen*.

Vpon report of the diligence which SPINOLA made to compoſe his Army for to goe into the Palatinate, the two Armies wee formerly ſaid were encamped neere vnto one another vpon the other ſide of the *Dannow*; to wit, that of the Duke of *Bauaria* which was of 25000 at *Vending*: and the other of the Coreſpondent Princes led by the Marqueſſe of *Anſpach* conſiſting of 15000 at *Langenau* neere *Vlmes*, raiſed their Camps: and turning taile one vpon another, the Duke of *Bauaria* marched along the *Danube* into *Auſtria*: and the Marqueſſe of *Anſpach* aduanced to get the *Rhine*, to the end he might come into the Palatinate to defend it if it were inuaded. What followed you ſhall heare hereafter.

Souldiers come to the Emperors ſeruice into Auſtria.

The Emperour hauing receiued great forces both of horſe and foote which had beene leuied in *Croatia*, *Iſtria* and *Carinthia*, with thoſe which were ſent him from *Italy*; and the Duke of *Bauaria* approaching the frontiers of vpper *Auſtria*, deſiring (before he would vſe extremities againſt the Proteſtants of *Auſtria*) to know whether they would perſiſt in their rebellion, he ſent them his monitoriall Letters, importing, That the Proteſtants of the lower *Auſtria* hauing confirmed the League with the Bohemians (which was contrarie to all diuine and humane lawes and the conſtitutions of the Empire) againſt him and the Princes of his howſe, there was no reaſon he ſhould make any fauourable anſwere, to their petitions, if they did not firſt deſiſt from the ſaid league with the Bohemians, and acknowledge it by ſome loyall action. Wherefore his Imperiall Maieſty deſired that without any further delay, the Catholike States ſhould come to *Vienna*, and the Proteſtants ſend their Deputies, to witneſſe vnto him by a publike Act that they renounced the confederation and League of the Bohemians: This done, he would anſwere their petition to their contentment.

1620 Protestants the lower Austria renounce the consideration of the Bohemians.

Then the lower Austrians seeing no colour of using any more delayes, perceiuing the forces of the Emperour ready to execute his will vpon them, both the one and the other sent their Deputies to *Viena*. The Protestants presented vnto his Imperiall Maiesty, their Act of renuntiation of association with the Bohemians, and besought him to giue them equality with the Catholiks and free exercise of religion throughout all *Austria*.

The Emperour vses them his word for the free exercise of the profession of Ausbourg.

Vppon this supplication they had answere, that they ought not to doubt, but that his Imperiall Maiesty would be a father vnto his faithfull and loyall States, and that he would spend his life to preserue and maintaine them in peace one with another; And as for what concerned the free exercise of the confession of *Ausbourg* in *Austria*, he gaue them his word it should be obserued as it had been in the time of the deceased Emperour MATHIAS his predecessor.

The Duke of Bauaria enters with his Army into the vpper Austria.

Hauing receiued this answere, the States of the lower *Austria*, both Catholikes and Protestants which were at *Viena*, staied there to take the hereditary oath vnto the Emperour as Archduke of *Austria*. As for the vpper *Austria*, the Protestant States were assembled at *Lintz* to oppose themselues against the Duke of *Bauaria*: who before he would vndertake anything against them, sent a Commissary to let them vnderstand that hee was aduanced with his Army by the Emperours commandement to reduce them to their obedience, requiring them to renounce the League they had made with the Bohemians, and to take the hereditarie oath of allegeance, giuing them only fiue daies to resolue. In the meane time he sent HASLANG the chiefe Captaine of his guards with 1500 horse and a regiment of foote into the vpper *Austria*: where hauing defeated 300 souldiers and many Pesants neer to the castle of *Hagen*, he burnt the village where they were fortified: the Castle yeelded by composition.

The Castle of *Starnberg* was also summoned, and the Captain threatned to be hanged if hee yeelded not presently: wherewith being terrified, he gaue vp the place; and so did many other Castles and Churches whither the Protestants had retired themselues.

The Duke of Lauuemburg slaine by Pesants.

At the same time, ERNEST LEWES Duke of *Saxony*, of the house of *Lauuemburg*, going down the *Dannow* by boat, hauing landed at *Aschar* foure miles from *Lintz*, and telling certain peasants that they should shortly haue other guests, they fell violently vpon him, and murdered him.

The Protestant States of the vpper *Austria*, assembled at *Lintz*, sent to Count MANSFELT Marshall of the Bohemian Army, to intreat him to come thither in respect of the danger they feared, in regard the Duke of *Bauaria* was so neer them with his Army. To whom he made answer, that, being so weak of men, he could not aid them; but that daily he expected greater forces, and then he would most willingly come vnto them: whereof he aduertised the King of *Bohemia*, giuing him aduice what was to be done for the fortifying of the Country; but his aduice was not followed, there being enuy and iealousies between the Commanders of the Bohemian Army. In the mean time, the Austracians seeing no hope of relief, and that their ruine was apparant if they made any shew of resistance against the Duke of *Bauaria*'s great forces, that they had no expert Commanders, and that their confederates of *Bohemia* would not bee able to releeue them; they sent their Deputies to the Duke of *Bauaria* to craue pardon, and to intercede for them to the Emperor, that they might be intreated like to those of the lower *Austria*, and that they would renounce their confederation with the Bohemians. Answer was made them, that they should return to *Lintz*, abandon the Castle, dismisse their souldiers, and that euerie man should retire to his house.

Submission of the Protestants of the vpper Austria assembled at Lintz.

They of *Lintz* heerupon hauing taken vp the chains which crosse the riuer of *Dannow*, they not onely opened the passage, but exhorted all the people not to resist the Duke of *Bauaria*, lest they should cast oil into the fire. Thus, the Duke of *Bauaria*, hauing taken the chief Forts and Towns which the Protestants held, seised vpon all the passages, and defeated about eight hundred men which would haue ioyned with the States troupes: he entred *Lintz* with his Army the fourth of August, where the States excused themselues aswell as they could, promised to yeeld obedience, and took the oath of alleageance.

Lintz yeelded to the Duke of Bauaria.

Meane while, the Bohemian Army lay at *Thymes*, where they framed their camp and spent all the moneth of August vnprofitablie: during which staie the souldiers grew discontented for their pay, and Count MANDSFIELD much more, both for the vaine promises he had receiued from the directors and officers at *Pragne*, whereby he had beene disappointed of meanes to effect his designes, and disabled to doe any seruice for the crowne of *Bohemia* in time to come; as also for an affront he had receiued in *Austria*, which was after this manner: The Barron of *Feltz* Marshall of the Army hauing beene slaine (as you haue formerly heard) Count MANDS-

Discontentment of Count Mandsfield & his troupes.

FIELD

FIELD, Generall of the Artillery, pretended the place due to him by the order of war: whereupon, he wrote to his Maiesty, to the Officers, and to the Prince of *Anhalt* Lord Generall for the same; the which was granted him, and he executed the place of Marshall of the Camp at *Egenbourg*, during the space of two or three weeks, without any contradiction. 1620

Soon after, the Generall, coming one day to visit him, could him, that in truth he had been made Marshall of the Bohemian Army; but, as touching the office of Marshall of the royall army, it was reserued for the Earl of *Hohenlo* or *Hollack*: whereupon, complaining of that wrong, he grew so discontent, that he desired the Prince to giue him leaue to depart, and to withdraw himself elsewhere; the which he could not then obtain. Shortly after, the Prince of *Anhalt* came again to visit him, perswading him to rest satisfied with that office limited as aforesaid, and to suffer Count HOHENLO to execute the charge of Marshall of the Army Royall: the which he wholly refused; saying, that if hee were but Marshall of the Bohemian Army, hee would go thither, and obey Count HOHENLO as Lieutenant Generall: and for that there were many braue Commanders in the Army, there was no great need of him; beseeching the the Prince again to doo him the fauour as to giue him leaue to depart: which he did. Count MANSFELD, being much altered with these discontents, and still oppressed with enuy, resolued to retire himself. To this end he wrote to the King and the States; who made him a gracious answer, perswading him to continue their friend, and not to abandon them in so dangerous a time: yet after much importunity, and many messages sent by him, in the end they decreed, that he should presently receiue two months pay for his souldiers, who should be intreated like to those of the Royall Army; that he should execute his office of Lord Marshall as the Baron of *Feltz* had done, and not attend the command of any other than the Lord Generall: whereupon he resolued to continue in his Maiesties seruice till the end of October. So matters rested yet his malitious enemies laid a foule aspersion vpon him, that hee meant to turn his coat and serue the Emperor; the which was generally bruited, and supported in Court: but the King would neuer harbour it in his thought, but still perswaded the Lord Marshal not to respect such malitious reports, assuring him of his royall fauour. I haue been bould to make this little digression, to shew what iealousie and diuision was among the Commanders of the Bohemian Army; which no doubt was very preiudiciall to the Kings affairs and to the State.

A generall Assembly of the States of Hungary.

We haue formerly made mention, that at the truce made between the Emperor and Prince BETHLIN, it was concluded, that an Assembly of the States of *Hungary* should bee held at *Neuheusal*, to treat of the means how to reconcile the dissensions betwixt his Imperiall Maiesty and the States. It began in July; whereas Prince BETHLIN propounded the Articles following: that He BETHLIN GABOR, Prince of *Hungary* and *Transiluania*, desired nothing more than to settle a peace in the troubled estate of *Hungary*, and the liberty of religion: and to shew that he desired nothing but peace, he had refused the Crown which had been presented to him; that the ground of a peace was to ratifie the league with the Bohemians; that the truce made with the Emperor, and that which should be treated of in that present Assembly, might help much to a peace; that during the truce he had iustly assisted the confederates, seeing that the Emperor had refused them a truce at their request. As for the resolutions they were to take with the Emperors Ambassadors, he desired the States to aduise speedily; that he had alwaies desired peace, but sincere and without fraud; that to obtain it, he was com to assist his confederates miserably oppressed and afflicted; that the Emperor desired not peace but warre, the which appeared by many signes; yea, for that his souldiers the Cossaques had entred into *Hungary*, and ruined diuerse places with fire and sword:

Propositions made to the States of Hungary by Beth. Gabor.

That the Emperor hauing stopped and denied all passage to the Deputies of *Bohemia* and *Austria*, they ought not to treat of any peace with him, but of warre; that they should aduise by what means they might conueniently begin it and continue it; how to finde money, which is the sinewes of warre, to repair the Frontiers, and furnish them with things necessary; to send Ambassadors to the Turk, lest that the States being imployed elsewhere, they might receiue some losse and preiudice that way; that it being lawfull for the States according to the lawes to punish their bad affected Country-men who had done great harm to the confederates, they should do iustice.

The Emperor sent Ambassadors to this Assembly. They demanded to haue the league, made between the Bohemians and their new chosen King with the States of *Hungary* and the Prince BETHLEM, broken: but it was in vain. The Ambassadors of *France* which were at *Vienna*, sent also Letters to this Assembly, making offer of their endeauour to reconcile the differences between

1620

The assembly resolues to begin warre against the emp.

betweene the Emperor and them. But Prince BETHLIN made answer, that there was no appearance of speaking of peace, seeing that his Imperiall Maiesty hauing so great forces on foote, would employ them whil'st they entertained them with an accord. It was therefore concluded in this assembly, at the request of the Ambassadors of *Bohemia*, that they should send 10000 Hungarians to succour the Bohemians against so many Armies as were falling vpon their Countrey, the which was speedily put in execution: That there should be no continuance of Truce with the Emperour; the which being ended, they should beginne warre in *Austria* against the Imperialls; to diuert the Army marching into *Bohemia*: and that BETHLIN changing the name of Prince of *Hungary* which he had assumed in the beginning, should take that of King and be crowned at *Presbourg* in October. It is written, that the Turkes Ambassadours assured the assembly that the Sultan would giue consent to this coronation; but the cheefe Noblemen of *Hungary* Catholikes opposed themselues, and continued constant to the Emperor.

The Bohemians, seeing *Austria* wholly reduced vnder the Emperors obedience, thought that the Duke of *Bauaria* and the Earle of *Bucquoy* ioining their forces, and making an Armie of 50000 men, would enter into *Bohemia*: They sawe that the succours which they expected at need from the vnited Princes of *Germany*, would be diuerted to defend the Palatinate against *Spinola's* Army: that all their Forces were but 20000 men (besides 10000 Hungarians which came to their aide) commanded by CHRISTIAN, Prince of *Anhalt*, Generall of their Armie; in the which there were many Noble-men, but few good Commanders. Yet notwithstanding, they were of opinion that with these forces they should be able to hinder the Imperiall Armie from performing any great matter, if they did furnish their Frontire Townes with men, monie and munition, to staie them at some Seege, which is commonly the ruine of great Armies: whereupon they commanded Count MANSFELD to march with all his Forces to assure the Frontiers of *Bohemia* against the Duke of *Bauaria*; assuring him that all the Countrie was in Armes, and that great numbers of horse and foote were commanded to ioine with him, neere to *Glatz* and *Taux*; but marching thither with his Troupes, he found not anie: and complaining vnto the Officers, they made an excuse that they had been countermanded and imploied in other places against *Don* BALTHAZARS forces. MANSFELD being disappointed of succours & followed close by the enemy, fearing they should take the way of *Pilsen* before him, he resolued to retire thither, which he did in the end of September. He found the Towne full of wants, the fortifications little aduanced, few labourers, and no money to supplie all; wherewith he presently acquainted the officers & with the danger if they were not speedily supplied: he requested them to send him some munition, whereby he might be enabled to hould out a siege, and money to satisfie the officer and souldier; who being already discontented, it was to bee feared they might fall into a mutinie, to the great preiudice of the place and cause. To these Letters he had a faire answere, but no effects. In the meane time Count MANSFELD fortified the Towne all he could, drawing-in what prouision he might. The enemy was not idle but grew daily stronger, taking *Podnian*, *Prachadits*, *Winterberg*, and *Pisech* with great effusion of bloud: ofter which, *Scottenhofen*, *Taux*, and *Glatta* yeelded by composition.

The Bohemians send Embassadores to the Elector of Saxony.

The Elector of *Saxonie*, who made great preparation to Armes, did much perplex the Bohmians; for being assailed by him vpon the North side, when as the Imperialls should enter vpon the South, they should then be shut vp betwixt them. Whereupon they presently sent Ambassadors to the said Elector, with particular instructions, to induce the Estates of his Countrie to diuert him from attempting anie thing in fauour of the Emperor, from whom he had receiued Letters for the execution of the proscription against them, giuing him authority to doe what he should thinke fit; to take Townes, punish rebels, and pardon those which should returne to their duties and take the oath due to his Maiesty, and not to forget any thing for the recouerie of the Realme, and setling all in peace. The Ambassadours of *Bohemia* being at *Dresda* with the Elector, they entreated his highnes to giue their King and the States of *Bohemia* that contentment as to declare vnto them his intention, touching the Letters of execution sent vnto him from the Emperour, and whether he desired not to remaine Newter as hee had hitherto done. The Elector made a long repetition vnto them of the progresse of these troubles; concluding in the end, that he had accepted of this commission in regarde of his duty: hoping that it might bee executed without force or hostile attempts, if they would shew themselues disposed vnto peace rather then to warre; That his onely aime was to maintaine peace, true religion, the priuiledges of the Realme, and the Imperiall and Royall authority; That if the Protestants amongst them had the like affection, it was the meanes to attaine vnto that end; That the Protestants

The Duke of Saxonies answer to the Bohemiant.

stants of high *Austria* had lately made proof thereof; who, accepting of the Emperors pardon, had by the same means obtained the exercise of true religion, with all their priuiledges and immunities, and freed themselues from a thousand miseries which follow warre. But if they did persist in their resolution, and continued the war (which he could not hinder) yet they should alwaies remember his faithfull aduice: and if affairs succeeded otherwise than they expected, he was to be excused, hauing shewed himself as well affected to their good as to that of his own subiects. 1620

Marquesse SPINOLA hauing leuied a goodly Army in the Arch-dukes Territories vnder the Emperors commission, but with the King of *Spain's* mony, it bred a iealousie in all the Princes of *Germany*, that it was to inuade the palatinat, & such princes as did assist him. The K. of great *Britanne*, although he would not meddle with the affairs of *Bohemia*, yet alwaies carefull to preserue his daughters dowry in the Palatinate, and the inheritance of her children who had neuer offended, sent an Ambassador expressly to the Arch-duke being at *Brussels*, to bee informed of the subiect of this great preparation: to whom answer was made, that these forces were leuied in the name of the King of *Spain*, and that he might learn the cause from Marquess SPINOLA; who, being demanded, made answer, that in the Letter which he had receiued from *Spain*, hee had found the Commission, but might not open it till he came to the place of Arms; wherfore if it pleased him to be there, he would impart it to him. *Marquesse Spinola marcheth towards the palatinate.*

In the mean time, on the eighth of August, he took his leaue of the Arch-dukes, and on the seuenteenth came to *Aix la Chapelle*; where he attended his munition and carriages comming from *Antwerp*, consisting of 350 wagons loaden with pouder, bullets, boats to make bridges, and all other munition of warre. He had forty cannons that came from *Macklin*, all with the Emperors Arms prepared for this Army; ouens of brasse, and milles vpon wagons sufficient to make bread for 20000 men in foure and twenty houres. All things being ready, he parted from *Aix* the one and twentith of August towards *Confluence*; where he mustered his whole Army, being six and twenty thousand foot and foure thousand horse. Then hee opened his Commission, wherewith he acquainted the English Embassador; which contained a declaration to make warre against all those which should be confederate and allied to the Bohemians, rebels to his Imperiall Maiesty. Hauing giuen his souldiers two months pay, he past the *Rhine* vpon a bridge of boats at Saint *Sebastians*: the which being presently taken vp again, coming to the head of the Army, he made an Oration to the Captains and souldiers, exhorting them to carry themselues valiantly; this warre being for the defense of the Catholique faith and house of *Austria*: whereupon, they all cried out, God saue the house of *Austria*, and discharged their muskets. *His commission.*

From Saint *Sebastians*, neer to *Confluence*, he wrote particular Letters to MAVRICE Lantzgraue of *Hesse*, and to some other Princes of the Vnion, aduertising them of his going into the Palatinate, and that they should assist the Emperour in his iust cause, or remaine Neuters: In doing so, they nor their subiects should receiue any harme from his Armie: After which, hee marched towards *Franckfort*. The Princes of the Vnion (who attended him in the Palatinate vpon this side the *Rhine*, with an Army of twenty two thousand Foot, and four thousand Horse) hearing that he had passed the *Rhine* at *Confluence*, thought that he had a designe vpon *Franckfort* and the Palatinate beyond the *Rhine*; which made them to turne the head of their Army in all haste to passe the riuer of *Rhyne*, vpon a bridge of boates at *Oppenheim*; which Towne SPINOLA took soone after (the Princes being marched towards *Wormes*, fearing it should be besieged) being yielded by 800 men there ingarrison, who departed without Arms. There was found store of Munition, Wine, Graine, and other commodities, sufficient for the Army for halfe a yeere; with much moueables, Tents, Pauillions, and other Implements. This Towne of *Oppenheim*, is a very easie passage vpon the Riuer of *Rhine*, for entraunce into the vpper Palatinate. *He writes to some Princes of the Vnion.*

Whilest that SPINOLA busied himselfe to fortifie *Oppenheim*, he sent forth his Commaunders with Troupes, like Harbengers with Chalke in their hands, to marke out his lodgings, as if he had feared no Enemy. *Don* CARLO *de Colonia*, Gouernour of *Maestric*, and now Ambassador in *England*, went to *Creutzenac*; which yeelded by composition. *Don* GONZALES *de Cordua*, seized vpon *Canb*, *Bacrac*, and the Castle of *Pelst*; and towards the Riuer of *Mozelle*, *Don* IAQVES MESSIA, also, with his Regiment of Spaniards, tooke *Tarbach* and other places of importance: In these places, so taken, they put in Garrison some six thousand men: which the Arch-duke ALBERT vnderstanding, and desiring that thereby the Army might not be diminished, *He takes townes in the palatinate*

1620 nished, he sent a supply of 6000 vnder the leading of Mounsieur *de la* MOTTERIE Gouernour of *Mastric*.

Sir Horatio Vere sent to the Palatinate with English Forces.

Our King's Maiesty, being assured that SPINOLA meant to inuade the Palatinate, and desirous to preserue the inheritance of his grandchildren if it were possible, suffred a regiment of 2200 Voluntaries to be leuied vnder the command of that worthy Knight Sir HORATIO VERE their Generall for the Palatinate; beeing followed by two honourable persons, the Earls of *Oxford* and *Essex* with priuate commands, and diuerse gallant Knights and Gentlemen.

These Troops past into *Holland*; where hauing receiued their apparell and Armes, they marched vp the *Rhine* till they came right against *Wesel*; whereas the Prince of *Orange* encamped with his Army, not far from *Don* LEWES *de Velasco*, who lay aboue *Wesel* with 12000 foot and 3000 horse, obseruing one anothers actions. The Prince, doubting that the passage of *Lippe* would not be very safe for those Troops which should go into the Palatinate, caused a bridge of boats to be made ouer the *Rhine* right against his Camp; where the English past ouer with Count HENRY of *Nassaw*, who (as some affirm) had 1500 horse and fiue hundred foot. After which, the Prince of *Orange* passed into an Iland lying between *Cullen* and *Bone*: where hee built a Fort called *Pfaffen-mutz*, which might haue the command of the riuer, and annoy those Towns.

They passe the riuer of Rhine with Count Henry of Nassaw.

SPINOLA, hearing that Count HENRY and Sir HORATIO VERE marched with their Troops, had a desire to encounter them and cut them off in their passage (and for that intent he passed the *Rhine* with 9000 foot and 3000 horse) and likewise to see, whether they of *Franckfort* would giue them passage through their Town, contrary to their promise: but he was deceiued in his expectation, by reason of their speedy march (going some times twenty miles a day and more) and taking their way aboue *Franckfort* by the County of *Hannaw*: and so they drew neer to *Wormes*, where they passed the riuer, and in the end ioyned with the Princes of the Vnion.

The Army of the Vnion prepares to fight with Spinola.

The day after the coming of the English and Prince HENRY to the Army of the Vnion, there was great expectation of a battell, for that Marquesse SPINOLA had drawn his Army out of his strength, and could not well retire to his trenches without fighting, for that the Princes Army lay so neer them. The Commanders therefore resolued to giue him battell: whereupon the whole Army was put in order, the foreward being giuen to Sir HORATIO VERE with his English Troops, being seconded by Count HENRY with his horse. Euery souldier prepared himselfe to fight with great resolution, the English being incourag'd by their preacher; *who tould them the cause was iust, they fought for God and religion, for the honour of their Country*, and to maintain the right of their Soueraign's daughter and her children. His speech so inflamed the resolute souldiers, that they cast vp their caps for ioy, attending but the signall for battell; but, their courages were soon danted: for, the Marquesse of *Ansbach*, the Generall (insteed of crying To Arms) caused a retreit to be sounded; whereby the enemy had occasion to recouer his trenches, to the generall grief of the English. He pretended this reason, That the day was too far spent: but, by the opinion of such as were there, they lost a fair aduantage, and almost the hope of an assured victory; their Army being far greater than SPINOLA's, his forces being diuided. This retreit much blemished the reputation of the Marquesse: of whom men spake diuersly; some tearming him a coward, others saying he was corrupted, and had betraid the Army: but, doubtlesse, it much hindred the Palatinate's affaires, and gaue the enemie means to aduance his conquests; the Army of the Vnion retiring to *Wormes*, where they were incampt: but soon after, it being winter, and the German heat abated, their army was garisoned.

Prince BETHLIN, possessing *Presbourg*, and willing to bring the war on this side of the riuer *Dannow* towards *Vienna*, had caused a bridge of boats to bee made there, with a Fort at the end thereof: vpon which hauing past his Army, consisting of 10000 men, and his cannon, he went and besieged *Hambourg*, but the intelligence which he had with the townsmen being discouerd, he planted his batteries to win it by force: but, after a breach made, and foure assaults giuen, with the losse of a thousand Hungarians, he raised his siege, and retired to *Volrburg*.

When the Imperials perceiued Prince BETHLIN's purpose to bring the war neer *Vienna*, for that he had passed the *Dannow*, there was a goodly enterprise propounded in the Emperors Councell (if it had happily succeeded) to go and break the bridge of boats at *Presbourg*: and whil'st Prince BETHLIN was on this side of the *Dannow* (where he had no Town of retreit, or means speedily to repasse it if this bridge were broken) to force the Castle and Towne of *Presbourg*; The Earl of *Dampierre* propounded this exploit so easily to be effected, that the execution

cution therof was committed to him, though many held it a dangerous attempt: but he, hauing a great spirit thirsting after fame, and iudging this would be a good means to reduce all *Hungary* to the Emperors obedience by attempting onely this hazard, could by no meanes bee diswaded. 1620

The execution of this enterprise being then resolued; the Troops of ANHALT, leuied in the Country of *Treues* in the Spring, were embarked aboue *Vienna* at *Grifenstein* and *Cornebourg*, together with those Troops which were alwaies attending the said Earl, which were composed of French, Walloons and other Nations. Foure Coluerings, twelue Petards, powder, wilde fire, and other necessary munitions were embarked at *Vienna*; so as his Army was held to bee eight thousand foot, forty shippes and boats, and two thousand horse, which came through the lower *Austria*: neither could the extreamity of the weather on the riuer of *Dannow*, nor the sinking of three boats laden with men and munition, lost vnder the bridge of *Vienna*, feare him from this enterprise.

Those which were embarked aboue *Vienna* being come thither the 8 of October, TAMPIERRE set sail to go to *Presbourg*. When they were come beneath *Hainburg*, one of his boats wherin there were 200 musketiers was sunk: and thinking to arriue by break of day within two miles of *Presbourg* to put himself on shore, it was nine of the clock before he had landed all his troops. At his first approach he seised vpon the suburbs, forced the Fort built vpon the riuer of *Dannow*, and brake the bridge of boats. All which succeeding well, he resolued to attempt the Castle by Petard; conceiuing that if it might be taken, the towne could not long hould out. But being aduanced before the Countercarfe with fiftie musketiers and one of his Colonells called ESPAGNE, the Morauians which were within discouering him, shotte vpon him without intermission: eight of his men were slaine neere vnto him, and a musket shot carried his hat from his head. Heerupon they tould him, that he was knowne and leuelled at from a certaine loop-hole; which caused him to retire: but as he went off he was shot into the reines of the back; and beeing led away by two of his souldiers, one of them was slain, and the Earl shot into the right side; which slue him out-right: whereupon, his Troops, growing amazed, retired with more confusion than good speed; which those of *Presbourg* perceiuing, the Hungarians issued out and slue a hundred or sixscore of the hindmost of them: from whom they recouered the Earls body.

Tampiere slain by two musket shot.

Prince BETHLIN being comn again before *Hainburg*, and hauing won the same, hee appointed this place for the French Ambassadors to meet at; who had sent vnto him to knowe if he would vse their help for the pacifying of the troubles. And *knowing that they parted the sixt of October to repair vnto him*, he sent them a conuoy of foure hundred horse: which beeing defeated and put to flight between that place and *Vienna* by the Imperialists, he forbare not for all that to send forth another conuoy somewhat stronger than the former, and to receiue and entertaine them two miles short of *Hainbourg*, by two hundred Gentlemen attired in cloth of gould, and with many precious iewels; who presented them with the Princes caroaches, in the which they were conducted with no lesse than an hundred torches forgh on to their lodgings.

Hainbourg rendred to Bethlin.

French Ambassadors magnificently received at Hambourg.

On the morrow, the day of their Audience, they were with magnificence led vnto the Castle through all the souldiers of the guard cloathed in blew, and found the Prince in the Hal of the castle accompanied with 200 Gentlemen apparelled after the Turkish fashion with long robes of veluet and cloath of gold lined with sables; who after their reception conducted them vnto his Cabinet: what passed in this first audience and in a second afterwards, is not knowne. A few daies after they returned vnto *Viena*; where they endeauoured themselues by all meanes to reconcile and bring to an end those cruell warres, not onely with Prince BETHLIN and the Hungarians, but also with the Elector Palatine king of *Bohemia*: and to that end they sent one to *Prague* (who had beene alwaies Agent for *France* in the Palatines court at *Heidleberg* before he had accepted the crowne of *Bohemia*) to treate with Sir *Richard Weston*, and Sir *Edward Conaway*, now Counsellors of State (who were sent Ambassadors from his Maiestie vnto his Sonne in lawe, and had charge to employ themselues seriously for the pacifying of those troubles) touching these alterations, and to vnderstand from them what course they would take for the attaining vnto a peace. But the battaile being lost within few dayes after by the king of *Bohemia*, it changed the face of all those good intentions to treat of peace.

Whil'st they staied yet at *Hainbourg*, this Prince sent for the body of the Earle of *Tampierre* from *Presbourg*, and caused it to bee very honourably interred. The Baron *de Prener*,

1620. taking his charge, assembled 6000 foot of his routed Army, and all the horse; with which hee staid the courses of the Hungarians and Transiluanians, which made their incursions euen to the gates of *Vienna*. Let vs now obserue what past in the other places, and what in the mean time the Elector of *Saxonie* doth in *Lusatia*, and the Duke of *Bauaria* and the Earle BVCQVOY in *Bohemia*.

The Elector of Saxony enters to Lusatia, to execute the Emperors Ban.

The Elector of *Saxony*, hauing composed his Army of 20000 men with great store of cannon and munition for war, to begin the execution of the Imperiall Ban in *Lusatia*, he sent to the States of that Prouince IAQVES GRVNTHALL, one of his Counsellers, to publish an assembly of the States of that Prouince in the Town of *Bautsen* on the seuenth of September, old stile, that he might communicate to the Emperors commission.

Whereof FREDERICK Elector Palatine being aduertised; as king of *Bohemia* and Marqueese of *Lusatia*, he sent to forbidd ADOLPH of *Gersdorf*, Gouernour of the prouince, to make any such conuocation. And withall gaue Commission to the Marqueese of *Iagerndorf* of *Brandeburg*, to enter into *Lusatia* with 6000 men to reserue it against the forces of the duke of *Saxony*: which hee executed with such diligence, as he was sooner at the gates of *Bautsen* then they had any newes of his comming: where being entred, hee seised vpon ADOLPH of *Gersdorf* and GRVNTHALL with AVGVSTIN SCHMID, Agent for his Imperiall Maiesty: and some other Deputies which were already come to *Bautsen*. This done and hauing left 2000 men in garrison at *Bautsen*, and a new Gouernour, he went to *Gorlitz* where he did the like and in other places of this Prouince. Which the Elector of *Saxony* vnderstanding, he enters into *Lusatia* with his Army, and layeth seege to *Bautsen*, where he was 3 weekes before it: and then taking it by force at the fift assault, he caused 40 of the principall rebels to be hangd. Thus was *Lusatia* reduced, and the Marqueese of *Iagerndorf* constrained to withdraw himself into *Silesia*, hauing attempted in vaine to releeue the Towne.

The Duke of *Bauaria* after his taking of *Linтz* as is aforesaid, hauing no more to do in *Austria*, and his Imperial Maiesty being also desirous that the 2 Armies, that is to say, his own which the Earl of *Bucquoy* conducted, and was then vpon the frontiers of *Austria* & *Morauia*, and the D. of *Bauaria's* might ioin together, to enter into *Bohemia* and march towards *Prague*: He turned about the head of his Armie towards *Snethall* and went and ioined it with the Earle of *Bucquoy*.

Before he enters into *Bohemia*, hee sent the Emperors Letters-patents to the States; and by his owne he exhorts them to accept of the grace offred to them, to appear before him, to satisfie his Imperiall Maiesties Commandement; to prouide better for their Kingdome, to receiue their lawfull King so liberall and benigne; and to preuent greater miseries, if they loued their owne good.

To these letters the States of *Bohemia* made answer the 30. of August, sending back th'originall of the Emperors Letters pattents; Letting him vnderstand, that they would defend their party, to the hazard of their goods and liues: That they committed to God th'euent, and did yet notwithstanding hope, that he whom they neuer had offended, but euer reputed as a friend, and a worthy and prudent Prince of the Empire, would not suffer himselfe to be perswaded to vse anie act of hostility against them and their Kingdome.

The Bohemians Army retires towards Prague.

The Bohemians, seeing their Army nothing equall to the Emperors and the Duke of *Bauaria's* being ioined, they cause it to return out of *Austria* into *Bohemia*, to vnite all their forces with the 10000 Hungarians which Prince BETHLIN had sent to their succours. The Prince of *Anhalt* in his retreit put garrisons into all places, and augmented those which were weak, that they might make some opposition against the Imperialists: but their Armies being thus ioined, those which made anie resistance found but bad vsage.

The Bauarians and Bucquois exoloits in Bohemia. Taking of Horne.

For after the taking of *Horne*, they made so happie a progresse in *Bohemia*, that the Towne of *Wortsmits* hauing been succoured by them (which the Prince of *Anhalt* in his retreat would haue forced) all the places between it and *Budwitz* were reduced to the obedience of the Imperiall Maiesty. The 25 of September they encamped before *Budna*, which they constrained to yeeld, hauing for a space held out with great resolution: From hence the Earle of *Bucquoy* went and assailed *Phrahalits*, which he tooke by force, as also *Pisca* which sawe both the Armies before her gates; and in the end being also forced, they held on their course to *Prague*, and in the way recouered the towns of *Risemberg*, *Sellestemhof*, and the fort of *Walern* which MANSFELD formerly held, with *Stratonitz*, *Glatau*, *Chiffenhotten*, *Gratzien*, *Schimising*, *Witterberg*, *Mabren* and *Grimbach*, all places of Note, to assure their passage towards *Prague*, from whence both Armies were but two daies iourney. About the 10. of Octob. the Emperors army with the Bauarians, began

began to shew themselues before *Pilsen*, and very neer the Town. Their out-works were not yet defensible, neither had they forces sufficient to man them; besides many other discommodities which often happen where mony wants: so as if the enemy at that instant had attempted the place with his great forces, he had vndoubtedly carried it; or putte it to great extremity. MANSFELD intermitted no time to fortifie his works, and borrowed what mony he could, to content the souldiers; so as within fewe daies the works were in defense. The King was comm with his Army to *Rokezan*, two leagues from *Pilsen*, towards *Prague*, being 24000 men, besides 10000 Hungarians. 1620

Bucquoy seeks to corrupte Mansfeld.

Count BVCQVOY, seeing MANSFELD's resolution, and that to force it would both lose time and very many braue men, sought to get it by policy, hauing good intelligence how all things were managed amongst the chief men of that party, and of the discontent giuen to MANDSFELD; knowing, that nothing can sooner put a Noble spirit from his posture, than enuy. He therefore studies how to gain him that was most potent in that place, houlding himself sure to effect it. His deuice was to send IOACHIN *de Carpzo* a Lieutenant, Colonel of one of MANSFELD'S regiments (who had been taken prisoner the yeer before by the enemy) to perswade him to leaue the place to the Emperor, in consideration of a great summe of money which he promised him. The Messenger accepts the Commission, and deliuers what hee had in charge to MANSFELD; who sent him presently to the Prince of *Anhalt*, who caused him oft to be examined. MANSFELD by his Maiesties consent gaue ear to BVCQVOY, and offers to treat with him; but on this condition, that restitution should be made to Captain LENSTAVV, whose Troops had been spoiled contrary to the capitulation of TAVX, by BVCQVOYS souldiers; who, to further this treaty, endeuoured what he could to giue LINSTAVV satisfaction; wherein he spent much time: but, finding these practices not to preuail, he resolued to attempt it by force, and to giue a generall assault; yet, changing his minde, he departed with his whole Army about the 21 of October, and so marched towards *Prague*. His rere-ward beeing lodged but half an houres march from *Pilsen*; the next day the Earl of *Hohenlo* came with all the Kings horse, as well Germans as Hungarians, and 3000 musketiers within one houres march of *Pilsen*; where Count MANSFELD meeting him, he propounded a means how to cut off the enemies Rere: that if it would please him to aduance his Troops, he would also ioin with him with the best he had in *Pilsen*; and so, charging the enemy together, they should cyther defeat his Rere-ward, or else greatly distresse it: but the Earl thought it better to turn back and take the passage, to intercept the enemies way to *Prague*. In the end of October the two armies lodged within a league one of another; where there were daily skirmishes with various succesee, according to the fortune of war: and so drawing daily neerer and neerer together, it was conceiued that BVCQVOY would hazard a battell. Whereupon, the Prince of *Anhalt* inuited MANSFELD to come and attend his pleasure; who thanked him, and assured him he would not fail to perform his command; assuring himself, he should be entertained as Marshal of the field, to command according to his charge; desiring his Highnes to send him word speedily, what his resolution was, and to that effect sent a particular messenger with Letters: but before he could be heard and dispatcht, the ouerthrowe of the Army decided the question.

The battell of Prague.

The Imperiall Army aduanced still, and no day past without some action. On the fourth of Nouember the Earl of *Bucquoy* was lightly hurt with a shot; which was so troublesome to him, that he could not well ride on horseback. On the 6 and 7 daies the Armies were within cannon shot one of another. Coming within half a league of *Prague*, vpon Sunday morning the eight day of the moneth the battell was fought; which I cannot relate in particular, being forced to vse brevity.

The Imperialists being resolued to fight, the Duke of *Bauaria* tooke the right wing, and Count BVCQVOY took the left; who, sitting armed in his caroach, went from squadron to squadron to harten and encourage them to carry themselues valiantly. The Baron of *Tilly*, who was the Leader of the left point, hauing passed a little bridge and marish ground with the Bauarian Troops, was so welcomed and entertained by the Bohemians, that he was forced to send for all the Bauarian Troops in the fore-ward to come to succour and assist him: all which being ioyned, and vnder the Bohemians, the whole Imperiall Army was constrained in the like manner to march vpon the left hand; so as they were much annoyed, and receiued great losse by the Bohemians Artillery; which did so beat into a Battallion of Walloons, and the whole body of the Bauarian horse, that they were routed and put to flight. The danger wherein the fore-ward of the Bauarians and the Baron of *Tilly* were ingaged, forced Count BVCQVOY,

to secound them; who (notwithstanding that he was wounded and weak) went to horseback to
1620. disingage TILLY, who was in danger to be lost. In the end, hauing freed TILLY from the
The Bohemian Armie defeated at Prague. danger, he chused his Battillions to march directly against the Bohemians Army; who receiued them so gallantly, that they were in some disorder and ready to disband, if Count BVCQVOY had not ioined all the squadrons into one body, and charged so courageously, as hauing ouerthrowne 2000 Hungarians which were in the fore-ward; and the Duke of *Bauaria* at the same instant causing the right wing of the Imperiall Army to aduance, charged the left of the Bohemians; who presently abandoned their artillery, and were put to rout: some write, there were 3000 slain vpon the place, and aboue 2000 drowned, most of them Hungarians, which thought to passe through the riuer of *Molda* which diuides the Towns of *Prague*. The Imperialists tooke ten cannon, 135 Ensignes, with many Cornets, hauing lost (as they write) not aboue 400 men.

Another diuersion of the battell. Thus I finde this vnfortunate battell written by some Authors: but LANDORPIVS maketh the losse far greater on the Bohemian side. It is an old and true Saying, *Plus valet oculatus testis vnus quam auriti decem*, One ey-witnes is of more waight than ten which speak by hear-say: for, fame increaseth as it flees. I haue therefore thought good to set down what I receiu'd from a discreet Gentleman, an Actor in that daies seruice, and hath deliuered it on his reputation.

The two Armies hauing coasted one another for diuerse daies together, about the end of October, the Bohemians came and lodged at *Rockenzan*; and the Imperials encampt in a wood so neer them, that they plaied continually one vpon another with their great and small shot; so as diuerse were slain and hurt: among which, one of the Barons of *Dona* of the Bohemian party was lost; and Count BVCQVOY on the other side wounded: but the Imperials, hauing resolued to march towards *Prague*, raised their Camp in the night; which the Bohemians perceiuing, marcht away with all speed to get betwixt them and *Prague*; which they happily performed: for, on the day of the battell (which was Sunday) hauing marcht 8 miles, the Army cam to a place within a mile of *Prague*, of great aduantage, called the white Hill; where they incamped, and ranged their Army, finding the Imperiall Army aduanced with a resolution to fight. The Bohemians had a great aduantage of the ground: for, their cannon might beat into their enemies troops from the Hill; so as at their first approach they were much disordered, and lost many men: besides, the Imperials had a marish ground and a bridge to passe; where the Bohemians had planted 3 peeces of Ordinance, with 700 musketiers to guard it: which passage if they had maintained, and kept their posture on the Hill, in the opinion of all martiall men they could not haue lost the victory. But the first step to their ouerthrowe was the indiscretion or perfidiousnes of the Earl of *Hohenlo* or *Holloc*, Lieutenant Generall of the Bohemian Army, who drew away the musketiers which were set to guard the passage of the bridge; so as the Imperiall, imbracing this oportunity, past ouer their troops, and turnd those 3 peeces on the Bohemians.

After this, they marched with great resolution to the charge. The yong Prince of *Anhalt* on the right hand aduanced with a great squadron of horse to encounter them: but they were scattered; yet not so routed, but he gathered his Troops again together to giue a new charge, thinking to be seconded by the Hungarians which were behinde him: where his Troops were ouerthrowne, for that the Hungarians neuer aduanced to assist him, but fled presently without striking stroke. Whereupon, the whole Army on that side fell into a confusion, euery man abandoning his rank, and running away: onely the Morauians, commanded by the young Earle of *Schlik*, fought valiantly, and were most of them slain or taken prisoners. On the left hand the Earl of *Strum*, Lieutenant Colonel to C. MANSFELD's regiment of horse, charged valiantly with 3 of his companies and some others who helpt him, on a regiment of the enimies foot, and beat them down to the bottom of the hill: but, being oppresst with multitudes, and left by the Hungarians who were to second him, he was forc't to get off as well as he could. The Prince of *Anhalt*, with HOLOC his Lieutenant, fled with the first to carry newes to *Prague* of this disaster. The old Earl of *Thurn* followed, but with more honour and better testimonies of his valour. The King of *Bohemia* (who had bin a month together with the Army, and came but the day before the battell to *Prague*) was now going forth after dinner to view his Army, ignorant of what had past. Being som 12 score from the Town, he saw the Hungarians fleeing so fast, that he was forced to retire spedily, or else his person had been in danger to be oppressed by the multitude that fled. Touching the losse he affirms confidently, there were not aboue 3000 slain; wherof most of them, fleeing into the out-works of the Town (the gates being shut) were there slaine by the enemy; that there were fewe drown'd in passing the riuer vpon floats of timber, and that the

the enemies losse was no lesse than theirs. There were some companies of horse and foot which had retired themselues into *Starpark*, neer adioining to their Camp; the which that night or the next day morning were either slain or taken prisoners: among which, ther was the yong Prince of *Anhalt*, Captain of the Kings guard, and other Commanders; who, sending a Drumme to Count BVCQVOY, craued fair Quarter: which granted, they yeelded themselues prisoners. 1620

In this great confusion and amazement, the King with his Queen and Court left the Castle which is in petty *Prague*, and retired into the old Town. The ould Earle of *Thurn* with other Commanders perswaded the King to stay in the Town and defend it, wanting neither men, victuall, nor munition; which they might well haue done: but the King, considering that his souldiers were danted with this ouerthrowe, that the Inhabitants were light and inconstant, and would adhere to the stronger, that he was in a weak Town, and a victorious enemy at the gates, who no doubt would imploy all his forces to make his victory absolute; resolued to retire himself, and giue way to necessity: so as the next day after the battell he left the Town by seuen of the clock in the morning; the Queen taking her caroche with her young son but nine moneths old, who was born in *Prague*. Coming to the Port, they found it shut, and the Burgers in Arms, refusing to let them passe; it may be with a hope to make their peace the better with the enemy vpon their retention: but by the perswasions of the Burgraue and Chancellor of *Bohemia* who did accompany them, they opened the gates. Presently after, the Queen took horse, they being accompanied by Sir RICH. WESTON and Sir EDVVARD CONNOVVAY, Ambassadors there for his Maiesty, the old Prince of *Anhalt*, two Dukes, of *Saxony*, of *Weymar*, the Earle of *Hollock*, the old Earl of *Thurn*, the Earl of *Lauall*, son to the Duke of *Tremouille*, a French-man, the Burgraue of *Prague*, and the Chancellor, with many others. That night they went to *Limpurg*, 30 English miles from *Prague*: where they arriued late, and entred with much difficulty; a long iourney for a Queen great with childe and vnfit to trauell, hauing no time to rest or refresh herself by the way. The next day they departed from *Limpurg* towards *Silesia*, and after eight daies came to *Preslaw*: during which, that Noble and vertuous Queen suffred hunger, cold, the extremity of bad lodging (lying some nights on straw) the apprehension of a pursuing enemy, and the losse of plate and goods which were spoiled by their own souldiers that followd them: yet she bore all these crosses and afflictions with a generous resolution, to the admiration of all.

The Imperialists pursue the King of Bohemia. The Duke of *Bauaria* and Count BVCQVOY entring into *Prague* the next day, they sent certain troops towards *Brandiz* fifteen miles off (a place of pleasure belonging to the Kings of *Bohemia*) to pursue them, thinking to finde the Queen there by reason of her disability to trauel; where hearing what course they had taken, and how far they were aduanced, they left pursuing them, and spent their time in spoiling of that place and the country thereabout. His Maiesties Ambassadors took their leaue of the King and Queen going from *Limpurg*; from whence they gaue the Duke of *Bauaria* to vnderstand, that according to their duties they had accompanied the King their Masters daughter to *Limpurg*; desiring to haue a safe conduct to return to *Prague*, which he sent them: where finding no means to treat with a victorious enemy vpon any good tearms of peace, they returned towards *England*.

The towns of Prague submit to the Emperor. After this famous victory the two Generals marched directly to *Prague*. In the mean time, the Catholiques wrote to the Duke of *Bauaria*, that they gaue God thanks that hee had giuen him victory; that they would reioice to see him come triumphing into their Towns; that they offred to him both their goods and liues, and that they freely yeelded themselues, beseeching him to exempt them from pillage and spoil. His Highnes receiued them with all curtesie; and made a proclamation that no souldier vpon pain of death should depart from his colours; and if any disbanded, their Officers should be hanged for them. The next day the souldiers began to scale the wals; but the Duke staid their insolency, and set guards at the gates of petty *Prague*, and vpon all the approaches. The Inhabitants of the old Town dispatcht a trumpet to his Highnes, beseeching him to grant them three dayes space, in which time they hoped to giue such answer as should content him: yet he would not hear their demand; but sent them word, that he would not grant them so much as three houres, but would haue them presently come forth into the field; where like a Conquerer he would attend them to receiue the obedience due vnto his Imperiall Maiesty, in view of all the Army. The which they performed: and the 4000 souldiers which were there in garrison, submitted themselues, and were receiued into grace.

After dinner the next day, the Duke of *Bauaria* and the Earle of *Bucquoy* entred the town with great solemnity: and coming to the Capuchins Church, they gaue God thanks for this victory and vnhoped-for conquest. The Officers, who had bin dismist from their charges, came to do

their duties with teares of ioy. They write, that after this reduction of the three Townes of *Prague*, the gates were kept shut the space of six daies, to seek for the chief Authors of FERDINANDS reiection: all that were found to be of that faction were spoiled, of what Religion soeuer. The Caluinists (who enclined most to the Elector Palatine) were entreated in the like manner, and depriued of the free exercise of their Religion: As for the Lutherans of the confession of *Ausbourg*, they were maintained. The wife and sonne of the Earle of *Thurne*, were committed to prison, with many others. After the reduction of *Prague*, many Townes of *Bohemia* came and brought their keyes to the Generals, with all sorts of submission; there onely remained *Pilsen* and *Tabor*, where Count MANDSFELDT commaunded, with great Garrisons. The Generals, hauing restored the States to their antient places, they caused them to write vnto the Count MANDSFELDT, and to his Captaines and Souldiers, which were in *Pilsen*; perswading them to yeeld vp the Towne, with other places, vnto his imperiall Maiesty, and they should receiue a certaine sum of money in hand, and the rest afterwards: Moreouer, that seeing the King was now retired out of *Bohemia*, it was in the power of the said States to discharge him; seeing they had entertained him into their seruice, and to them hee had taken his Oath. This offer did some-what stagger them; yet, considering that these were not the same States which had entertained them (for, they were of the Religion; and these, Catholicks) they thought it not fit to giue eare vnto them: Wherfore he wrote to the King, & to the prince of *Anhalt* of all these proceedings, made a Truce with the enemy, entred into treaty with him; and to that end sent IERONIMO *de la Porta, to Prague.*

The Imperialls labor to haue Pilsen yeelded.

After this famous victory obtained by the Imperialists, and the reduction of *Prague*; the Iesuites (who had retired themselues to *Vienna*) returned to their Colledge; where they washed ouer their Temple and Altar with holy-water, and sanctified it with great Ceremonies: The like was done to the Church in the Castle; where the Images, the yeere before, had been beaten downe by the Protestants. And, about the same time, the States of *Bohemia*, to shew their obsequiousnesse to the Emperour, and their inconstancy to their new elected King (whom they had lately chosen with such eagernesse) being forced, as it seemes by necessity, to submit themselues vnto the crosse; wrote a long perswasiue Letter to the States of *Moravia*, and renounced their confederation, perswading them to doe the like, and to obey his imperiall Maiesty in all things; with this commination, that if they should not giue eare to their aduice, but be the occasion of greater mischiefes, they would then prosecute them as publique Enemies: But all this preuayled little with the Moravians, at that time, who proceeded in their hostile attempts.

The States of Bohemia renounce all confederations with the Moravians.

The Baron of *Tilly* being made Gouernour of *Prague* with a Garrison of 6000 Soldiers, the Inhabitants were quite disarmed: and, winter comming-on, the Generals, seeing no enemy in field, separated their Armies by troupes; some going to refresh themselues, and others into *Moravia*. The Earle of *Bucquoy* had aduice giuen him to take some rest for the recouery of his health. And the Duke of *Bauaria* tooke his way towardes *Munich*, there to passe the Winter.

1621

The Emperours proscription against the Elector Palatine, and others.

In the moneth of Ianuary one thousand six hundred twenty one (for then they begin their computation) the Emperour sent forth a declaration of Proscription against the Elector Palatine, King of *Bohemia*, the Marquesse of *Iagerndorf*, the Prince of *Anhalt*, the Earle of *Hohenlo*, and the Authors of the Bohemian reuolt: where, after a repetition of what had past, hee concludes; that desiring to preuent the like enterprises in time to come, made against the lawes of the sacred Empire, by this Our present declaration of our imperial power, We haue disannulled and reuoked all priuiledges, grants, concessions, rights and graces, granted heretofore vnto the said States of *Bohemia*, as well by our selues, as by the deceased Emperours and Kings of *Bohemia* our predecessors; and likewise haue decreed against all those which shall be found to haue procured, counselled and fauoured the said reuolt, and drawne our subiects to warre against vs; to be proceeded against them, according to the constitutions of the Empire; declaring them fallen from all estates, honours, and prerogatiues, and vnworthy for euer of our grace and pardon. As for the Count Palatine of the *Rhine*, who hath vsurped vpon vs the Title of King of *Bohemia*, hath made himselfe head of our rebellious subiects, drawne forces from all parts, and wonne vnto him many officers and States of the Empire, whom he hath caused to enter into league to ruine our Authority, and to inuade our hereditary estates; We haue, by this our declaration, condemned the said Count Palatine, and declared him faln from all his Estates, namely, from the dignity of Elector, and other honours of the Empire which he did enioy; as also IOHN GEORGE

GEORGE the elder Marques of *Brandebourg* and *Iagerndorf*, Prince CHRISTIAN of *Anhalt*, GEORGE FREDERICK Earle of *Hohenlo*, and others which haue fauoured him in his designes, adheared vnto his faction, entred into league with him against vs, and assisted him with their Armes and persons in this enterprise. 1621.

Also there was another proscription in particular sent out against IOHN GEORGE the elder Marques of *Iagerndorf*, CHRISTIAN prince of *Anhalt*, & GEORGE FREDERICK earle of *Hohenlo* of the same Tenure: commanding all the subiects of the Empire vpon paine of the losse of life, honour, and goods, not to assist the three banished men aboue named, or to succour them secretly or openly, not to lodge them, feede them or furnish them with any secret retrait, or suffer them to escape; discharging them from all faith, homage, allyance, or intelligence which they might haue with any of them.

Great Leuies of souldiers made by the Imperialists.

The Emperour, the Elector of *Saxony*, and the Duke of *Bauaria*, made great leauies of men in their States and countries, aswell to assaile these places in *Bohemia* which would not yeeld obedience to the Emperour being vnder the commande of Count MANDSFELD, as also in *Silesia* and *Hungary*: yet they did not forbeare to talke of peace and to hould assemblies in diuers places vpon that subiect.

A conference procured by the French Ambassadors.

As for the continuation of the conference with Prince BETHLIN and the States of *Hungary*; it was so laboured by the Ambassadours of *France*, as at length it was assigned in the towne of *Hainbourg* (which the Imperialists had recouered) whither BETHLIN GABOR with the states of *Hungary* should send their Deputies to treat with the Emperors. On the 25 of Ianuary the French Embassadors with fiue Deputies from the Emperour came to *Hainbourg*; and the next day there arrived six Commissioners from *Hungary*. They write, that all the difficulty of the accord consisted on two points: first, that the Emperour would put his subiects of all nations into the forts of *Hungary*, and the States would haue none but natiues of the countrey. And, Secondlie, touching the restitution of Ecclesiasticall goods.

Marquesse SPINOLA, notwithstanding the coldnesse of the winter, took many places in the Palatinate, and drew great summes of money from the lands of the Prindes of the Vnion. They say that the Countess of *Hannau* made a composition for 18000 Ricks dollers; and that the Earles and other Noblemen of *Veteravia* paid the like summe. The Protestant Princes held an assembly at *Hailbrun*: where they consulted of the meanes to make their peace with the Emperor, and to preserue the lower Palatinate from vtter ruine: necessity forced them, for that the Protestant Townes had sent them word that they would contribute no more: neither did they come to the assembly, or send any Deputies but one from *Vlme*; seeking euery one in particular to make his peace with the Emperour: namely, those of *Nuremberg* and *Vlme*, who had sent their Deputies to *Viena* to that end. The Catholike States assembled also at *Ausbourg* in the moneth of Februarie: whither the three Ecclesiasticall Electors sent their Ambassadours, besides many Archbishops, Bishops and Prelates; but this assembly did not produce a peace nor stay the apparant ruine of *Germany*.

The Protestant Princes assemble at Heilbrun.

In the meane time, Count MANDSFELD was in *Bohemia* alone, without any support, means or money to pay his souldiers: hauing settled his affaires there aswell as he could, he retired with his horsemen into the vpper Palatinate; where he supplied his wants as hee thought good: from thence, he went to the assembly of the Princes at *Hailbrun* with a small traine and some hopes to draw succours from them: but, after some stay, he returned without any thing but bare hopes, preuailing nothing with such as seemed friends to the cause, and whom the losse of that kingdom might concerne.

Mandsfelds proceedings in Bohemia.

The enemy during the time of his absence (preuailing nothing by force) sought to supplant him by policie. IERONIMO *De la Porta*, lying in *Prague* for his maister, became a Traytor, being corrupted by their faire promises: And as formerly, in the absence of Count MANDSFELD, he had sought to vndermine the fidelity of the Captaines by secret Letters: so now hee laboured to effect it by his ambitious practices; in which designe, Colonell FRANCK (who was Gouernour of *Tabor*, and had the chiefe commmande vnder Count MANDSFELD) was much engaged; giuing free accesse vnto all men on the aduerse partie to enter into *Pilsen* with as great familiarity as could bee with friends of the same party. Hauing, after his returne from *Hailbrun* to *Amberg*, discouered these practices in *Pilsen*, he wrote vnto them to continue constant, assuring them he would finde meanes to gett them their pay and relieue their necessities. Hereupon, his Auditor, called LOMBNGER, came from *Prague*, who tould the Lord Marshall that hee must haue a larger commission to continue the treaty.

1621 Whereupon, one was drawne, and his instructions renued; adding vnto the former Articles, that the vpper Palatinate should be comprised in the said treaty. With this commission, he was sent to *Prague*, hauing charge to looke carefully to the enemies designes in regard of a speciall treaty they intended with the captaines; and that he should perswade them to continue constant in his Maiesties seruice: he held him honest, for that he had found him faithfull in other seruices: But he had supt the poyson of infidelity out of PORTA his cuppe; and they both became Traitors to their maister. By whose meanes, the Captaines compounded secretly with the enemy for the yeelding vp of *Pilsen*, as you shall heare hereafter.

The Turke in the beginning of this warre had demanded of Prince BETHLIN the guarde of the townes of *Vaccia* and *Nehusol*, vpon diuers considerations, touching the warre which was made in *Hungary*: but he (although the Turkes vassall) fearing the Basha of *Temesuar*, who long since hath had a purpose to depriue him of *Transiluania*, and foreseeing that if the Turk should hould *Valaccia* vpon the *Dannbe* and *Nehusol* which is neere the Carpatean Mountaines which deuide *Poland* from *Hungaria*, hee should finde himselfe shut vp betweene the Turke and the Polander; he had alwaies borne the Turke in hand hee should haue *Vaccia*, but neuer had any minde to effect it, because of his particular interest. But now his present weakenesse and of his confederates, after the losse of such a Battaile, made him procure the Hungarians to deliuer vp *Vaccia* into the Turkes hands for two reasons: first, to the end the Turke (who had lately gotten a victory vpon the Polonians in *Moldauia*) should not attempt any thing in *Transiluania* and *Hungary* whil'st that he was busied against the Imperialists: Secondly, to draw succours from the Turke if fortune should still fauour the Imperialls, and that they should enter into *Hungary*. For these considerations *Vaccia* was deliuered vnto the Turk at his instance.

The State of *Hungary* was full of combustions in the end of the yeare 1620; many great personages desired to be reconciled to the Emperor, their lawfull king: but the greater number being Protestants (as BVDIANY and the Earle of *Serin*) who held themselues irreconciliable to the house of *Austria*, desired rather to call-in the Turk and be vnder his protection, then to vnite themselues with the Christians. Meane while, the Emp. by his declaration disannulled the Election of Prince BETHLIN to the crowne of *Hungary*, as vniust, violent, seditious, and contrarie to the lawes and customes of the Realme, and therefore without force and effect; making voide also whatsoeuer had beene concluded in the assemblies of *Presbourg* and *Nehusol* to the preiudice of his royall rights, the State of the Clergy, and the antient lawes and liberty of the crowne of *Hungary*: and withal he did reuoke the Title which he had giuen him of Prince of *Hungary*.

The Emperors declaration against Prince Bethlin Gabor

When the Emperour published this edict, BETHLIN GABOR came to *Presbourg*: from whence he sent many troupes to the frontieres of *Hungary*, *Morauia*, and *Austria* to ioyne with the Baron of *Landau* a Morauian Protestant, who committed great spoiles vpon the Catholikes. Many of the greatest of *Bohemia* which had escaped from the battaile of *Prague*, and fled into *Morauia*, ioyned with him, amongst others the Earle of *Thurne*, to make head against the Imperialls which pursued them after their victory. On the other side of the *Dannow*, Prince BETHLIN hauing repaired the bridge of boates at *Presbourg* (which TAMPIERRE had broken) he with his partisans, sent diuers troupes to spoile and burne the Countrey, euen vnto the gates of *Vienna*. But the Baron of *Prener* who had succeeded *Tampierre* made head against them, slew many of their men, and forced them to retire. In the meane time BETHLIN carried the crowne of *Hungary* and the Royall Ornaments from *Presbourg* to *Tirnau*, and from thence to *Altenfol* vpon the riuer of *Gran* neere to *Nehusol*, in the vpper *Hungary*; whereof men haue written diuersly: but most men were of opinion that he desired to keepe it in his possession, seeing that he had beene chosen king of *Hungary*; a dignity which he would preserue vntill death: and that his often sending to *Vienna* for a conference at *Hainbourg* (at the instance of the French Ambassadours) was not with any intent he had to make any accord with the Emperour, but by this delay to fortifie himselfe with his partizans and the Turke, and to draw downe the Tartarians; and also to attend the resolution which should be taken by the Elector Palatine and the Princes and States of *Silesia* and *Morania* in their assembly; to whom he had sent a confident messenger to exhorte them to continue in their confederation and to make head against the Imperialls, promising them al the assistance that both he and his friends could make. Let vs see then what the Prince and States of *Silesia* did resolue vpon in their assembly, being requested on the one side by the Elector Palatine and BETHLIN GABOR to continue their league: and on the other by the elector of *Saxony* to vnite themselues vnder the obedience of his imperial Maiesty.

Bethlin Gabor carrieth the crowne of Hungary from Presbourg.

We

We haue formerly made mention of the siege and taking of *Bautsen*, by the Elector of *Saxony*; who, being entred the Towne, assigned a day for the renuing of the oath of Allegeance, the which was performed with great ceremonies: The Senate and Burgesses, entring, made their submission vpon their knees; then deliuering the keyes of the Towne and Castle into the Electors hands, being Deputie for the Emperour, as Marqueste of *Lusatia*, they were admitted to take the Oath: which done, the Elector told them that he had receiued their Oath in his Maiesties name; who would protect them in the liberty of their Religion; and maintaine their priuiledges; and as for himselfe, he would be alwaies careful of their protection.

1621 *The Inhabitants of Bautsen, Inhabit themselues to the Elector of Saxony.*

The Elector, camping at *Bautsen*, the Marqueste of *Ingerndorfe* lay with his forces at *Gorlitz* in *Silesia*, being but halfe a daies iourney off, yet they were diuided by the Riuer of *Neis*, betwixt whom there were daily skirmishes; but the Electors Army was greater, and he had more Cannon; yet *Ingerndorfe* made head against him, and stopt his entry into *Silesia*: for, the Inhabitants of *Gorlitz* hauing refused to receiue a Garrison from the Marqueste of *Ingerndorf*, they also made answere to the Electors Letters (who perswaded them to receiue him into their Towne) that they would not suffer any one to enter to ouer-master them, being sufficiently warned by the losse of *Bautsen*: But after the losse of the Battaile of *Prague*, the Palatines party, in *Silesia*, began to decline much, and the Elector took diuers Towns. After the taking of *Guben* in view of the Marqueste; winter growing on, and being more annoyed with cold and snow then with any Enemy, he returned with his Army to *Bautsen*: from whence he wrote to the Princes and States of *Silesia*, assembled at *Preslaue*, to resolue what answere they should giue to the Elector Palatine; and to diuers deputies, who exhorted them to continue their League: He laid before them the miseries and calamities which had befallen *Bohemia* and the incorporated Prouinces, by reason of the ciuill wars; and what paines he had taken, from the beginning, to quench that fier, both with the Emperor MATHIAS (beseeching him to preferre his clemency, before the rigor of Iustice) and with the States of *Bohemia*; putting them in minde of the obedience they ought vnto their King: labouring also with the other Princes Electors, to procure a conference, thereby to pacifie these troubles by arbitrement, and reconcile the soueraigne Prince to his subiects; which tooke no effect: The Bohemians reiecting all meanes to treate of Peace, and disauowing the Emperour FERDINAND their lawfull King, made choyce of another: whereupon the Emperour had sent him a commission to reduce them to obedience by Armes, whereof he sent them a copie, exhorting them to consider; First, how long their Countrey had been afflicted with ciuill warres; Secondly, what bad succesSe the Bohemians had had in their Arms during these Troubles; Thirdly, that God had witnest by the memorable victory at *Prague*, that hee is the protector of lawfull Princes; And fourthly, that they would, with one consent, take wise counsells to preserue their deere Countrey from the ruines which threatned it; the which they might now doe by obeying his Maiesties commission, accepting his pardon, and acknowledging him Duke of *Silesia*, he which they had done before these miserable troubles, hauing taken the oath Allegeance vnto him, as their true and lawfull Prince.

Substance of the Electors Letters to the States of Silesia.

He protested that he had no other desire but to see them in their former Estate; freed from the continuance of so many ruines, and to enioy their priuiledges by the free exercise of Religion, the which his Maiesty had confirmed vnto them at his comming vnto the soueraignty of *Silesia*: But if they continued obstinate in their leagues and former resolutions, he could not but lament the miseries which would follow; being resolute to continue constant and faithfull to his Imperiall Maiesty, and to doe his best endeuour to maintaine the obedience due to the lawfull Magistrate, and that nothing should bee attempted to the preiudice of the Empire.

These Letters of the Elector of *Saxony*, and the copy of his Commission being read in the Assembly of the Princes and States of *Silesia*, those of the imperiall Party were of aduice, that, considering the state of affaires, it was expedient to send an Ambassadour vnto the Elector of *Saxony*, to treate of their agreement: The others were of opinion that it was not fit to make too much haste; but, contrari-wise, to make new leuies of Souldiers in the name of the States, to make it appeare, in case they should enter into treaty with the Elector of *Sax.* that it was neyther for feare nor weakenesse: And to send word vnto all the Townes of *Silesia* and the higher *Lusatia*, to haue great care, and in no wise to disunite themselues; because that in all treaties and accords, the preseruation of priuiledges promised in generall, is better maintained then by particular yeeldings. This later aduice was followed: So as the Elector of *Sax.* hauing summoned

1621 moned *Gorlitz* and *Sittau* to yeeld obedience vnto the Emperour, leſt they ſhould fall into the misfortune of thoſe of *Bautſen*: he was anſwered, that the States of *Sileſia* and the Deputies of the higher *Luſatia* were at *Preſlau* to reſolue touching the Letters which he had ſent them, beſeeching him in the meane time not to attempt any thing againſt their townes.

At the ſame time, Count BVCQVOY, Generall of the Imperiall Army, marching out of *Bohemia*, by the frontiers of *Morauia* and the Lower *Auſtria*, beſieged and took *Iglaw* and *Trebnitz*, frontier townes of *Morauia*. He forced *Znaim* with many other places to yeeld obedience to the Emperor: the which did ſo amaze the garriſons and ſouldiers which the Baron of *Landan* held in many places in the lower *Auſtria*, that they abandoned them to retire themſelues into *Hungary*; whither the ſaid Baron himſelfe in the end was forced to fly.

The States of *Morauia* aſſembled at *Brin* (who after the loſſe of the battaile of *Prague* could not reſolue to ſend vnto the Emperour to make their peace, for that the Earle of *Thurn* newly returned out of *Hungary* ſtayed them with promiſes of a mighty Army which Prince BETHLIN ſhould bring to ſuccour all the confederates) ſeeing the Imperiall Army vpon the frontiers; they ſent the Earle of *Sherotin* with diuers others to *Viena*, to let his Maieſty vnderſtand, That they had long time delayed to enter into league with the Bohemians and Hungarians: which they had not done, if they had not been forced by the Earle of *Thurn*, who was called in by ſome few which were Authors of the rebellion. 2. That they humbly beſought him to impart his clemencie to all his faithfull ſubiects, the States and inhabitants of *Morauia*. 3. To maintaine them in their priuiledges and the liberty of religion: And fourthly, to receiue with the like clemency and grace all the Captaines and ſouldiers which had been entertained by the ſaid States; who altogether proteſted to be euer obedient to his Imperiall Maieſty, and to ſpend the laſt drop of their bloud in his ſeruice. To whom the Emperour made anſwere, That forgetting what was paſt he receiued them as his other ſubiects into his protection, and would maintaine them in all their priuiledges and the liberty of religion: but, ſeeing there were ſome few which were the Authors of the rebellion, That the Commiſſarie, whom he ſhould depute to be his Lieutenant in *Morauia*, ſhould cauſe information to be made againſt them; after which the States ſhould vnderſtand his pleaſure. The Deputies being returned, the Inhabitants of *Brin* and *Oldnitz* (the two chiefe townes of *Morauia*) tooke a new oath of fealty to the Emperour; and ſo did the ſouldiers whom they had entertained: who, being muſtered and receiuing pay in the Emperours name, went and ioyned themſelues with Count BVCQVOY, who beſieged *Zradiſch*; which he took and thereby ſtopped the paſſage betweene *Hungaria* and *Morauia*: ſo as BETHLIN GABOR could not ſend the ſuccours which he had promiſed to the Elector Palatine; who was much afflicted for the newes of this reunion, as you may iudge by the following Letter written to the Earle of *Thurne* which was intercepted.

The States of Morauia yeelde obedience to the Emperour.

I haue receiued Letters from *Morauia* with great griefe: the ſouldiers being in mutiny for want of pay: the States haue ſent to the Emperour to make their accord; but God be thanked the affaires in *Sileſia* are in better tearms. The Princes are reſolute & haue decreed to leuie new forces; blaming the Morauians for their perfidiouſneſſe. And for my parte, I doubt not but in ſhort time they will receiue the due reward of their raſhnes. I did not conſtraine the Bohemians and Morauians to chuſe mee for their King. I could haue liued content in mine owne Countrey: yet for all the paines and trauaile I haue taken; theſe for whom I haue ventred my life and goods, and the liues and goods of my friends and ſubiects, leaue mee, and euen now treate about yeelding themſelues vnto another. What right they haue to do this, I will leaue to the iudgement of the whole world. I may truly ſay, that neither couetouſneſs nor ambition cauſed me to come into *Bohemia*: and I hope, God will ſo guide me by his grace, as the ſuffering of ſo many calamities ſhall neuer make mee doe any thing againſt my conſcience or honour.

The fame of the happie ſucceſſe of the Imperiall Armies in *Bohemia*, *Morauia* and *Luſatia*, cauſed the Sileſians (which bare affection to the houſe of *Auſtria*) to take hart vnto them and ſpeak boldly in *Preſlau*. The princes & States of *Sileſia* being aduertiſed that the imperial armie was vpon their frontiers, they held it neceſſarie for them to preuent the ruine of their countrie, and to enter into treaty with the Elector of *Saxony*; vnto whom his Imperiall Maieſty had giuen ſuch commiſſion as is before ſaid: whereupon they concluded, to ſend vnto the King of *Bohemia* this reſolution following.

The reſolution of the States of Sileſia.

After that your Royall Maieſty (our moſt gracious Lord) had had many conſultations with vs your faithfull Nobles & States of *Sileſia* touching the eſtate of our preſent affaires, and the enemies proceedings to cut off the aſſiſtance which the Sileſians might expect from *Morauia* and

and other their confederats; and hauing cauſe hereafter to feare the comming of ſo powerfull an Army into our Countrey, vnprouided of ſouldiers to make any reſiſtance: It hath ſeemed 1621
expedient (wee ſhould aduertiſe you that it is needefull for vs to treate with the Elector of *Saxony* his Imperial Maieſties Commiſſarie: which we cannot doe vnleſſe you giue way vnto the neceſſity of the time; retyring your ſelfe, for your better ſecurity, into ſome ſuch place as you ſhall thinke fitteſt. We hope, your royall Maieſty will not take in ill part this aduice which the Princes and States of *Sileſia* do giue you, and who proteſt to continue conſtant and loyall ſubiects vnto you; but rather attribute it to the ineuitable neceſſity of the time. Meane while, your Maieſty may take order how to be relieued with ſuccors from your owne Subiects and friends. And whereas your Maieſty hath deſired, that if we treate with the Elector of *Saxony*, you might be alſo comprehended; you may beleeue that your faithfull Nobles and States will let your Maieſty vnderſtand all which ſhall paſſe in that treaty. We alſo beſeech you to think of the confederation made with the Hungarians, and not to ſee vs plunged into the like miſerie as the Morauians which haue been threatned by the Turks and Tartars: As for the 3 moneths pay which your Maieſty deſires, as well for the muſtering of 1000 horſe of his troups, as for his foot-men, it ſhall be reſolued on in our firſt Aſſembly, and your Maieſty acquainted with our reſolution; the Princes and States deſiring nothing ſo much, as to continue faithfull vnto you, and conſtant in their obedience.

On the morrow, the King ſent them his anſwere in writing; That he had receiued their reſolution by their Deputies, and perceiued thereby their good intention, and the affection they bare vnto him; praying them to beleeue that his was no leſſe: That hauing obſerued the daily falling away of the Morauians, and that the Prouinces incorporated vnto *Bohemia*, in that turbulent eſtate whereunto things were brought, could not for the preſent reſiſt the Emperours power, it was neceſſary he ſhould withdraw himſelfe into ſome place of ſafety, not farre from them; where he might obſerue what was done, and prouide ſufficient forces to defend them, giuing way vnto the Embaſſie they ſhould ſend to the Elector of *Saxony*. *The Elector Palatines anſwere to the States.*

Before the king of *Bohemia* made his retreit out of *Sileſia*, he ſent the Earle of *Hohenlo* to the Elector of *Saxony*, to propound a Truce vnto him for the obtaining of a Peace; with Letters to this effect:

I doubt not but you haue ſeene the declarations of the cauſes, for the which I haue accepted the Crowne of *Bohemia*: I haue not done it by force nor practice; but fearing the Realme ſhould fall into the hand of ſtrangers, and the Empire receiue prejudice. I cannot beleeue but God called me to the gouernement thereof, to the end they ſhould not be deprined of the free exerciſe of Religion, and their priuiledges; but I haue accepted it chiefly for two reaſons: Firſt, that it might not be hereditary; and, to the great preiudice of the Electors, fall into the hands of the houſe of *Spaine*: And Secondly, that the election of the king of Romanes, to be Emperour, might, by moſt voices, be in the power of the Proteſtants; whereby they ſhould no more feare to be vnder the yoake of the Romane Catholiques. I was confident that all the Electors and Proteſtant Princes would allowe of my intention, and finde meanes to ſatisfie the aduerſe parties; and that I ſhould be maintained in the poſſeſſion of the ſame Realme, by ſome good accord. I haue neuer refuſed to enter into treaty; but ſeeing my ſelfe fruſtrate of my deſire, I haue been forced to take Armes to defend my ſelfe againſt the forces of *Spaine*, and the Catholique league: But being ſtill deſirous of Peace, I haue thought good to ſend the Earle of *Hohenlo* vnto you, to treate of the meanes whereby the Empire might be in quiet, his hereditary Countries (which the Spaniards had inuaded) reſtored, all grieuances taken away, free exerciſe of Religion maintained, with the free election of the Realme of *Bohemia* with the incorporated Prouinces; and to prouide for the defence of *Hungary* and *Poland*; to the end the Empire might not thereby receiue any danger. To attain vnto the which, I haue giuen charge vnto the Earle of *Hohenlo* to propound a generall Truce vnto you for a moneth or two, throughout the whole Empire, the Realme of *Bohemia*, and the incorporated Prouinces; During the which time, there might bee ſome courſe taken to treate of a generall Peace. *His Letter to the D. of Saxony*

The Elector of *Saxony* made anſwere; That he would not diſpute of the cauſes which had made him to accept the Crowne of *Bohemia*; but he would tell him freely that he had neuer approued of the proceedings of the Bohemians, and had written vnto him to diſſwade him from it, fore-ſeeing that in this action ſome Princes would ſtand Newters, and others would follow the Emperour; That the Bohemians could not in Conſcience proceede to a new Election; *The anſwere.*

their

1621 their king whom they had crowned and anointed being aliue: that hee had alwaies desired he should not haue engaged himselfe in the Bohemian affaires, nor trouble the Emperour in the Countries which he enioyed: and that he should haue giuen credit to his counsell and to the aduice of many Princes who had alwaies desired his happinesse; but seeing he could not be diuerted from the acceptance of the crowne of *Bohemia*, he had left it to the will of God and time, doing his best endeauour to comfort the Emperour in his afflictions, vntill the memorable victory of *Prague*; whereby it appeared that God would protect the lawfull Magistrate. That he could not denie but the Empire was in great danger, and that this war of *Bohemia* might open a gate to lett in the Turke to become maister of the frontier townes in *Hungary*. That hee was the cause of all these miseries; the which might haue been avoided if hee had giuen way to his exhortation, and reiected that great desire to raigne: That to preuent all these dangers and ruines, hemust take a good and free resolution to renounce the realme of *Bohemia* and the incorporated prouinces, to submit himselfe to the Emperour and to craue pardon: but if he did not take this course, it was to be feared he would draw himself and all his friends into great extremities; the Emperour being resolued to pursue his victory.

The King of *Bohemia* finding no meanes to moouе the Elector of *Saxony* to procure a truce, and finding that the Princes of *Silesia* had deputed the Duke of *Munsterberg* and fiue other men of quality, to the Elector of *Saxony*; he resolued to retire himselfe into *Brandebourg*, a prouince ioyning vnto *Silesia*; the which he did. It is written, that the Princes & States of *Silesia* before his departure sent the Duke of *Oschatz* vnto him with a present of 80000 florens, and are much commended for the good offices they did him in his aduersity.

Propositions made by the Deputies of Silesia to the Elector of Saxony.

The Deputies which were sent from the States of *Silesia* to the Elector of *Saxony* deliuered Articles vnto him. 1. That they craued pardon of his Imperiall Maiesty, and besought him to impart his grace and clemencie vnto them. 2. That they would alwaies acknowledge his Imperiall Maiesty, for their lawfull Soueraigne, and King. 3. That they would confirme it by a new oath. 4. That they would defend the Romane Catholikes and their rights. 5. That they would contribute 100000 duckets to pay the souldiers leuied for the guarde of *Silesia*, and renounce their new confederation.

Hereunto, the Elector made answere: 1. That by vertue of the Emperors commission, hee would take the Princes and States of *Silesia* into his protection. 2. That he would be a suter for their pardon and solicite the confirmation of their priuiledges. And, 3. If the Silesians did discharge their troupes, his Imperiall Maiesty would reuoke his. As for himselfe he promised them, That, if after the oath of allegeance taken and their due obedience performed to his Imperiall Maiesty, they were in any sort molested in the free exercise of their religion according to the confession of *Ausbourg*, he would then assist them with all ayde and support. After 5 weekes treaty at *Dresda* in *Misnia* (where the Elector keepes his court) and often sending to the Emperor, who by no meanes would haue the Elector Palatine, the Marques of *Iagerndorf*, the Prince of *Anhalt*, nor the Earle of *Hohenlo* comprehended; In the end, the Articles of peace and reunion for the prouince of *Silesia* were concluded the eighth of February.

Articles of the Silesians reunion to the Emperor.

1. The Princes and States of the vpper and lower *Silesia* should be pardoned for what was past during the troubles, and no man questioned or punished. 2. They should loue and honor the Emperour FERDINAND their King anointed and crowned and soueraigne Duke of *Silesia*, and should take a new oath of allegeance vnto him. 3. That they should within one yeare pay 300000 florens at three seuerall termes for the entertainment of the Emperours troupes. 4. That they should renounce the oath which they had taken to the Elector Palatine, and should haue no farther intelligence with him. They should deliuer into the Electors hands the league made with *Bohemia*, *Moravia*, *Transiluania*, *Hungary*, and others, the which should be cancelled. 5. They should discharge their souldiers, and reteine but 1000 horse and 3000 foote for their defence vntil the troubles were ended; the which vpon no occasion should be employed against his Imperiall Maiesty or the Elector. 6. That the Elector should recall away his troupes which he had then in the principality of *Sagen*. 7. That his highnes would intercede to his Imperiall Maiesty, That all graunts made vnto the Silesians with their liberties and priuiledges should stand in force; All greeuances repaired; The commerce allowed with the Moraians and Bohemians; All goods restored to the true owners; And the Catholikes maintained in their churches, monasteries and possessions. 8. If happely the Protestants should receiue any opposition in the liberty of their religion, then his highnes promised to vndertake their protection & defence. 9. If CHRISTIAN, Duke of *Lignitz* as Generall of *Silesia* according to his promise would hee

be comprehended in that Treaty of peace, he might do it within six weeks, else it was in his maiesties power to dispose. 10. That IOHN GEORGE of *Brandenbourg*, Marquesse of *Iagerndorf*, and CHRISTIAN Prince of *Anhalt*, who had been formerly proscribed by the Emperor, should not be comprehended in that Treaty; the which was signed by the Elector of *Saxony* and the Duke of *Munsterberg* with great ceremonies. 1621

Let vs now look vpon the estate of *Bohemia*. The Towns of *Pilsen* and *Tabor* would not be reduced vnder the Emperors obedience: they depended vpon the will of the Gouernours who were become Masters. Count MANSFELD was in *Pilsen*, as you haue heard; and Colonell FRANCK in *Tabor*: whom MANSFELD had placed there as his Lieutenant, making incursions into the Country, and committing great spoils, seising on *Tochau*, *Falquenau* and *Elenbogen*: which he fortified with garrisons. After this (as I haue formerly related) he went to *Heilbrun*; where he propounded to the protestant Princes, that, if he might haue men & mony, he would reuiue the Elector Palatine's party in *Bohemia*, and prepare work for the enemy for fiue yeers: that his Imperiall Maiesty had offred him a great summe of mony to leaue *Bohemia*, and yeeld vp what he held there; but he had refused it, and would continue constant to death, and maintaine the faith he had giuen the Elector. They write, that he found their intentions in this Assembly contrary to his; they aiming onely at the means how to reconcile themselues to the Emperor, and preserue their estates.

The King of *Bohemia*, hearing what MANSFELD had done in *Bohemia* in his absence, wrote to him in February after this manner: I haue receiued much contentment to hear of the military exploits you haue performd since my departure from *Bohemia*, of your perseuerance in the oath of fidelity you haue taken, and of so many Towns and Castles you haue made subiect to my obedience. I will assure you, that I will neuer yeeld vp my Realm of *Bohemia* which I haue gotten by so lawfull an election; but will imploy all my means, and that of my friends, to recouer that by Arms which they haue wrested from me by force: for the effecting whereof, I will speedily send you both men and money. I hope, with the help of God, and the powerfull succours of some Princes my friends, to do that shortly which shall be pleasing to God, terrible to my enemies, to the good of religion, and memorable to the whole world. You shall finde me a Prince who will acknowledge your seruices with honourable fauours. *The King of Bohemias Letter to G. Mansfeld.*

TILLY being left in *Prague* with 6000 men to preserue the Town and Country, the souldiers grew so insolent in their prosperity, that the Captains could hardly keep them in obedience: to preuent the which, and to restrain the incursions of MANSFELD'S troops vpon the riuer of *Egra*, the Baron of *Tilly* sent forth part of his Troops to take some small Forts where the Mansfeldians were lodged: but being not able to recouer *Falkenaw* and *Elenbogen*, they were put in garrison in the neighbour Towns, to stop their courses.

The Emperor, hauing sent out his Letters of proscription against the Elector Palatine and the rest as you haue heard, appointed commissioners to proceed criminally against the Authors of the troubles of *Bohemia*, according to the rigor of the lawes and constitutions of the Empire. Some of them were fled into *Hungary*; and others were retired with the Elector Palatine: som were dead, and many had been apprehended at the taking of *Prague*, and committed vnto prison. *Commissioners appointed to proceed against the authors of the troubles of Bohemia.*

Ther were twelue Commissioners appointed to make their Processe; who, coming to *Prague* in February, did personally adiourn all that had absented themselues after the victory of *Prague*, and had not taken the oath of allegeance to his Imperial Maiesty, that within six months they should return & submit themselues to the iudgement should be giuen against them in regard of their rebellion; with this clause, that appearing or not, they would proceed to iudgement: and the heirs of those that were dead were summoned to appear to hear the prisoners examination, and the information against their parents deceased: you shall hear their execution in Iune next.

The first of February, the Emperor sent forth foure executoriall Letters of Proscription against the Elector Palatine, the Marquesse of *Iagerndorf*, the Prince of *Anhalt*, and the Earle of *Hohenlo*. The first against the Elector, for the lower Palatinate, was directed to the Arch-duke ALBERT of *Austria*, Prince of *Flanders*: the second for the vpper Palatinate, to the Duke of *Bauaria*; that against the Marquesse of *Iagerndorf* and the Prince of *Anhalt*, to the Elector of *Saxony*; and the fourth against the Earle of *Hohenlo*, to the Bishoppes of *Bamberg* and *Virsberg*; all foure Commissions beeing of one tenor, onely the names changed: whereby hee commanded them to execute his Letters of Proscription against the before-named FREDERICK (who, as he said, tearmed himself Count Palatine) his adherents and fauourers, and to do what- *Executoriall Letters against the Elector Palatine & others.*

soeuer they should think fit for the settling of a publique peace in the Roman Empire, and the
1621 preseruing of his Imperiall authority. Wherefore, he enioined all men to hold the said FREDERICK for a condemned person; not to suffer him in their Territories and Countries; not to giue him any succour or counsell vpon any pretext whatsoeuer; not to relieue or conuerse with him, nor to suffer their subiects to do it either publickly or secretly; but to assist his Commissary in the execution of his Commission.

The King of Bohemias Letter to the vnited princes.

After the losse of that infortunate battell of *Prague*, the Elector Palatine had written to all his allies and confederates, imputing *the cause of that losse to the want of men and money which* had been promised, and that he could neuer perswade the Protestants to ioin their forces to his, and make them equall to the Catholiques. In his Letter to the Princes of the Vnion, he prayed God not to suffer them to be daunted nor deiected, and to giue them grace to take good resolutions; that the vnited Princes had now more cause to resolue to warre and to ioin all their forces together, like to the Catholique Romane league, and to attempt with all their power to chase SPINOLA out of the Empire and the lower Palatinate, a Country which was hereditary vnto himself and his brother LEWYS PHILIP; that the Treaty of *Vlmes*, although it *was made* in fauour of the Catholique league, could not preiudice them, but rather open a way for the good of all Protestants and the preseruation of religion and liberty; that hee doubted not but the Spaniards, seeing *Bohemia* and *the incorporated Prouinces* subiugated, would draw their victorious Armies into the Empire, hould Diets by force, prescribe lawes to the Protestants, and constrain them to restore the reuenues which had belonged to the Roman Clergie, and bring vnder their yoke all the Countries of the protestant Electors: wherefore they should resolue to follow the example of the Elector MAVRICE, and prepare themselues to warre, to shake off this yoke rather than to *admit it; reason it selfe perswading them to continue their* Vnion: the Imperiall Cities should also remember what hath been done by the enemy in *Bohemia* and *Austria*; and beleeue, that if their Vnion did not subsist, they should not onely bee *depriued of their wealth*, but also forced to entertain and feed souldiers, endure cittadels, and be reduced into seruitude ten times more than during the Vnion; that if the Bohemians would haue imploied towards the charges of the war but the tenth part of that which they haue since lost, they had easily preuented the miseries which haue fallen on them: wherefore he entreated them to consider of all these things, to haue his cause and that of the reformed protestants in recommendation, and to defend his hereditary Countries: the which they should do speedily, that they might transfer the war into their countries who had been the causes of so many miseries.

The King of great Britannie perswades the Princes to continue their vnio.

Some Authors also write, that our King's Maiesty sent to the Princes of the Vnion to giue them to vnderstand, that this losse should not cause their disunion, but rather make them resolue seriously to the *continuation thereof: for his part he would neuer fail to assist them with men* and money; whereto he was bound for the preseruation of the Palatinate, which was the patrimony of his grand-children.

About the end of September 1620, LEWYS of *Hesse*, Lantzgraue of *Darmstat*, had written to the Princes of the Vnion to perswade them to consider of the means whereby peace might be settled in the Empire, and they reconciled to his Imperiall Maiesty. To whom they made this answer; that The Princes of the Vnion had neuer opposed themselues to the Emperor, but had alwaies honoured him; that they had faithfully obserued the Treaty of *Vlme*, and had not participated any thing with the troubles of *Bohemia*: and yet SPINOLA had not forborne to inuade many places belonging to the Princes and States vnited, who neuer had any thing common with the Bohemians; where the Spaniard had vsed great exactions, which had forc't them to take Arms: that the Lantzgraue should presse his Imperial Maiesty, to the end that SPINOLA with his forces might leaue the Territories of the Empire, whereby euery man might return to his owne house, which would be the onely means to settle a peace.

The Elector of Mentz, and the Lantzgraue of Darmstat made Commissioners to the Emperor. The Emperors Letters to the Imperial towns.

The Emperor, knowing that the vnion of the Princes and States which had begun in the yeer 1610, *was to end in May following*, wrote to the Imperiall Towns and Cities of this Vnion, admonishing them to leaue it, and not continue it. He sent these Letters to the Elector of *Mentz*, and to LEWYS Lantzgraue of *Hesse* of *Darmstat*, to see them conuaied, and to require an answer; making them his Commissioners to treat with all the Princes and States that should reunite themselues with his Imperiall Maiesty. His Letters to the Imperial cities contain'd, that he doubted not but they were well informed why LEWYS had perswaded the Princes of the Vnion to submit themselues, and to giue eare to some accord, for the settling of a Peace in their Coun-

Countrey; That hitherto God had giuen him many victories, and might by the same fauour hope for greater, being assisted by his kinsfolks and friends; yet, for the loue and fatherly affe- 1621
ction he bare to *Germany* their common Countrey, he was more enclined to Peace then Warre; so as they would giue way to his admonitions; That the commendable designe of the Lantzgraue, to procure some accomodation, had been very pleasing vnto him: Wherefore he exhorted them to forbeare to entertaine the Warre which was made in the Palatinate, vnder the name of the Princes of the Vnion; and withall, aduised them not to recontinue their Vnion, which as he vnderstood was to end in May following; hoping that they would giue no more aide nor counsell for the continuance of such cruel war. And therfore he offered them pardon for all that had been done against him or his predecessors; promising to receiue them all into his grace and fauor, and not to suffer any one to be cald in question directly or indirectly, or receiue any losse from himselfe, his cosen the king of *Spain*, or from any other Prince of the house of *Austria*: but contrariwise he would giue order that they should not be molested by garrisons or his Armies; but would defend and protect them in all *necessary occasions*. Moreouer, that he would confirm all their priuiledges and immunities made for the Peace of Religion, and the State; *hauing giuen full power to his* commissioners to treate with them, and to giue them all necessary assurances.

Their answere.

These Letters being sent to *Nuremberg* and other Imperiall townes by the said Commissioners which had accompanied them, with their owne; They of *Nuremberg* made answere, that during the present troubles in the Empire they could not haue receiued any thing more pleasing then his Maiesties Letter, seeing that the things promised in them, should be confirmed by such worthy Princes. That they had also vnderstood that many townes had receiued the like Letters and sent their Deputies vnto them; That for their parts they would acquaint the towns of *Franconia* their associates with his Maiesties intention, and speedily send their answere; desiring nothing more, then to continue obedient and faithfull to the Empire.

Westhof and Osthof taken by Spinola, & after burnt by the Princes.

SPINOLA, *notwithstanding* the sharpenes of the winter, had sent the Generall of his horse into the Palatinate, on the other side of the *Rhine*; where he had taken some places, and forced many Noblemen, Protestants, along the riuer of *Mein*, to compound and giue him great sums of money, to auoide their apparant ruine. The Marques of *Olnesbac*, or *Anspach*, Generall for the Princes of the Vnion (who wintred with his troups at *Wormes* and thereabouts) being gone to their Assembly at *Heilbrun*, and hauing put 300 horse & foot in garrison, into *Westhof*: SPINOLA resolued to take this lodging from him; for the effecting whereof, on the 15 of March, hauing drawn together 2000 horse, with 4000 foot; he marched in one night with 6 cannons to *Westhof*, the *which he took in 8 houres*: The souldiers were sent out disarmed with white wands: the Captains and officers were put to ransome: the Inhabitants paid 16000 Florens; and they of *Osthof* 10000. Then he returned to *Crutzenac*, carrying with him 6 of the Burgers of *Westhof*, who were also put to ransome. This prize being reported to the Marquesse of *Ansbach*, he returned speedily to *Wormes*, from whence he sent the Earle of *Solms* with certain troups to *Osthof* and *Westhof*; but, hearing that SPINOLA was to returne and fortifie himself there, they burnt these 2 towns; to the great grief and lamentation of the poore inhabitants. About this time, there was an Assembly of the Protestants at *Segenberg*, in *Holsatia*; where the king of *Denmarke*, and the Elector Palatine were in person; others sent their Ambassadors, as the king of *Swethland*, the Elector of *Brandenbourg*, from the Princes of the Vnion, and the States of the vnited Prouinces; from the Dukes of *Brunswick*, *Holsatia*, *Lunebourg*, *Mecklebourg* and *Pomerania*, with other Earls & States of the Circle of the lower *Saxony*, which began and ended in March: They haue written diuersly of their conclusion in this Assembly. Some hold that it was resolued to assist the Elector Palatine with 2000 foot, and 6000 horse, to chase SPINOLA out of the Palatinate; but it took no effect. Others haue written, and with more apparance of truth, that the king of *Denmarke* vndertook to send an Ambassador to *Vienna*, to beseech his Imperial Maiesty to reuoke the Proscription thundred out against the Elector Palatine, and to restore him to all his Estates and dignities; which would be the meanes to attaine vnto a firme Peace throughout the whole Empire. (This Ambassi was sent to *Vienna*, and wee shall heare what answere the Emperour made) And secondly, that the said King should write to SPINOLA to exhort him to retire out of the Palatinat, and the Territories of the Empire, the which he did as followeth.

An Assembly of Protestants in Holsatia.

Letters of the K. of Denmarke to Spinola.

I haue vnderstood with much griefe and affliction of minde, by Letters from many Princes of the Empire, my Cozins, Allies and Friends, that you are entred, with an Army, into the heart of the Empire, and the midst of high *Germany*; whereas you haue taken many towns, ca-

1621 ſtles and forts in the Palatinate by force, and continue the like violence againſt the countries & territories of many other Princes, Earls, States and Towns of the Empire; yea, againſt thoſe which belong to Widows and Orphans, who haue no waies offended the Emperor; exacting grieuous contributions: which hath made the neighbor Princes grow jealous, leſt you ſhould vſe the like violence againſt them, their countries, and territories, as they haue bin threatned by you, if they would not diſcharge the garriſons they entertained for the ſafety of their places & countries, if they did not renounce their vnions and leagues (which haue bin alwais allowd by Diuine and humane laws, and eſpecially by the golden Bull of CHARLS the 4) and did not giue free paſſage to your Army, both by water & land, and through your towns, caſtles, forts & paſſages, according to your will and pleaſure. Theſe proceedings are not only repugnant to the imperial conſtitutions, the liberty of *Germany*, and the publique Peace; but alſo to the Letters-patents which his imperial Maieſty hath cauſed to be publiſhed for the publique ſafety: wherfore it was not to be ſuffered, that the States of the Empire, our coſins, and kinſ-folke, hauing done wrong to no man, ſhould be abandoned for want of defence, vnder the yoake of an vniuſt oppreſſion: And therfore we entreate you louingly, that we may haue no cauſe to vndertake their iuſt defence to free them from the violence which they ſuffer; but that you would deſiſt from all theſe inuaſions, and abandon that which hath been taken by force from the States of the Empire, and reſtore it to their Princes & Lords: which done, poſterity will commend you to haue bin a wiſe and prudent Prince, and all the Princes of the Empire, and my ſelf will thanke you.

As for the Aſſembly of the Catholique Princes and States held at *Ansbourg*, and that of the Princes of the Vnion at *Heilbrun*, and their concluſions; may be ſeen in this Letter following, written by one of the aſſembly of *Ansbourg*.

I am returned from the Diet at *Ansbourg* the 19 of March, where the Princes and Catholique States of the Empire haue been aſſembled the ſpace of 7 weekes: We haue reſolued a continuance of contribution for a defenſiue warre, ſo long as the troubles ſhall continue; for the which there ſhall be an aduance of 10 moneths, for the entertainment of 12000 foot, and 3000 horſe, vnder the Duke of *Bauaria* their Generall. I can aſſure you that the ſaid Princes and Catholique States are ſo well reſolued as they were neuer; and that if they had bin of the like minde ſome fewe yeers ſince, the Proteſtant States had been at a low Eb. They being aſſembled at *Heilbrun*, ſent an Ambaſſage to our Aſſembly; the ſubiect was, that hauing no other aime nor intent but Peace, which they called the obſeruation of the treaty of *Vlme*; the Catholikes haue graunted them the ſaid obſeruation. They are all vpon the point of reconciling themſelues vnto the Emperor & to abandon the Elector Palatine. My L. Biſhop of *Spire* ſtands vpon his guard on the defenſiue; becauſe he is aſſured the ſaid proteſtant Princes crie out againſt his Fort of *Vdenheim*, hauing cauſed the Elector of *Mentz* and D. of *Bauaria* to be moued to perſwade him to giue ouer that new fortification; but they haue giuen them anſwere in writing, ſhewing the iuſt occaſions and rights, for the which the ſaid Biſhop had reaſon to ſeek the aſſurance and quiet of his country, after ſo many oppreſſions and wrongs which he had endured from his neighbours.

In the beginning of March, the Princes of the Vnion, and the Imperiall Townes of their partie, began to reconcile themſelues vnto the Emperour, promiſing to giue no more ſuccour vnto the Elector Palatine, and not to prolong their Vnion, nor to make any new. There were ſome of them which treated for their owne particular, being thereunto preſſed; and the reſt in generall. And thus you ſee, that all they which had adviſed and perſwaded the Elector Palatine to accept of the Crowne of *Bohemia*, for the generall good of *Germanie*, as they pretended, and ſo ingaged him in a moſt dangerous war, contrary to the will and advice of his beſt friend, when as hee might have lived happie and peacefull daies in his owne Country, much honoured and reſpected; doe now, after ſome frownes of fortune, abandon him and his, baſely and cowardly, to the affronts and oppreſſion of a proud and inſolent enemy; who, no doubt, in time will make them know the danger of their diſ-union, and repent their raſh reſolutions.

Maurice Lantz-graue of Heſſe ſubmits himſelfe to the Emperor.

MAVRICE, Lantzgrave of *Heſſe*, ſeeing SPINOLA'S expedition in the Palatinate; and his Armie readie vpon the firſt occaſion to enter into his country; the tediouſneſs of the Princes in their reſolution to treate with the Emperour; and that hee ſhould bee the firſt in danger: he was alſo the firſt which ſent vnto the Emperors Commiſſioners, and to Marquis SPINOLA, touching his re-union. The place of treaty was at *Bingen*; where, after many conſultations of their Deputies, in the end theſe Articles following were concluded.

First, that Prince MAVRICE, Lantzgrave, ſhould promiſe, not to attempt by himſelfe or any other, any act of hoſtility againſt his Imperiall Majeſtie, or his Armie; and not to giue any aſſiſtance

aſſiſtance, directly or indirectly, of men, money, munition, victuals, or counſell to the Count Palatine; nor to the united Princes, and other Kings, Electors, Princes, and Eſtates which had relieved the ſaid Palatine, and the Palatinate, the Realme of *Bohemia*, and other Provinces incorporate. 2. That the ſaid Lantzgrave ſhoud withdraw his Troupes and Souldiers from the Princes Armie, and from the Palatinate. 3 That by the fourteenth of May (which would be the expiration of their Vnion) he ſhould ſend an Ambaſſadour expreſly to giue notice to the other Princes, that he did renounce the ſaid Vnion, or any other new Vnion which might bee made, againſt his Imperiall Maieſty, to ſuccour the Palatine and Palatinate, and ſhould keepe theſe preſent Articles inuiolable. 4. That Marqueſſe SPINOLA ſhould alſo promiſe, that neither he nor his Army ſhould commit any act of hoſtility, make any cruption, nor exact any contribution vpon the Lands, Principality and Segniories of the ſaid Lantz-graue MAVRICE, nor vpon his vaſſailes, Miniſters and ſubiects, nor their goods, moueable or immoueable; but ſhould keepe them from all moleſtations, and ſuffer them to liue in Peace, both for Religion and policie, according to the Imperiall conſtitutions: But if any of the ſaid Lantz-graues ſubiects ſhould doe contrary to this tranſaction, they ſhould be excepted. And laſtly, that this Treaty ſhould be ſigned by Marqueſſe SPINOLA, and the Lantz-graue MAVRICE, and that within three moneths the ſaid Marqueſſe ſhould cauſe it to be ſigned and ratified by the Emperor, and the Arch-duke ALBERT: which he ſhould deliuer to the Lantz-graue, and in the meane time theſe Articles which were concluded, the 23 of March, ſhould be obſerued.

Straſbourg, Vlme and Nurembourg renounce the Vnion.

The three chiefe Imperiall proteſtant Cities, *Straſbourg*, *Vlme*, and *Nuremboug*, hauing at the ſame time ſent their priuate Deputies to the Elector of *Mentz*, and the Lantz-graue LEVVES, treated of their reconciliation with the Emperor, and promiſed to renounce the Vnion of the Correſpondents: which was concluded and ſigned the 9 of Aprill, and proclaimed afterwards in their Cities.

They of *Wormes* feared a ſiege, for the great preparations which SPINOLA made, ſo as they carried what they had, moſt pretious, to *Spire*, as to a place of refuge: They would gladly haue imitated *Straſbourg* and *Vlme*, but the Princes of the Vnion were too neere them; who, deſiring to treate in generall, had ſent their Ambaſſadours to the Emperour: but conſidering that the ſtate of their affaires required a more ſpeedy remedy then the return of the ſaid Ambaſſadors, there was a meeting appointed betwixt the Lantz-graue LEVVES, and the Marqueſs of *Olnosbach*, Generall of the Vnion, and IOHN FREDERICK D. of *Virtemberg*, at *Veinheim*; where, after many diſcourſes of the means to treate an accord for the Peace of *Germany*, the D. of *Virtemberg* went alone to *Wormes*, to impart it to the Marqueſs of *Baden*; from whence, being returned, they went all to *Mentz*; whither SPINOLA alſo came, and the Articles following for the Peace and re-vnion of the Princes and States correſpondents were concluded and ſigned the 12 of Aprill. First, it is agreed betwixt the aboue named Princes, that they ſhall forbeare to vſe any acts of hoſtility one againſt another; that the Princes and States of the Vnion, and their Souldiers ſhall not offer any wrong to the Marqueſs SPINOLA or his Army and troups; nor to thoſe places which he hath made ſubiect to his obedience, or to any which are comprehended in this treatie, their countries and ſtates. 2. They ſhall not giue any ſuccors of money or men, to FREDE. Count Palatin of the *Rhyn*, be it directly or indirectly, by themſelues or by others in any ſort whatſoeuer. 3. They ſhall not continue the Vnion hertofore made by them; *neither in favor of the Palatine, nor hatred of his Imperiall Ma.*: Nor ſhall make any new; but they ſhall retire their troups out of the Palatinat by the 14 of May next to come; whether they belong to priuat perſons or to the general, and they ſhall al continue faithful to his imperial Ma. 4. The Marqueſs SPINOLA doth alſo promiſe not to vſe or cauſe to be vſed, any hoſtility againſt the Princes and vnited States Proteſtants, their ſoldiers, officers, ſubiects, caſtles, towns, and territories. 5. That in this treaty of Peace ſhall be comprehended, as well thoſe mentioned in the Treaty of *Vlme*, as all the other Electors, Princes, States and Knights of the Empire; except the country & territories of the houſe of *Iuliers*. 6. Touching the Count P. FREDERICK the Mar. SPINOLA, hauing been required by the king of great *Britan* not to execute his commiſſion againſt the countries which remained vnder the Palatins obedience, till the end of the vnion, which ſhould expire the 14 of May, nor againſt his ſubiects or their goods; he promiſed that no Act of hoſtility ſhould be committed by him or any other vntill that day; conditionally, that the Princes & vnited States ſhall take order that the particular troups now in the Palatinat and neighbor places, ſhall not attempt ought againſt the ſaid SPINOLA or his Army, nor the Townes and places which hee now holdeth, or againſt any State of the Empire that is

The Princes of the Vnion, reconciled to the Emperor.

1621 faithfull to his Maiesty. Seuenthly, and to the end that the neighbour Princes and States and their subiects may not be wronged by the Souldiers of either party; the Princes aboue named promise, euery one for themselues, to hinder all incursions, robberies, and thefts, and to assure the high-waies for the free liberty of commerce. These Articles being signed and sealed by all the Princes; SPINOLA hauing promised to cause them to be signed and ratified by his Imperiall Maiesty, and the Arch-duke ALBERT; the Electour of *Mentz* made them a stately Feast: and on the morrow after, SPINOLA did the like with great magnificence.

But afterwards it was added to the said treaty; that if the King of Great-Brittaine should demand that the suspension against the execution of the Palatinat should be prolonged till the second of Iune; that SPINOLA would yeeld vnto it, so as his Maiesty did promise that his sonne in law should not attempt any thing against those places which he held, nor against his Army. Moreouer, if the Kings Letters could not come by the foureteenth of May; that the Marquesse of *Olnosbach*, hauing giuen notice thereof to Marquesse SPINOLA, and if he required a longer delay of ten daies, that he would grant it: the which was again signed by the two Generals SPINOLA and BRANDENBOVRG OLNSBACH.

After these treaties of Peace, MAVRICE Lantz-graue of *Hesse* retired his souldies from the Army of the vnited Princes; and they also countermanded their troups which were in the Palatinate vnder the command of CNIPHVS; so as for the guard thereof, there remained no Germanes but OBERTRANT with his horse, Sir HORATIO VERE with his English, and some Troops of *Holland*, who were lodged in *Heidelberg*, *Manheim*, and *Frankendale*, where they fortified themselues against the enemies attempts, as well as time and their meanes would giue them leaue.

A bruite dispersed ouer all *Germany* touching a great Army which was leuied in *Denmarke* and the lower *Saxony*, in fauour of the Palatine, was the subiect of this following Letter; written by the Elector of *Mentz*, to FREDERICK VLRICK Duke of *Brunswick*. Being aduertised from many parts that there are greate numbers of souldiers leuied in the circle of the lower *Saxony* to go into the Palatinate; I thought good to aduertise you of the treaty of pacification which hath been made betwixt the Marquesse SPINOLA on the one side, and the Marquesse of *Olnosbach*, with other of the confederate Princes on the other; whereby a Truce is concluded for the Palatinate, as you may see by the Articles I send you. There is no man of iudgement but foresees, if these souldiers (leuied in base *Saxony*) shall goe into the Palatinate, that all the paines so many Princes haue taken to settle a Peace in *Germany*, and Truce in the Palatinate, will be vaine and without any fruite; if we returne againe to warre, and that the fire of ciuill dissension be againe reuiued. We coniure and intreate you so to deale with the Princes and States of *Saxony*, that nothing may bee attempted which may minister subiect to breake the treaty of Peace; in which you and all the Princes and States of the Empire are comprehended: you shall herein doe a commendable worke for the good of the common-weale, whereof we thought good to aduertise you, &c. this 24 of Aprill.

Letter from Elector of Mentz to the D. of Brunswic.

The Emperour wrote also at the same time to the Duke of *Brunswic*, concerning the same subiect, as also against those which had published in the lower *Saxony*, that SPINOLA's intent was to march thither to dispossesse the Princes of that circle of the Arch-bishopricks and Ecclesiasticall reuenues which they held: the which his Maiesty, by his Letters, did auerre to be a slaunder; assuring him that his Maiesty would maintaine the Peace as well in causes of Religion, as of State, according to the Letters of assurance which he had caused to be published at his comming to the Empire: and as for the excesse committed by SPINOLA's Army, against some Princes and places in *Veteravia*, and vpon the *Rhine*; he had written vnto him to make satisfaction for the same, and to forbid the doing of the like hereafter: wherefore he aduised him not to beleeue such false reports, but rather to giue credit to the words and promises of his Imperiall Maiesty; to keepe himselfe in Peace and not to enter into an vnnecessarie charge; seeing the intention of his Maiesty was like that of his predecessors, desiring nothing more then to continue his good affection vnto the Princes and States of the Empire.

The proceedings of Bohemia.

Let vs now returne into *Bohemia*, and see what exploits were done there during the moneths of March, Aprill, May, and Iune. The Emperour had caused two Armies to be leuied, the one on this side of the riuer of *Molda*, towards *Pilsen*, whereof the Baron of *Tilly* was Generall, to besiege such places as held yet for MANDSFELD; and the other beyond the Riuer, commanded by *Don* BALTHAZAR, to set vpon *Tabor*. MANDSFELD was returned from *Heilbrun* into

into the vpper Palatinate to leuie new Troops, and to attend others which the Duke of *Weimar* leuied vpon his Lands by order from the Elector Palatine, to ioyn with him, and succour those places which held yet for him in *Bohemia*. The enemy made profit of his absence; and by the treachery of Colonell FRANCK, IERONIMO *de Porta*, and LEMINGER his owne instruments and seruants, TILLY entred into a particular Treaty with the Captaines for the yeelding vp of *Pilsen*, while that in outward shew he seemd to desire a Treaty with Count MANSFELD: so as the Captains, hauing already past the bounds of duty, beganne to speak more openly. They wrote to their Commander Count MANSFELD, that they purposed to expect no longer, but would either bee presently paid or assured of their pay; and, if they had not a speedy resolution, would prouide for themselues. 1621

His Auditor LEMINGER, after conference with Monsieur TILLY about his last Commission, returned to the Lord Marshall without any effect; excusing it, that hee was sent back with threats, and denied audience; pretending, that the enemy took it ill, that, changing the Contents of his first Commission, he had inserted this last Article concerning the vpper Palatinate (as you haue heard) which had no dependency vpon *Bohemia*. Beeing now assured of the Captains dispositions, he had no will to treat with the Lord Marshall; it being onely to entertain time, and to stay him from further proceeding. LEMINGER, aduertising him of this secret Treaty, and that his Captains inclined to the Emperors party, did what hee could to procure mony to satisfie these traitors: but, all was in vain; for, those whom hee trusted most, betraid him: and the Letter which he sent to *Pilsen* to diuert the Officers from so foule a fact, was intercepted by the enemy, and not deliuered; so as on the twenty sixt of March, the treaty that had been long a-working was concluded at *Mies* betwixt the Baron of *Tilly*, Generall of the Emperors Army, and the Captains of the Garrison of *Pilsen*: where it was assured, that in regard of their absolute departure from the said Town, the Captains should receiue 140000 florens from his Imperiall Maiesty to be diuided equally among the seuen companies of the Regiment. Colonell FRANCK made his treaty apart, and got a promise of 3000 pound sterling for the restitution of *Tabor*; that all the souldiers, which would retire to Count MANDSFELD, should be conducted to a place of safety with their Ensignes, Arms and baggage; that in going forth, they should not molest the Clergy nor Inhabitants in any sort; and that they should leaue all the cannon and munition within the Town in the same estate they were. Thus was *Pilsen* presently deliuered, and these merchants receiued the price of their accursed sale; and euery one departed whither he pleased. *Pilsen sould by the treachery of the Captains.*

The Lord Marshall, after the conclusion of this Treaty, wrote kinde Letters, thinking to draw them into the Palatinate: but, their guilty consciences would not suffer them to appeare before him. His Auditor LEMINGER, hauing receiued 4000 Ricks dollers (the hire of his periury) thought to conueigh it secretly through the Palatinate; thinking by his wit so to iustifie the rest of his actions, that the Lord Marshall should receiue good satisfaction: but he soon discouered his money and his villany; causing both the money and the man to be attached, and made him to be questioned at a Marshals Court: where, being condemned to dy, he was executed according to martiall law.

Colonell FRANCK grew much amazed at his imprisonment. The Lord Marshall, beeing come to *Amberg*, called him before the Earl of *Solms*, Lieutenant Gouerner of the vpper Palatinate, and the Lords of the Councell, to clear himself concerning the yeelding vp of *Pilsen*. Being summoned by the Lord Marshall, he came thither in his caroach; but was surprised with such fear, that he returned presently with all speed, leauing both caroach, seruants and baggage behinde him. He got to *Nuremberg*, from thence to *Regensburg*, and after to *Tabor*, where hee hoped to be receiued by the garrison: but he was preuented by the vigilancy of the Lord Marshall, who sent a command to the contrary. Finding himself thus frustrate of his expectation, he went and staid some time in the enemies Camp, and then retired to *Prague* to make his apology. Some well-willers to Colonell FRANCK, who presume to know him and his actions well, and were imployed in those warres, said that these are scandalous aspersions laid vpon him without cause. They confesse, that he gaue way to the enemies Captains and Officers to come familiarly into *Pilsen*, where they had all good reception; which was only to prolong the treaty by delaies, that in the mean time they might gette some relief from the King of *Bohemia* or Count MANSFELD: but they absolutely deny, that hee made any composition for himself vpon the yeelding vp of the Town. They also confesse, that he retired himself secretly from *Amberg*: and the reason was, for that, seeing how LEMINGER was intreated, he feared the like

like although he had not deserued it. And touching his retiring to *Tabor*, they say he came thither during the time it was besieged, and past through the enemies Camp by night; where, coming to the Port, they would not receiue him, hauing been formerly aduertised to the contrary from Count MANSFELD; that in the morning the enemy discouered him, and took him prisoner: with whom he continued till the Town was yeelded, and then was released, it being one of their conditions, because they then held him for an honest man. Thus haue I written the opinions on both sides touching Colonell FRANCK; the censure whereof I leaue to the iudicious Reader. 1621

The enemy seeing himself freed of this thorn, being master of *Pilsen* which had so much annoyed them; Generall TILLY led his Army to ioin with the Troops of *Saxony* which were come to the riuer of *Egra*, and had forced a Town of the same name to declare it self for the Emperor, and receiue a garrison: which Town is the proper inheritance of the Elector Palatine. There remained no more on that side but *Falkenaw* and *Elenbogen*. They went first to *Falkenaw*, where Colonell GRAY commanded with certain companies of English and others: they battered and assaulted it diuerse times; so as the Colonell, hauing defended it many daies, and performed the part of a braue souldier, was forced to treat and depart with Arms and baggage. This place being yeelded, there remained nothing in those Quarters but *Elenbogen*; being not great, yet strongly situated by nature. There were in it three companies of good souldiers, besides the Citizens, which were much affected to the Kings party. Count HENRY of *Ottemberg*, a braue and generous yong Noble-man, commanded in the Town by the appoyntment of the Lord Marshall. The siege began the second of April, and continued till the six and twentith with as much resolution and obstinacy as could be deuised, imploying all their forces and stratagems. The cannon plaid continually, and they shot balles of wilde-fire incessantly: yet, notwithstanding all their fury, they within the Town, encouraged by their yong Earle to continue constant in his Maiesties seruice, were not tired with any labour; but, the more the enemy pressed vpon them, the more resolutely they carried themselues to repell them: so as, had they not wanted pouder, without doubt they had made good the place. The Lord Marshall, during the siege, did what he could possibly to succour them; still giuing aduice to the Earle, that (in case he saw himself pressed before that succours came) he should treat in time, rather than be brought to extreamity, and lose the hope of an honourable composition to saue the Troops. About the six and twentith of April the Lord Marshall went with his Army (which was but small) with an intent to raise the siege at what rate soeuer. His Fore-ward entring into *Bohemia*, they had newes that the Town was yeelded vpon composition, the Gouerner beeing forced by the forenamed want and other inconueniences. The Articles were honourable: that the garrison should depart with bag and bagagge, bullets in the mouth, matches light, drums beating, colours fleeing, &c: but the enemy (accustomed to break his faith to those of the religion) vsed them as they had done others before at *Tacchau*; for, as the souldiers came out, they spoiled them one after another: which particular losse was very sensible to the poor souldiers. *Elenbogen* being lost, the Lord Marshall retired again into the vpper Palatinat to go on with his Leuies of souldiers, and to prepare himself for some better designe. Some write, that the Inhabitants of *Elenbogen* were taxed at 100000 florens by TILLY to redeem their Towne from spoil, and that he seised on the chief Burgesses till the summe were paid.

At the same time *Don* BALTHAZAR forced the garrisons of *Varling* and *Clingenberg* to yield those two places to him, vpon condition that the souldiers should not thrust themselues into *Tabor*, but depart out of *Bohemia*, and should be conducted to the higher Palatinate with all safety: which was duely performed. There now remained no more in *Bohemia* but *Tabor* and *Pitingaw*, which fortified themselues to endure a siege wherwith *Don* BALTHAZAR threatned them: you shall hereafter hear what passed there. Let vs now see the executions of iustice which were done at *Prague* both vpon the Directors and the chief Authors of those combustions and troubles.

We haue formerly related how that his Imperiall Maiesty had appointed the Earl of *Lichtenstein* and other Commissioners to proceed against the Authors of the Bohemian troubles. On the three and twentith of April, a Sentence was giuen against the deceased (who were then named) in the presence of their heires; whereby they were conuicted of high treason, and their memory for euer condemned, and their goods confiscate to his Imperiall Maiesty, as King of *Bohemia*: yet their condemnation should not touch their kinsfolks with any note of infamy; the which his Maiesty of his speciall grace would haue inserted.

On

On the 13 of May, IOHN ANDREVV Earle of *Schlic* (one of the greatest Lords of *Bohemia* and chief of those combustions) being retired to certaine lands he had vpon the riuer of *Egria*, and from thence into *Voytland*; he was encountred by the Elector of *Saxonie*'s horsemen, who carried him prisoner to *Dresda*: which being knowne vnto the Emperour, he sent to demande him of the Elector. Whereupon, he was deliuered to his Commissarie; who conducted him to *Prague* vnder sure guard: where his processe was made with the other prisoners, they being in all forty fiue: whereof seuen were condemned to perpetuall imprisonment in *Prague*; two to be sent in chaines to *Iauerin*; two to remaine in prison for a yeere: three were to be hanged: three to be whipt and banished for euer, and one to haue his tongue nailed to a Post for an hours space, and to be banished for euer to *Iauerin*: All the rest were to lose their heads, and many of them to haue their right hands cut off, and set vpon the towres of the bridge. All their lands and goods were by the same iudgement confiscate to his Imperiall Maiesty; onely their wiues dowries excepted. 1621

The condemnation of the prisoners of Prague.

The manner of their execution I will be bould to relate more particularly, because it was somewhat extraordinarie. After their condemnation they were returned to prison: where euery man had liberty to visit them, and conferre with them. They were all Lutherans, except one Baron (who was a Caluinist) and a Captaine which was a Romish Catholike. There was a scaffold built in the accustomed place neere vnto the Towne-house, foure elles high and twenty two spaces square, and bourded round about. This scaffold was afterwards couered with black cloth: vpon the which, on the day of execution, there was a man set in a long black robe and his face couered, holding a Crucifix in his hand, to present it to euery one of the condemned as he should come vp on the scaffold. There were two others attired in like manner to receiue the condemned as they went to dy, and to spred before them a black cloth, whereon they kneeled when they were executed; and, thirdly, six men in like attire with their faces couered, appointed to take vp their bodies being dead, and to wrapt them in the black cloth whereon they had kneeled, to deliuer them to their kinsfolk. On Sunday the 20 of Iune (the day before the execution) many of their wiues and children cast themselues at the Prince of *Lichteine*'s feete, to sue for their husbands: but he made them answere, It was not in his power, but onely in the Emperors, to giue.

The manner of the execution of the prisoners.

At fiue of the clock in the morning, at the shooting off a Cannon from the Castle, all the gates of *Prague* were presently shut vp, and the execution began.

First of all the Earle of *Schlic*, attired in a gowne of black silk, houlding a booke in his hand, went vp to execution. The man, appointed to that office, presented him the Crosse: his seruant vnclothed him; and, after his prayers ended, the Executioner cut off his head: which done, his owne seruant laid his right hand vpon a block; the which, in like manner, was cut off, and layed apart with the head: the body was wrapped vp in the cloth whereon he had kneeled, and carried from the scaffold by those six men appointed to that purpose; so as the body was neuer touched by the Executioner. The like forme was obserued with all the rest which were beheaded. NICHOLAS DVBIS, whose tongue was nailed for an hours space to the gallowes, died with the torment within three daies after.

The Countesse of *Scklic*, did so much lament the losse and death of her husband, as she did not suruiue him many daies. As for the bodies of such as were executed by the sword, they were deliuered to their kinsfolkes & friends, to be enterred some in their Segniories, and others in *Prague*.

At the same instant, there was the like inquisition in both *Austrias*, against the chiefe which had held the Bohemian party. The Commissioners did summon many to appeare personally before them at *Lintz*, to iustifie themselues. Some came: other (who thought there was more safety in absence) forbare. Some, which came in, were committed: against such as stood out, they proceeded, by seisure of their goods; the which, as LVNDORPHIVS writes, were restored for mony, and vpon other conditions. FREDERICK, Baron of *Tieffembach*, one of the chief actors in *Morauia*, had beene taken at the Bathes in the County of *Tiroll*: being brought to *Oenypont*, the Emperour sent Commissaries, who made his processe, and cut off his head.

The Marqueſſe *Iagerndorf* (who had not beene comprehended in the treaty of *Silesia*, but proscribed by the Emperour, and the execution thereof committed to the Elector of *Saxony*) thought, by these terrible executions at *Prague*, to put the Silesians in feare, and to make them returne to Armes against the Emperour. At his departure out of *Lusatia*, he marched with his troupes being 3000 men into the County of *Glatz*; resoluing, that the States of *Silesia* (in whose

name,

1621 name, and for whom, he had leuied these forces) should pay them what was their due. Hee required the States therefore to giue him satisfaction: but, they so delayed him, as he well perceiued they desired to be ridde of him.

The County of *Glats* is a frontiere of *Bohemia*, *Lusatia*, *Silesia*, and *Morauia*. The riuer of *Iegerne*, vpon which lieth *Iegerndorf* (that is to say, the Bourrough of *Iegerne*) is betwixt *Nisse*, *Tropau* and *Glats*. This Marquesse seeing all the Emperors forces employed either in *Hungary* or beyond the riuer of *Molda*, and that round about the Countie of *Glats*, there were none but enemies, where his souldiers might get good booty; he resolued to surprise some such places, as they should be forced to demande a peace of him: all which succeeded happily. For, the Elector Palatine King of *Bohemia* hearing of his designe, sent him his Letters, by the which he made him Commissarie Generall in his Realme of *Bohemia* and the incorporated prouinces, with ful power to gouerne those Countries according to his discretion; to make leuies of souldiers, and to doe whatsoeuer he thought necessary; commanding all his subiects to yeeld obedience and assistance vnto the said Marquesse his Commissarie. Hauing this Commission, he gaue liberty to his troupes to commit all acts of hostility: whereby his number so encreased as he made himselfe Maiester of *Tropau* and *Nisse*, and forced the inhabitants of the whole Bishoprick of *Nisse* to pay him 100000 dollers, and the foure receiuers of the Countrey (who were his prisoners) to furnish him with 10000 Hungarian duckets within two daies. After which, going with his horse and some part of foote (being in all 1500 men) he entered into *Bohemia*: where he committed great spoiles; and, making vse of the Pesants which were in Armes, he seised vpon diuers places. After which, he went to besiege *Glats*: which being yeelded, he furnished it with 3000 good souldiers and 13 Cannons.

The Marquesse takes Tropau and Nisse.

The States of *Silesia* desirous to stop the course of these suddaine incursions, and surprising of Towns, sent their Deputies to the Elector of *Saxony*, Commissary for his Imperiall Maiesty in *Silesia*. It was resolued betwixt them to leuie an Army of 1500 horse and 11000 foot to stay the said Marquess. The Elector sent them 3000 foot & 1000 horse; the States of *Silesia* were to furnish the rest. They had resolued to recouer *Glats*: but the Marquess had taken such order, and his new enterprises vpon the territorie of *Preslau* (from whence he drew 60000 dollers to retire his troupes) made them in the beginning to stand vpon the defensiue, and to assure their other Townes without attempting any thing against the Marquesse: who hauing retired his garrisons from *Nisse* and many other places, which he held not able to resist their forces; hee made the body of an Army; which he led into the principality of *Tischin* vpon the frontiers of *Morauia*: where after great spoiles committed by his troupes, the inhabitants were forced to giue him certaine thousands of Hungarian duckets to leaue them & to passe on to BETHLIN GABOR.

The Marquesse his Letters to the States of Silesia.

Before he left the Countrey, hee wrote two Letters to the States of *Silesia* touching the execution of the prisoners at *Prague*. The first did intimate that it was notorious to the whole world, that the cruell and barbarous execution made at *Prague* of the chiefe Noblemen of *Bohemia* (the true pillers of the State) and of many honest and worthy persons and good countrey men, was onely in regarde of their religion and constancie to keepe their faith vnto their King, whom they had chosen: a cruell execution, which God would reuenge vpon the Authors. That he was truly aduertised that the like would shortly be done to the chiefe of *Silesia*, at *Preslaw* and in other places (if God diuerted not the designe) notwithstanding the transaction and treaty of grace and pardon made with the Electour of *Saxony*. That this cruell inquisition of *Spaine* hauing no other end, but the oppression and extirpation of the Protestant religion, hee thought good to aduertise them all, and especially the inhabitants of *Preslau* and *Schueitnitz*, to be wise by other mens examples; and not so much to regarde that which concerns their priuate profit, as that of the publike; to the end they might maintain the faith giuen to their King, and to the league which they had sworne; and to ioyne with him to free themselues from so many tyrannies: but, if (contrarie to his hope) they would willingly remaine in danger, let them accuse none but themselues to be the Authors of their and the Countries ruine, and the breach of faith which they had sworne to their elected King. And, withall, he aduertised them, that if in his absence any violence were offered to any of his Counsellors, officers, ministers and subiects which were in *Silesia*, or to any Protestant in the Bishoprick of *Nisse*, or if they did put any garrisons into the Townes which did particularly belong to him, or that they receiued any wrong; that they should assure themselues, that the administrators and receiuers of the Bishoprick of *Nisse* (who were in his custodie) should haue the like vsage. The second Letter was to the same effect.

The

The Elector of *Saxony* made answere to these Letters, shewing the iustice of the Emperors proceeding in the execution at *Prague*: And as touching the breach of the transaction which he had made with the Silesians, he gaue them his word and Electoral faith, that it should be faithfully kept and obserued; and that there was neuer any intent, neither should their be any search or execution vpon any colour whatsoeuer, so long as they conteined themselues within the bounds of the said transaction.

The Elector of Saxony answeres the Marquis his Letters 1621

The Emperour also made answere to those Letters: by which, he assured the Silesians that he would neuer forget the grace and pardon which he had imparted vnto them; promising, to maintaine the transaction made with the Elector of *Saxony*: which he did confirme by those presents, so as they continued in their fidelity and obedience. Hee also exhorted the Princes, States and all his subiects of *Silesia*, not to suffer themselues to be seduced by the inuention and fraude of that proscript or any other person; but, to remaine within the termes of the transaction, and to employ all their forces to oppresse that rebel and his partisans, by whom they had beene often seduced; to the end that *Silesia* might be restored to her former estate and enioy a full and absolute peace.

The first of Aprill the Emperour appointed a Diet of the Electors and Princes to be held at *Ratisbone* on Saint IOHN BAPTIST'S day following, to consult of the meanes how to settle a generall peace in the Empire. The Elector Palatine King of *Bohemia*, aduertised hereof, sent his Letters vnto all the Electors and Princes which had beene called thither; by which hee complained that he had beene aduertised, how that some imputed vnto him (that contrarie to his Imperiall Maiesties intention, who had called a Diet of the Electors and Princes of the Empire at *Ratisbone* on the 24 of Iune, to resolue how peace might be settled in the Empire) he was more pleased in the actions of warre, then in treaties of peace; but contrariewise his conscience did witnesse vnto him, that he rather desired an honest peace then warre. That, touching the troubles then in the Empire, hee had not ingaged himselfe through ambition, or to wrong any priuate person; but by the perswasion and promise of a lawfull calling and a iust defence. That he confessed truly, and ingenuously, to owe vnto his Imperial Maiesty, obedience and honour, as to the soueraigne head of the Empire. That he was depriued (contrary to his hope and expectation) of his Electoral and hereditarie countreys, which was the cause of great inconueniences and preiudice to many States of the Empire, entangled in these warres; for the which he was much afflicted, especially for the great miseries which had befallen, the Turke preparing to enter into *Germany*. That he hoped, God would so direct the hearts of the Emperour, Electors and Princes which should assist at this assembly, that all their counsells and consultations would tend onely to the restoring of peace in the Empire, to banish iealousies & distrust, and to settle a new confidence. That he doubted not, but in this Diet they would treate cheefly of the meanes of his reconciliation with the Emperour, as many kings and Princes haue formerly done by their Ambassadors: to whose good counsells and aduice he would alwaies submit himselfe, so farre forth as his dignity and conscience might not bee wounded. That hee would alwaies witnesse, and desired the world to know, that he neuer had a thought to offend his Imperiall Maiesty, but desired to yeeld all honour due vnto him according to the constitutions of the Empire. That he hoped his Imperiall Maiesty would procure a remedy for so many mischeefes by a generall *Amnestia* or forgetfulnes; and so moderate all things, as the Princes and States of the Empire, his friends, counsellors, officers, and subiects might be freed from the insolencie of forraine souldiers, and all things restored to their former state and liberty. This was the tenor of his Letter. Let vs now see what passed at *Viena*.

The King of Bohemias Letters, to the Electors and Princes of the Empire.

You haue formerly heard how that the Princes of the Vnion had sent their Ambassadours to the Emperour, touching their reconciliation, which in the meane time was concluded at *Mentz*, with the Elector and the Lantzgraue LEWIS: so as after their arriuall at *Viena*, they had no other charge but to entreate his Imperiall Maiesty to confirme the treaty of reconciliation, and to commande the Execution for the restitution of places taken and deteined from the Earles and Noblemen of *Veteravia*: whereunto, according to their instructions, they added the restoring of the Elector Palatine to his countries, or to stay the execution of the Imperiall proscription. Whereunto they receiued answere the sixt of May, That his Imperiall Maiesty was very well pleased that the Protestant Princes had abstained from defence of the Elector Palatine, whom he had proscribed; and for promising not to continue the Vnion or to reuiue it any more; which will be a principall point for the establishing of peace in the Empire. That his said Imperiall Maiesty desired not to spare any paines for the restoring of peace, but could

The Emperours answere to the Ambassadours of the united Princes.

not

1621 not yet see how he might satisfie their demande of reestablishing the Palatine, or at the least to retract the execution of the Imperiall Ban denounced against him. That although it bee not lawfull, by the constitutions of the Empire, to make intercession for a proscribed person; yet for so good a thing as the settling of peace in the Empire, his Imperiall Maiesty would be well pleased the said Princes should endeuour that the Elector Palatine should acknowledge his fault, craue pardon of him, and (as the said constitutions require in matters of lesse importance) make offer to satisfie the charges and losse he hath procured. That hitherto it hath not beene obserued, that the Palatine is willing to take this good course; but, on the contrarie, he saw both within the Empire and without, in *Holland* and other places, that through his practices and on his behalfe, many leuies of souldiers were made: which constrained his Imperiall Maiesty also to make preparation to keepe the faithfull States of the Empire from the oppression of the said Elector Palatines adherents. And touching the delay of the execution which they demanded, he did not think that all the Protestant Princes consented thereunto. And as for the restitution of the Townes and Castles which had beene taken from diuers Noblemen of *Veteravia*, his Maiesty had declared his pleasure by his Letters Patents, that he had no desire the innocent should suffer with the nocent; but contrariwise would repell the violence which had beene done them, by force. That if they did not giue them satisfaction accordingly, he would cause them to haue all content.

mbassadors nt from the ing of Den. narke to the mperor.

In the same month of May, Ambassadours came to *Viena* from the King of *Denmark*, with instructions from the assembly at *Sconeberg*, demanding a disannulling of the Palatines proscription and of all the rest, and that they might bee restored to their lands and estates: without the which, there was no hope of any peace in the Empire. The Emperour, hauing sent this proposition to the Electors, and receiuing their aduice, made answere to the Ambassadours, that the proscription could not be made voide, but rather to be executed with all speede according to the constitutions of the Empire. The Ambassadors replyed, that their kings intention was not to meddle with questions of times; but onely to procure a peace in the Empire, and a firme confidence betweene the head and the members: to which end the Emperour said, he had appointed an Assembly at *Ratisbone*, to resolue vpon all things concerning that question.

oppositions at e treaty of ainbourg.

In the meane time, the conference at *Hainbourg* grew to such length, and both parties so full of distrust, as the French Ambassadors were not able to reconcile them. The Emperour had resolued in counsell, vpon the seauenth of April, that he would accept of a peace vpon these conditions: That BETHLEN GABOR should be againe confirmed Prince of *Hungary*, and haue for his entertainment 100000 florens yearely, and 100 markes of siluer from the mountaine Townes. They write, that Prince BETHLIN was content to accept of these conditions; but he demanded *Cassouia* and many other townes of safety, with these clauses: That his Maiesty should pardon all the confederates of what prouince soeuer; who should be restored to their estates; and that no question should bee made for what was past: whereuppon the Emperour would not yeeld; so as the conference brake off: before the which, BETHLIN GABOR was retired from *Presbourg* to *Tirnaw*, and had drawne his Chancellor from the conference, vpon some pretexts. His partisans said, that the Imperialists made shew by their daily practices, to draw the Noblemen of *Hungary* to their partie, and by the preparations they made at *Viena*, and by their prosecutions against their confederates in *Bohemia*, *Austria*, and *Moravia*, that this conference to treate of a peace, was but a snare to entrap them, and suddenly to shut Prince BETHLIN into *Presbourg*. The Imperialls on the other side gaue out, that Prince BETHLIN, hauing carried away the Crowne of *Hungary*, desired to haue the title of King: and if he had had anie good intent to make a peace, he would not haue made leauies of Transiluanians and Tartarians, which were marching into *Hungary*; writing his Letter vnto GALGA Prince of *Tartary*: which for breuity sake I must omit.

etschy recon- les himselfe to e Emperor.

GEORGE SETSCHY, one of the chiefe Noble-men of high *Hungary*, who had been a powerfull Partisan to BETHLIN (hauing made his peace with the Emperor) gathered together two thousand men; and, vpon the ending of the Truce, surprised *Altensol* and *Vesprin*, where he put all the Transiluanians which were in Garrison to the sword. It is an vsuall thing when treaties end, some change their partie. The victorie of *Prague*, and the Earle of *Bucquoy* (who had wintered vpon the riuer of *Mare* a daies iourney from *Presbourg*, making account to haue twenty thousand men) was the cause that many Noblemen of BETHLIN's partie expected but an oportunity to reconcile themselues to the Emperour. The breach of the conference and of the truce, made Count BVCQVOY aduance with his Army to inuest *Presbourg*. Prince

Prince BETHLIN who was at *Tirnaw*, seeing SETSCHY fallen to the Emperour and ioyned with PALFY, and to be betwixt him and *Cassouia* at his back (who bragged he would take him aliue and present him to the Emperour, or at the least stop his returne into *Transiluania*) and Count BVCQVOY to come in Front, relying vpon the Garrison which he had put into the Castle of *Presbourg*, he resolued in this reuiuing of the warre to stand vpon his defence; to furnish the places he held, and to put himselfe into *Cassouia*, there to assemble the body of his Army, whilest the Emperors men should coole themselues at some siege. Hauing left some men in *Tirnaw*, and STEPHEN TVRSO with a strong garrison of Hungarians and Transiluanians in *Neuheusol*, he carried the Crowne of *Hungary* to *Cassouia*. 1621

In the meane time, FORGATSY Palatine of *Hungary*, with other Noble-men which were in *Presbourg*, seeing themselues inuested by Count BVCQVOY, desired to send Deputies to the Emperour; which was graunted: Who hauing obtained from his Maiesty a treaty of their reduction, by the which they were all maintained in their Dignities, Estates and Offices, with abolition; the Towne of *Presbourg*, was yeelded to the Emperour the second of May; into the which they put a great Garrison. The Castle only remained; in the which there were many Germanes and Hungarians, who demanded their pay and a generall pardon. There were some houres of Truce to heare their demaunds: The which being ended, and nothing graunted to the besieged, they shotte continually from the Castle; so as many of them were slaine and hurt. *Presbourg yeelded to the Emp.*

They defended themselues brauely for the space of ten dayes: but, on the tenth of May, seeing a new batterie planted of seuen double Cannon, they demanded a Parley; which was granted. After many contestations, they promised to yeeld the Castle, and they were suffered to depart with Armes and baggage, their matches dead, and their Enseignes folded vp, the Hungarians to be conducted to *Neuhusol*, and the Germanes to the Frontiers of *Moravia*. Count BVCQVOY hauing assured the Towne and Castle of *Presbourg* with new Garrisons, hee ledde the Imperiall Army (being two and twenty thousand men) towards *Tirnaw*: vpon the way, diuers Townes and Castles submitted themselues. The Garrison of *Tirnaw*, finding themselues too weake to make resistance, accepted of a composition to depart with their Armes and baggage. *Tirnaw yeelded to* Bucquoy.

Count BVCQVOY being aduertized, that there was dissension between the Soldiers and the inhabitants in *Neuhusol*; it was resolued in Councell to leade the Army thither: yet they which were of a contrary opinion, gaue them to vnderstand that the souldiers should finde no victual for themselues, nor forrage for their horses, for that the whole Countrey was ruinated, and the Townes and Villages burnt: And in truth this siege had like to haue ruined the Emperours partie in *Hungary*. Bucquoy *before* Neuhusel.

In the beginning, the Imperialists had some aduantage at their approaches: and the batteries being well planed, did somewhat annoy the besieged; They mustered their Souldiers, and to put courage into them, they gaue them three moneths pay. FORGATSI, Palatine of *Hungary*, was come vnto the Army before *Neuheusol*, who wrote vnto the besieged to yeeld; he entreated and threatned them; but all was in vaine: for they made him answere, that they were true Hungarians, which would fight euen vnto the last droppe of their blood, to preserue the honour of their Nation, and to free themselues from the yoake of the Turkes and Germanes.

Thus were they in Armes in two places of the vpper *Hungary*: that is, at the siege of *Neuheusol*, and towards *Filec*, whereas SETSCHY and PALFY made head against the Partizans of Prince BETHLIN GABOR, and defeated eight hundred men, which the Prince sent to *Neuheusol*, conducting a conuoy of Victuals, Money, and Munition; but soone after they had their reuenge. In the lower *Hungary* betweene the *Dannow* and *Stirria*, BVDIANI a Protestant and a Noble-man of great power, hauing made himselfe an irreconcilable Enemie vnto the house of *Austria*, held many places vpon the lake of *Newdsiller*; and the Riuers of *Rabnitz* and of *Rechinitz*, which did much annoy *Vienna*, by the incursions of the Budianits: to preuent the which, the Emperour sent the Earle of *Colalto* with eight thousand men, and some Cannon to take those places of retreate from BVDIANI, who retired towards *Canisia*: from whence wee shall see him returne with Turkish succours, and fire diuers parts of *Austria*.

During the siege of *Neuheusol*, the Imperialists were but ill intreated in many sallies by those that were besieged, the which had no want of any thing; for the Gate towards the Riuer of

1621 *Ouiar* was free; and on the other side of the riuer lay encamped tenne thousand men com to their succours: that is to say, foure thousand sent by Prince BETHLIN from *Cassouia*, and and six thousand which the Earle of *Thurn* and others (fled out of *Bohemia* and *Austria*) had brought. During the exploits of *Neuhusoll*, where the Palatine FORGATSY died, Prince BETHLIN held an Assembly of the States at *Perein*, neere to *Cassouia*, letting them see that he had the Crowne of *Hungary* in his possession: the which encouraged them to follow his party; and it was resolued, first to free *Eileck*, besieged by PAIFY SETSKY and others, and to hazard a battaile to raise that of *Neuhusoll*.

The Barons of *Palfi*, *Setsky* and *Posmasi*, being lodged with their troupes at *Mitarlin* a mountaine Towne, Prince BETHLIN entertained them with good words, touching a peace which hee desired to make with the Emperour, and in the meane time surprised them suddenly; where, after a bloudy fight, PALFY, was found slaine vpon the field, with two thousand Imperialls: SETSKY and the rest escaped; but wholly defeated. After this expedition, all the mountaine Townes returned to BETHLIN's party. This was the first vnfortunate crosse of the Imperialls; let vs now obserue the second. The siege of *Neuhusoll* continued: The Port of *Carniola* towards the riuer of *Ouiar* was still free for the besieged, they being alwaies relieued (when they had neede) with 10000 men which lay encamped at their gate; who, when they past the riuer, did so stoppe the passages and approached so neere vnto the Imperiall Army, as nothing could be conueighed to them without very great forces. Count BVCQVOY was therefore often constrained, for want of forage for his horse, to send out many companies both of horse and foote. The tenth of Iuly all his foote which he had sent a forraging (except two hundred musketiers) being returned with the Carts, and the horse being in number fifteene hundred, consisting of all the nations of the Army (except Walloones which they had left in *Morauia* for safegard of the Countrey) being yet a Cannon shotte from their quarter, fifteene hundred Caualliers Hungarians, diuided into Troupes, left their Camp and past the riuer of *Ouiar*, vnder the fauour of the Towne Cannon, and began to charge the Imperiall horse. Vpon this Alarme, Count BVCQVOY went to horse: and being accompained by some officers, he came to the head of his Troupes, to encourage them by his presence, to maintaine the brunt of this important skirmish, and to auoide the disgrace of any losse. Hauing obserued the order of the assailants, hee presently drew his men into diuers squadrons, and commanded the Earle of *Torquaty*, Lieutenant Collonell to the Earle of *Valstein*'s Regiment (which consisted of low Dutch and the Emperours troupes) hauing the point of the vantguard, to goe by charge: which he did resolutely, and forced into the enemies squadrons being pell mell amongst them; But, the squadron, which followed, wheeled about; and discharging their Pistols, betook themselues to flight; whereupon the low Germanes were enclosed and defeated, and Count TORQVATI and all the Captaines taken prisoners: All the rest of the squadrons, appointed to second him on both sides, fled also by their example; so as the Earle of *Bucquoy* was left alone.

The Earle, seeing this disorder, did what hee might to stay them, riding from squadron to squadron with his sword and Pistoll in his hands, thinking to make these runnawaies to turne head againe: but, nothing could preuaile. At the same instant the Earle of *Bucquoy* was inuested by fifteene Hungarians which were best mounted; who charged him on all sides. He defended himselfe a long space very valiantly, vntill he had receiued a pistoll shotte through the body, and a blow with a Lance, which ouerthrew him from his horse. Hereupon, the Marquesse of *Gonzagua*, followed by some of his people, came in to succour him: and pressing in to the midst of these Hungarians, he slew two of them, and gaue the Earle leasure to rise, and to retire on foote some fiftie pases towards the Army. But, the Marquesse being presently forced to retire, these Hungarians ouerthrew the Earle againe with their Lances: and then discharging their Pistolls vpon him, they left this braue conductor of Armies dead, with 13 mortall wounds.

Count Bucquoy *found dead with 13 wounds vpon him.*

In the meane time, the said Marquesse, thinking yet to succour him once more and preserue him aliue, ioyned himselfe with Mounsieur CAMARGVES and som of the low Germane troupes formerly broken, and draue them back, pearcing through them euen to the place where the Earle was, but found him dead. Then did the Marquesse take time to alight, and layed the body on his owne horse, and brought it to the Camp, where was great mourning and lamentation. The cowardise of these horsemen which had thus abandoned their Generall (vnto whome their very enemies gaue the title of incomparable valour) was euen as much blamed,

blamed as the courage of two hundred musketters which were with them, was highly extolled: for although they were in an open field, they defended themselues with such resolution, that the Hungarians were in the end forced to leaue them, they receiuing little losse. 1621

The Emperour, and all Kings, Princes and Catholike Lords, much bewailed this death of Count BVCQVOY: his body was carried to *Viena*; where on the twentith of Iuly, it was sumptuously interred with all militarie pomp; which was a sad and heauie day there, both for these obsequies, as for two other heauy tidings: the one of raising the siege of *Neuhusall* the seauenteenth of Iuly, the other the death of the Arch-duke ALBERT Duke of *Brabant* and Prince of *Flanders*, who died at *Brussels*, the 13 of the said moneth of Iuly. It is obserued, that in foure yeares, fiue great Princes of the house of *Austria* haue deceased; namely, PHILIP third king of *Spaine*, The Emperors eldest son, and three brothers, The Emperor MATHIAS the Arch-duke MAXIMILIAN; and this yeare, The Arch-duke ALBERT. *Death of the Arch-duke Albert.*

After the death of the Earle of *Bucquoy*, The Hungarians, and Bohemians, Prince BETHLINS Partisans, were much encouraged, and the Imperialists asmuch deiected. The continuall raine also at this time, contrarie to the season, seemed to augment this sorrow, and minister occasion of the losse of the Cannon which they left behinde them at the raising of the siege of *Neuhusall*.

RODOLPHVS TIEPPENBAC, a Lord of *Morauia*, whose father had beene Generall in the warres of *Hungary* 1594, succeeded Count BVCQVOY, in his charge, and had beene himselfe Sergeant maior at the battaile of *Prague*. Through the diuisions which grew among so many nations which were in the Army; it was resolued in Councell, that the siege should bee raised, and that they should march towards *Gutta* vpon the *Dannow* three miles aboue *Comora*. Moreouer, vpon aduertisement that the Hungarians and Bohemians which were fled out of their countrey, being fortified with new Troupes, were resolued to pursue them in their retrait; it was resolued they should abandon 15 Cannons which they had for that siege, to the end they might march away with the more speede; being impossible for them to draw them away by reason of the abundance of raine which had fallen, and spoiled the waies.

On the 27 of Iuly the siege was raised in a tempestuous rainie night, so as the Hungarians could discouer nothing before the morning. This retrait hath beene diuersly related: and thus they write on either side. At the rising of the Camp, the Hungarians (being fortified with new Troupes) were resolued to charge the Imperialls, who had abandoned their Cannon, and to defeate the better part: but foure hundred musketieres, Walloones, defended a passage so valiantly, as the whole Army recouered *Gutta* without losse: from thence they went to *Presbourg* and to other necessarie places for the preseruation of the Emperours prouinces. GOTHARDVS saith, That the Hungarians seeing the siege raised, pursued the Imperialls with great furie, who had set Captaine MARBREIN at a passage to fauour their retreate; who after some resistance was forced and slaine with three hundred of his men and some of the Rereward. The Army came to *Gutta* and was very well entrenched: yet many French and Walloones fled towards *Presbourg*: part of the Army was sent to *Comora* and the rest towards *Iauerin*. As for the fifteene Cannons which they had abandoned at *Neuhusoll*, they were carried into the Towne in great triumph.

All these happie exploites in fauour of Prince BETHLIN made him to march speedily to *Neuhusoll* to pursue so many victories and to recouer *Presbourg*: but he found a stoppe at *Tirnaw*, where there were foure companies of Imperialls and fiue hundred horse in garrison: hauing planted his batteries, and made a breach, at three assaults he lost seauen hundred of his best men. Afterwards the batteries being continued, the besieged obseruing that they might easily bee forced, and knowing well they had small store of victualls remaining in the Towne, they demanded composition: which was graunted, and they departed with Armes and baggage. *Tirnaw taken by Prince Bethlin.*

From *Tirnaw*, Prince BETHLIN went to plant his siege before *Presbourg*, whither all his Partisans with their troupes came to ioyne with him: The Marquesse of *Iagerndorf* brought his from *Morauia*: the 19 of August he caused incursions to be made into *Austria*; whereas on either side of the riuer of *Dannow*, there was nothing to be seene but effusion of blood, slight of the inhabitants, spoile and fier; and of one day they might see from *Vienna*, on the other side of *Dannow*, 20 villages on fire: and on this side 14, by BVDIANY.

This BVDIANY hauing drawne together 6000 Hungarians and Turkes; seeing that COLALTE had beene countermaunded by the Emperor to put himself into *Presbourg*, & to de-

1621 fend it, he followed him, and took from him one of the lodgings of his Rere-ward; committing so great cruelties and inhumanities, that they write he ruined aboue a thousand villages in *Hungary* and *Austria*. As for the siege of *Presbourg*, it was continued by BETHLIN, whom the Imperials called ATTILA King of Huns, for that there was some conformity, being both Hungarians born, commanding one Nation, like in humours and conditions, both scourges to Christendome, hauing both put all to fire and sword as they past. He presſed *Presburg* to yeeld; in which there was a great garrison of horse and foot: the besieged were forced to make sallies to fetch forrage for their horses; where there were diuerse encounters, with variety of succes according to the hazard of the war: but on the fifteenth of September, there entring into the Towna supply of ten Cornets of horse and two companies of foot, sent from *Moravia*, Prince BETHLEIN with his Partisans was forced to raise the siege, and retire vnto *Tirnaw*, sending to refresh their Troops in many places of high *Hungary*, for that they had ruined the champaine Country.

Let vs now return to *Vienna*, and see what good succesſe the intercession hath had which many great Princes made for the restoring of the Palatine to his hereditary rights. Ambassadors had been with his Imperiall Maiesty from the King of *Denmark* and the Princes of the Vnion, and receiued their seuerall answers as you haue heard, with small succesſe. Our Kings Maiesty of great Britanne, who intermitted no care nor charge to repair this breach of disunion between his Imperiall Maiesty and his sonne-in-law the Elector Palatine, and to sane his hereditary Countrey for his posterity, which now lay in danger to be ruined, being inuaded by potent enemies, vnder the Emperors Commission; he dispatched the Baron of *Digbie*, now Earle of *Brisſowe*, Vice-chamberlain to his Maiesty, in ambassage to the Emperor; who, arriuing at *Vienna* in the beginning of Iuly with an honourable train, was receiued with great state, and had his audience on the fifteenth of Iuly. Some Writers relate, that the two chief points of his ambassie were, first, that the Elector Palatine, son-in-law to our King's Maiesty, might be receiued into grace and fauour with his Imperiall Maiesty, and restored to all his hereditary estates and titles which he had enioyed before the troubles of *Bohemia*; and, secondly, that the Imperiall Proscription giuen out against him might bee reuoked, or the execution suspended. Which being performed, the King's Maiesty of great Britanne would cause the Elector Palatin to yield all due obedience to his Imperiall Maiesty, and submit himself to all honest conditions of satisfaction.

The Lord Digbie sent to the Emperor.

To this demand he receiued an answer in writing, that his Imperiall Maiesty had a great desire to gratifie the King of great Britanne, and other Kings and Princes who had made the like intercession for the Elector Palatine; but the whole businesse consisted vpon two points: first, that he should cause the Elector Palatine to yeeld due obedience vnto his Imperiall Maiesty; and, secondly, that he should make satisfaction. His Imperiall Maiesty hauing also, during these troubles, vsed the aduice and counsell of many Electors and Princes, to the end they should not think that in this important businesse he would do any thing which might preiudice them, he had appointed an Assembly at *Ratisbone*; that he would let the King vnderstand the resolution that should be taken touching this businesse by the common consent of the said Electors and Princes; that in this warre which had been continued with iustice by his Imperiall Maiestie, there was no proportion between the parties for the continuance of *hostility*; that there was a difference between his Imperiall Maiesty who was feudatorie and soueraigne Iudge, and the Elector Palatine who was condemned; that, according to the Kings request, his Imperiall Maiesty had granted a truce: but as soon as there was a suspension of Armes in the lower Palatinate, at the same Instant hee caused warre to bee reuiued in the vpper Palatinate; and persisting in his enterprises, he had sent his Commissions vnto MANSFELD and the Marquesse of *Iagerndorf*, to cause new combustions in *Bohemia*, *Silesia* and *Moravia*; that he left it to the Ambassadour to iudge whether he could doo otherwise than oppose his iust Armes against those who were raised against him: yet if FREDERICK the Elector Palatine did yeeld and consent vnto the admonitions of the King his father-in-law, all matters might well bee compounded; freeing his Imperial Maiesty and the obedient Princes of the Empire from the iealousies which they had iustly conceiued. And thus much writes the French MERCVRIE touching this Treaty.

There is another author (who hath written a discourse called, *Vius Demonſtratio*) relates, that vpon my Lord DIGBIES second audience, his Maiesty made answere; That touching the suspension of Armes, which was the ground of the treaty, there seemed many difficulties: first,

First, that he was not well acquainted with the state of the lower and vpper Palatinate; whether a Truce might be made without preiudice: for that he vnderstood, in the lower Palatinate, Sir HORATIO VERE had inuaded the Bishop of *Spires* Countries, and broken the Truce; yet, for that he would not omit any thing which might tend to a Peace; and satisfie the Kings desire, he would presently write vnto the Duke of *Bauaria* for his counsel and consent touching this Truce; and Letters should be deliuered vnto the Ambassadour for the Arch-ducheſſe at *Bruſſells*; who should haue full power to conclude a Truce, vnleſſe there were apparant cause of danger: Whereunto his Maiesty did the more willingly encline; for that he promiſed, in the kings name, that as soon as a Truce were concluded, he would cause MANSFELD to obſerue it: Or if he should commit any hostile Act against his Imperiall Maiesty, or the Princes of the sacred Empire, during the said Truce; both the King and his sonne in Law, would declare him an enemy, and assist his Imperiall Maiesty, against him: Moreouer, he would procure, that if *Iagerndorf* had any power and authority giuen him to offend or inuade; that it should be presently reuoked: But especially he assured, that the King his Master would so deale with his sonne in Law, as that *Tabor* and *Pintzgaw*, with all other places which were held by that party, should with all speede be restored to his Maiesty: Furthermore, that if his Imperiall Maiesty would passe his promiſe, that the execution of the foreſaid Proſcription, in the vpper Palatinate, should be suspended during this Treaty; he would faithfully endeuour, that all MANSFELDS Souldiers should be discharged, and Armes laid down; with this condition, that if the said treaty of Peace should not haue a desired end, his Imperiall Maiesty (before hee should goe to Armes for the execution of the said Proscription) should be bound to giue notice thereof, three moneths before to his Maiesty.

1621

To this effect the Emperour wrote his Letters to the *Infanta*, and to the Duke of *Bauaria*, which Duke by his Letters, of the 27 of September, vnto the Lord Ambassadour, seemed to haue no enclination to a suspension of Armes, as appeares by these words contained in the said Letter.

His Imperiall Maiesty, in the first entrance of our Army and beginning our worke, hath giuen notice vnto vs of a motion for the suspension of Armes, and required our aduice: but to returne presently and suspend the businesse, it was neither safe, nor possible; especially for that the suspension was chiefly referred to the *Infanta* of *Spaine*; neither haue we conferred with those it doth concerne, hauing also MANSFELD with an Army at our doores, who might inuade our Prouince, and so obiect other difficulties to frustrate the said suspension. The Lord Ambassadour did much presse the Emperour and the Duke of *Bauaria* by his Letters for his suſpenſion of Armes; but he preuailed little: for the Emperour changed his minde, as it appeared by his Letters vnto the Duke of *Bauaria*, dated the thirtith of September; by the which he commanded him to inuade the Palatinate by vertue of his Commission, and to reduce it vnto his obedience, and to take an Oath of Allegeance in his name. This Author writes much concerning this businesse, and of the transferring of the Electorate to the Duke of *Bauaria*, long before proiected at *Rome*; to the end they might fortifie the Catholique party, and haue alwais an Emperor at their deuotion.

And, although they be *Arcana Imperij*; yet I hope I shall incurre no blame, if I lay open what I finde written by my Author. The Pope (much affecting this translation of the Electorshippe to the Duke of *Bauaria*) gaue Commission to a Capuchin Frier called HYACINTHVS, to goe and treate with the Emperour at *Vienna*: He had Letters of recommendation from Cardinall LODOVICIO the Popes fauorite; his charge was to perswade the Emperour to continue the warres, being against Heretiques, dangerous enemies to the holy mother Church of *Rome*, and disobedient to his Holineſſe; and that the Emperour should conferre the Electorall voice vpon the Duke of *Bauaria*, for that he was a Catholique Prince, and had well deſerued it for the aide and assistance he had giuen him in his warres against the Palatine; whome he entreated to dispoſſeſſe of the Electorall voice, and to punish him as his rebellion and offence had deſerued.

The Pope sends to the Emperor touching the Electorship.

The businesse being resolued at *Vienna*, the Frier was sent into *Spaine*, and Letters of credit sent after him, from the Emperour, writing to the King, and referring him to the Friers Commiſſion; but especially to *Don* BALTHAZAR of *Zuniga* (a great Counsellor of State, who died lately, being Vncle by the mothers side to the Earle of *Olinares* the kings fauorite) by the which he giues him to vnderstand, that he holds it most neceſſary, for the preſeruation and greatneſſe of the holy Faith, and consequently of the house of *Austria*, to transferre the Electorship

The Frier sent into Spaine.

1621 ship vpon the Duke of *Bauaria*; aduertising him withall that he was so much bound vnto the said Duke for his good deserts, and for the many promises he had made him aswell by word as writing, touching the translation of the Electorship, that he could not by any meanes retract it, without offence to God and a blemish to his honour, the which he hoped he would endeauour to preserue. This Letter bare date from *Vienna* the fifteenth of October 1621.

In a second Letter vnto *Don* BALTHAZAR of the same date, the Emperor set downe many reasons why he should not make a peace with the Elector, nor restore vnto him the Electoral dignity: in the end he concludes, that before that famous battaile at *Prague*, he had fully resolued, that the Palatine, being once proscribed, could not be restored to the Electorall dignity, without preiudice and danger vnto all Catholikes and to his house. That he had willigly offered it vnto the Duke of *Bauaria*, a stout Champion of the Catholike religion, whose aid & assistance he had employed in the recouerie of his Realmes and prouinces: wherefore the very time did seeme to presse him more then the Duke himself, that he should performe his promise without any further delay; and the Electorship being conferred vpon him, the Palatine should be depriued of all hope, and they in like manner which had so earnestly desired his restitution, and his Maiesty freed from further trouble. Which business requiring the King of *Spaines* aide (although he knew him to be well enclyned to any thing which concerned the honor of God and the safety of their house) yet would he not lose this occasion to perswade him, not to neglect so faire an opportunity for the *settling of their house and religion*. And in a Postscript to the same Letter he addes another motiue of no small consideration: which is, that by his translation they should haue a Catholike voice more then formerly they had; whereby they should be assured, that the Empire should be alwaies in the hands of the Catholikes, and by all reason in their house; wherein the Duke of *Bauaria* would willingly concurre, in requitall of the benefit he had receiued, to bee aduanced to so great adignity, by an Emperor of their house.

The Emperours Letter to the Pope.

The Capuchin Fryer HYACINTHVS, hauing receiued his Commission sent him into *Spaine*, had a Letter of aduice written with the Emperors owne hand, whereby he wished him not to speake any thing in that Court, that the Duke of *Bauaria* had gotten the inuestiture of the Palatinate; but should perswade them to concurre with him in his opinion, and giue those aydes whereby they might effectually attaine vnto it, being so profitable and necessarie for the preseruation of the holy faith, and consequently of their house; doubting that if he should say that his Maiesty had giuen away the inuestiture, it would much preiudice the cause; knowing well, that if he should bee abandoned by the crowne of *Spaine*, he should not be able with his owne forces to effect that which he had promised to the Duke of *Bauaria*: And he was in a manner assured (according to the daily speech of the Spanish Ambassador there resident) that this would vndoubtedly follow; that he should be abandoned by the crowne of *Spaine*, if the King should know he had giuen the inuestiture, before he had imparted it vnto that Crowne. The continuance of this warre, and the translation of the Electorship, was much pressed by the Popes Ministers and the Emperours.

Cardinall Lodouicius Letters to the Popes Nuntio at Brussels.

Cardinall LODOVICIO wrote his Letters vnto the Popes Nuncio resident at *Brussels*, wishing him to employ all his meanes and credit with the *Infanta*, that no suspension of Armes might be granted; adding withall, that touching the Palatines person, being iustly deprised of the Palatinate, hee might hold it for a great fauour if hee might be admitted to humble himselfe at the Emperours feete: the which if he did, yet should not his children enioy any parte of his patrimony, vnlesse they were bredde vp in the Catholike *religion; being a capitall error to restore those territories to heretiques, especially in regard of the Belgique prouinces* to which they ly so neere.

The Popes Nuntios Letters at Vienna to the Nuntio at Brussels.

The Popes Nuncio at *Vienna*, wrote his Letters to the Nuncio at *Brussels*; intimating that ther was no doubt of the Emperours inclination to conferre the Electorship vpon the Duke of *Bauaria*; but the busines depended wholly vpon the Spaniard: otherwise, it had beene before this time decided. The Spaniards oppose the Elector of *Saxony* against the Bauarian, making that their pretence: but the truth is, said he, they are not pleased with his greatnesse, and desire to reteine the lower Palatinate without any further warre. And for that they doubte that the Elector of *Saxony*, who desires to haue the constitutions of the Empire (which admit no strangers) to be religiously obserued, should oppose himselfe to their desires, they seeke by all meanes to please him, and giue him some colourable satisfaction: but, in case he should be withdrawne, and become an enemy, by their cunnning they seeke to perswade all the world, that this was not the true cause, that they haue reteined the lower Palatinate; but, for that the Electorall voice was conferred vpon the Duke of *Bauaria*. To free them from this excuse, the Arch-

duke

duke CHARLES is gone to the Duke of *Saxony* vpon another pretext, and we shortly expect his answere. If it be indifferent or neutrall, and not directly contrary, then it is thought (and 1621
I will doe my best endeuor) that the Emperour shall declare himselfe for the Bauarian, without any further delay; especially for that the Bulle of *Ogniate* hath declared that the king of *Spaine* would consent that the Electorship should be conferred vpon the Bauarian, if the *Saxon* did not oppose. But for that we feare the obstinacy of the Count of *Oghate* (although the *Saxon* should not oppose) we haue sent Father HYACINTHVS secretly into *Spaine* to oppose himselfe against the actions of OGNATE and the Baron of *Digby* the English Ambassadour, who is to go to that Court. It would much please the Spaniards, both to curbe the power of the Bauarian, and to haue the lower Palatinate at their command, in regard of the Belgick warres: As for our intentions, it is all one whether he or any other Catholique Prince hath them. And although it may be doubted, that this may breede some tumults in the Empire; yet, matters standing as they doe, there is not cause of feare: for as for the Catholiques, BAVARIA (to doe his owne businesse) will easily pacifie most of them, being Clergy men. The Caluinists are disbanded; neither can they hope for any succors from *France* or *Holland*, being in both places in daunger of their owne Estates. The Lutherans of Neuteralls haue neither force nor courage: so as I think the Spaniards haue a great opportunity to attaine to their wished end: without the which, I cannot perswade my selfe, that they will euer suffer the Bauarian to obtaine any thing; notwithstanding that Marquesse SPINOLA the last yeere at *Mentz* in the presence of the Cardinall of *Colern* did affirme that the Catholique King did not affect the inuestiture of the lower Palatinat, which the Earle of *Ognate* did seeke to procure him. But to conclude, it is thought the Spaniards (vpon whom all depends) will giue their consents vpon these foure conditions: First, that the Bauarian should restore the vpper *Austria*. Secondly, that in regard of his expences, he should haue the Electorshippe, with the vpper Palatinate; whose reuenues did exceede his charges. Thirdly, that the Spaniard should haue the lower Palatinate, and that the Bauarian should renounce all pretensions which he might haue to that State in regard of the Electorship. Fourthly, that there should be an offensiue and defensiue league made betwixt the Catholique league, his Imperiall Maiesty and the King of *Spaine*, against any that should oppose themselues. Thus I haue set downe the contents of seuerall Letters touching the transferring of the Electorship to the Duke of *Bauaria*: for confirmation whereof the Reader may obserue the euents which haue succeeded.

After the taking of *Plissen*, *Falkenaw* and *Elnbogen*; MANSFELD, hauing no more places of retreate in *Bohemia*, lodged, with his Troups, in the vpper Palatinate; where, hauing joyned with the forces of the two Dukes of *Saxony* and *Weymar*, he made an Army of eighteen thousand men, which he led into the Bishoprick of *Aichstat*, and the Countrey of the Lantz-graue of *Luchtenbourg*. The Emperour, being aduertized hereof, gaue charge to the Baron of *Tilly*, to stop MANSFELD's courses: Also IAMES BAVVER, of *Bissenet*, Generall of the Bishop of *Virsbourg*'s Troups, being joyned with *Tilly*, they went to encounter MANSFELD; who was camped and entrenched at *Verdhausf*: From whence he made incursions vpon the Frontiers of *Bohemia*. TILLY and BAVVER, hauing imbattailed their Army right ouer against his, seized vpon a neighbouring Hill, and Wood; where they had many skirmishes together. Vpon the conjunction of TILLY's and BAVVER's Troups, MANSFELD, as Commissarie to the Elector Palatine in *Bohemia*, published a declaration against the Bishop of *Virsbourg*, and the Deane and Chapter of *Bamberg*, to this effect:

Seeing it is well knowne vnto all men, that the Troupes of the Bishoppe of *Versbourg* were ioyned with the Duke of *Bauaria's*, in the warres of *Bohemia*; and that they doe giue vs occasion enough (as Commissarie to the King of *Bohemia*) to pursue the said Bishoppe and Chapter by Armes, according to the Talion Law; I thought it better to vse grace and clemency, then force, and to send them a Trumpet to aduertize them to call back their Troups from *Bohemia*, and to admonish and enioyne them not to meddle with secular affaires, but containe themselues within the bounds of their Ecclesiasticall function: Which if they doe, they shall haue mee their friend; otherwise they must expect that I will bring Fire and Sword into their Countreys.

Mansfelds Letters to the Bishop of Virsbourg.

MANSFELD, hauing intelligence that the Imperialists meant to force him in his Campe, resolued to preuent them, and to charge them in their lodgings, the 14 of Iulie: He began first with *Hoseldorf*; where the horsemen sallied forth with a hundred and fifty Musketiers Germans, to defend the approaches: but the Mansfeldians charged them with such furie, that they slue

many, and put the reſt to flight. Some of their chiefe commanders were taken priſoners in the Towne; which they ſpoiled and burnt: From thence they went to their ſecond lodging, which was at Saint CATHERINES; the entry whereof was more difficult by reaſon of ſens and ditches which they were to paſſe, the bridges being alſo broken: In this place were fiue hundred Souldiers: who, ſeeing themſelues ſo reſolutely ſet vpon, abandoned the ſame, to retire themſelues into a Wood; where twelue thouſand of MANSFELD'S Souldiers purſued them ſo ſpeedily; as, hauing no leiſure to recollect themſelues, they caſt away their Armes and fled: in which flight, there were 300 ſlaine, and many taken priſoners, with much cattell which they carried to their Camp.

TILLY and BANVER, ſeeking to repaire this diſgrace, put all their troups in battail, on the ſixteenth of Iuly, with an intent to charge him; which, MANSFELD finding, hee did the like as well as he could in thoſe mountainous places, hauing twenty Cornets of Horſe, and fifty companies of foote: This day was ſpent in skirmiſhes from eight of the clock in the morning, vntill nine at night: but MANSFELD, hauing foure field-peeces, ſhotte directly vpon the Imperialiſts; who receiued a farre greater loſſe then the Mansfeldians, and yet they came not to a generall battaile: Some write that MANSFELD loſt but 100 men, and the Imperialiſts 1000, ſix Captains, and their Generall BANVER who was ſhot in the head, being afterwards embalmed at *Egra*. As they conducted his body to *Virsburg* with a ſmall train, they were charged by the garriſon of VALDSAXEN; who tooke all his baggage and thirty three horſe. Afterwards, his body (at the requeſt of the Biſhop of *Bamber*) was deliuered, and ſolemnly interred at *Virsbourg* with a military pomp. Vpon the nineteenth of Iuly, ſome of MANSFELD'S Army tooke a conuoy which went to the Imperials; in which ther was a good quantity of pouder and other munition, with many carts loaden with wine, and ſixty horſe. On the firſt of Auguſt the two Armies ſtood in battell one againſt another, from noon till eight of the clock at night. Generall TILLY did what he might to draw the Mansfeldians to a generall combate: but there was nothing but light skirmiſhes with many cannon ſhot; in which the Imperials had the better. Some write, that a bullet of fiue and twenty pound waight fell ſo neer vnto Count MANSFELD (who was with two Princes of *Weimar* and the Earl of *Solms*) that it couered his horſe with duſt.

The Emperour, being aduertized of the warre which MANSFELD made in the vpper Palatinate, cauſed a ſecond Edict of Proſcription to be publiſhed againſt him; containing, That it was well knowne to all the World, how that his Predeceſſor the Emperour MATHIAS had Proſcribed ERNEST, baſtard of MANSFELD for his felonies and crimes; and that the ſaid MANSFELD, continuing his diſobedience, threatned to put the Countries and Princes of the Empire (which had continued faithfull in their obedience vnto his Imperial Maieſty) to Fire and Sword. That ſome Princes and States, againſt the conſtitutions of the Empire, fauoured him and gaue him paſſage through their territories; induced thereunto by the Palatine, an apparant enemy to his Imperiall Maieſty, and by him alſo Proſcribed: Which Palatine, the ſaid MANSFELD, by his laſt Mandats, did ſtill tearme King of *Bohemia*. That his Imperiall Maieſty had well hoped that hereafter the ſaid MANSFELD ſhould not finde any one to fauour and protect him, fearing the puniſhment inflicted by the conſtitutions of the Empire; which had not ſucceeded. That to ſhew his naturall clemency, he thought good againe to aduertiſe all the Princes, States, and members of the Empire; that vpon the Penalties contained in the ſaid conſtitutions, they ſhould not giue any paſſage through their Territories to the ſaid MANSFELD nor his ſouldiers. As for the Captaines, Officers and Souldiers, which followed the ſaid MANSFELD; that they ſhould abandon him vpon paine (for ſuch as were ſubiects to the Empire) of the loſſe of all their dignities, priuiledges and immunities: and for thoſe which were ſtrangers, vpon loſſe of life.

The Town of *Nuremberg* hauing ſubmitted it ſelf to the Emperors obedience (as hath been formerly ſaid) would not ſuffer any ſouldiers to be leuied, nor go out of the Town, before they had taken a new oath to the Duke of *Bauaria* in the name of his Imperiall Maieſty. Moreouer, the Imperiall Ban againſt MANSFELD had been proclaimed there; whereat he was wonderfully incenſed: and, to take reuenge, he went into the Territortes of the City neer vnto it with 500 horſe and 1000 muſketiers on horſeback; who, diſperſing themſelues round about it, and vpon all the approaches, committed infinite ſpoils.

The Duke of *Bauaria* was increated by the Biſhops of *Virsbourg*, *Bamberg*, and other States of the Empire, to free them from the oppreſſion of MANSFELD'S incurſions and ſpoyles: where-

whereupon, leauing his inſtruments of muſick (which is his greateſt delight) hee gaue the *Rendez-vous* for all his troops, his cannon and munition, at *Straubin*, to march into the vpper Palatinate. 1621

MANSFELD (as we haue formerly related) being encamped with his Army in the vpper Palatinate, they were not onely much afflicted with peſtilent diſeaſes, by reaſon of the dead carcaſes both of men and cattell, but the Bauarians did alſo much annoy them with their ordinance and daily aſſaults. To repaire which loſſe he gaue money to certaine Captaines to leuie new ſouldiers, and he took 4000 men, who hiding their matches vnder their hatts, marched all night to ſurpriſe the Bauarians in their Camp: but it hapned that being neere, a French-man by chance diſcharged a peece, which made the whole Camp cry To Armes; ſo as this attempt being made voide, he reſolued to fire a wood which the Bauarians held, ſpreading great ſtore of powder on the one ſide with pitch barrels burning: but ther ſuddenly fel ſo great a ſhower of raine as it took no effect.

The Duke of *Bauaria*, hauing prepared all things readie to march into the vper Palatinate, he parted from *Munch* or *Munich* on the 13 of Iuly: and hauing paſt the riuer of *Danuow* and ioyned with TILLY his Lieutenant, he muſtered his Army; in which were ſix and twenty thouſand men. What his exploits were, and how MANSFELD left the vpper Palatinate you ſhall ſoone heare.

In the moneth of May, the ſouldiers which remained in the Palatinate for the Elector, fell vpon certaine Townes and villages belonging to the Biſhop of *Spire*: as *Forſt*, *Hochdorf*, *Niderkich*, *Hamlot* and others: and the twenty two of Auguſt following, *Don* GONZALES *de Cordua*, Generall for the Spaniard, put in execution an enterpriſe which hee had, vpon the Caſtle and Tower of *Stein*, a ſtrong place, ſituated in a mariſh ground betwixt *Wormes* and *Germensheims*; whereas fifteene Peſants which kept it were all ſlaine. This Caſtle being one of the keyes of the Palatinate on that ſide, the Army which was left for the guard of the Palatinate with fifteene hundred Boors, ranne preſently thither to recouer it if they might: but they found that the Spaniard had fortified it well with a good garriſon and munition. At their firſt approach they recouered a Rauelin: but moſt of them being forced to ſtand vp to the waſte in water, and ſo to fight with the enemie, being alſo beaten by three cannon which the Spaniard had planted on the other ſide of the *Rhine*, they were after three daies forced to raiſe their ſiege, hauing loſt 300 men, and 70 hurt. What number of Spaniards were ſlain is vncertain: there were many hurt in the Caſtle, which they carried away with them: and ſince, they haue ſo fortified this place, that they haue made it a receit of contribution; to the which they haue made the townes of *Northeim*, *Wartemhem* and *Byblise* with their territories, ſubiect. *Stein ſurpriſed by the Spaniard.*

The Duke of *Bauaria* being entred with his Army into the vpper Palatinate, hearing that MANSFELD receiued moſt of his victual and refreſhing from *Amberg*; meaning to depriue them of thoſe helpes and to cut off that paſſage, he ſurpriſed certaine rich monaſteries vpon the way, and went to beſiege *Chamb*, which he ſummoned to yeeld by his trumpet. The Gouernor made anſwere he had no commandement from them of *Amberg* to yeeld; whereupon he battered it with foure Cannon: whereupon the Gouernour miſtruſting his forces began to perſwade his ſouldiers, that it were better to departe with their liues then to endure the diſcommoditics of a ſiege and preuaile nothing; ſo as in the end they made their compoſition, and departed with Armes and baggage, and ioyned themſelues to MANSFELD with three companies of foote and two of horſe. Hauing taken this Towne, the Duke went on and made himſelfe maiſter of diuers others. In the meane time MANSFELD hauing intercepted a meſſenger with Letters, whereby the Duke aduertiſed the Lantzgraue of *Luchtemberg* that his intent was to ſend certaine troupes of Bauarians to cut off MANSFELD'S paſſage; hereupon ſending ſome forces to *Sfremdi*, he forced the Towne and tooke the Lantzgraue in it; whome he brought to *Amberg*. *The Duke of Bauaria takes Chamb.* *The Lantzgraue of Luchtemberg taken by Mansfield.*

The Noblemen and States of the vpper Palatinate, ſeeing that they receiued more loſſe and preiudice from the Mansfeldian ſouldiers, who ſhould haue defended them, then from the Bauarians; hauing receiued monitorial Letters from the Duke, that they ſhould abandon MANSFELD, who would ruine their countrey, they reſolued to leaue him and to ſubmitt themſelues vnto the Duke; with this *Proniſo*, that he ſhould not alter any thing in point of religion nor policie. MANSFELD knowing the reſolution with the States of the vper Palatinate had taken, and ſeeing that his paſſage would be cut off by the Bauarians, and that he ſhould finde little meanes to releeue his Army: to auoide this danger, being preſſed by a Potent aduerſary and in want

1621 Mansfeld offers to submit himself to the Emperor.

want both of money to pay his ſouldiers and of other meanes to releeue them, hee made offer to ſubmit himſelfe to the Emperours obedience, promiſing to ſerue him with his Army, ſo as he might receiue a certaine ſumme of money to giue them content; whereupon, hauing receiued part, he deliuered vp his fortification at *Verdhauſe* (which hee could no longer keepe) to the Bauarians.

This treaty of MANDSFELD hath beene diuerſly cenſured. Some haue thought that he did it in policie, onely to entertaine time and to finde meanes to ſlip downe into the lower Palatinate. Others affirme, that he treated ſeriouſly being in great wants; That his ſouldiers preſſed him for money and were ready to mutine, which might haue beene dangerous to his perſon; and that the Lord DIOBY his Maieſties Ambaſſadour, hauing ſent to the Duke of *Bauaria*, and finding no hope of any ſuſpenſion of Arms, came by MANSFELD; with whom he had conference, putting him in minde of his oath to the Elector Palatine, choſen King of *Bohemia*, of the honour which he had formerly gotten by Arms, the which would now be quite blemiſhed by this act of infidelity; perſwading him to be conſtant, and withall ſupplying him with a good ſumme of money to giue his ſouldiers ſome content: whereupon, hee forbare to conclude the Treaty, vntill he had gotten a paſſage with his forces into the lower Palatinate. Being freed from this danger, he brake off the Treaty, and declared himſelf an enemy to the Bauarian Ambaſſadors who had ſtill followed his Camp. This newes did fruſtrate their ioy at *Prague* which they had conceiued for MANSFELD's reduction to the Emperor.

The Spaniards in the lower Palatinate vnder the command of GONZALES *de Cordua*, going out of *Steim*, and ſeeing that Sir HORATIO VERE had fortified *Heidelberg*, *Manheim* and *Frankendale*, with ſtrong garriſons, went and took moſt of the Towns towards the mountains, and then returned to *Luthra* a Town not well prepared to endure a ſiege, nor the citizens inured to labour and danger: wherefore, the Gouerner and his garriſon being let out at the vpper port, they receiued-in troops of Spaniards.

The truce between the Spaniard and the States of the vnited Prouinces being now ended, Marqueſſe SPINOLA came down with a powerfull Army, and lay neer vnto *Weſell*, ſending Count HENRY of *Vandenberg* to inueſt IVLIERS a Fee of the Empire, diſputed by the Marqueſſe of *Brandenburg* and the Duke of *Nuburg*, as heirs to the Duke of *Cleues*; but now held by the vnited States, as *Cleues* is by the Spaniard. There was a ſtrong garriſon in the Town; who, ſeeing themſelues beſieged, made a great ſalie on the foure and twentith of September, and tooke their neereſt Trenches in deſpite of the Spaniard. In the meane time there grew a great Fier in the Campe, many Tents were burnt, and the beſieged annoyed them much with their Cannon; and, making a new ſalie, they ſpoiled Count HENRIES quarter, carrying what they got into the Towne. The Earle following them with moſt of his houſe, the Towneſ-men loſt a Captaine with thirty ſix horſe-men; which, being ſlaine, they had leaue the next day to burie them.

In the meane time, the Spaniards in the lower Palatinate took the ſtrong Caſtle of *Landſtule*; which hauing fortified with a great garriſon and munition, they turned their forces to *Frankendale*, vnder GONZALES *de Cordua's* command; they being, as ſome write, twelue or thirteene thouſand men: They pitched their Campe on the twenty ſeuenth of September, towards *Spire* and *Manheim*, and fortified themſelues both againſt the beſieged, or any forraine Enemy; which done, they began to plant their Ordinance. This Towne hath been built of late yeers by Wallons, which were fled out of the low Countries for Religion, during the time of the Duke of *Alua*, when as the Elector Palatine protected them with their families, and gaue them leaue to build and fortifie it, being before of no import.

Vpon the approach of the Spaniſh Army, the Towne being vnder the command of the Engliſh, Captaine BVRROVVES being Gouernour; Captaine FAIRFAX, a gallant Gentleman, who was there ſlaine, and buried in the bed of honour, hauing command of the out-works of the Towne, encouraged his Souldiers, telling them that the Towne was a part of the King of *England's* daughters iointure; and the warres they vndertook were for two reaſons: firſt, for that being Proteſtants the Papiſts came to aſſault them, and to take the place; and, ſecondly, they were ſent to defend her right, which was the place whereon they ſtood; and that for his part he would not loſe one foot whil'ſt he breathed, neither did he doubt but they would doo the like: whereat they all proteſted they would dy in her defenſe. The enemy, hauing made his trenches and fortifications, came late in the euening being very dark, and ſurpriſed a ſentinell: who, being amazed, caſt away his Armes and fledde; and, miſtaking the out-work from which

which he was ſent, ranne to the half Moon which lay vnder the Town-wals. They within the out-works, hauing no aduertiſement of the enemies approach, were for the moſt part ſlain, being ſixty Engliſh and Dutch. Captain FAIRFAX, then Sergeant maior, hearing the alarme, came to the half Moon, takes a pike, asked what Gentlemen would go with him; and beeing in haſte, went without his corſlet with his pike and ſword onely, and entred the trenches, which he found ſtrongly guarded by the enemy; where he charged and hurt diuerſe: but, the night being exceeding dark, he was thruſt through his buffe coat into the left ſide, and was caried off by one of his Followers; of which wound he was ſoon cured. 1621

The enemy plaid vpon the Town with his cannon: and on the thirtith of September the beſieged made a ſalie, ouerthrew their trenches, and had taken foure peeces of ordinance if they had been aſſiſted by any horſe: but they were forced to retire. They continued their batterie; but did not annoy the Town, ſhooting ſtill ouer it: whereof beeing aduertiſed by two boies which went out to gather grapes, they planted their cannon lower, and did much annoy their houſes; ſo as they hoped it would ſo terrifie the Townſmen, that they would ſoon yeeld. The enemy, hauing taken the out-work, approached neer to the half Moon where the Engliſh lay; whither Captain FAIRFAX came, being ſomewhat recouered: where incouraging the ſouldiers, and offering to make a muſket ſhot into the enemies work, he had his thigh broken with a demi-cannon; wherewith falling down, he cried, Gentlemen, I haue loſt my leg: yet bee not diſmaid, but fight like braue Engliſhmen; for, my heart ſhall be alwaies with you. Whereupon, he was caried away; and died that night, and was buried with an honourable funeral pomp, to the great grief of the ſouldiers and the Burgers of the Town: who, to ſhew their loue, erected a monument in remembrance of ſo worthy a ſouldier.

The enemy (ſeeing he could preuail nothing by force nor by his cannon) vpon the ninth of Nouember began to ſhoot fiery bullets into the Town: but the Beſieged with their wiues and children vſed ſuch diligence to quench the fire, that it proued fruitleſſe. The ſame night they made an aſſault vpon the Port of *Spire*: but it took no effect, beeing repulſed by the Beſieged. The next day there fell a great rain, which was very preiudiciall to the Spaniard: for, their trenches being made in a moiſt ground, and growne dry for want of water, their fortifications fell, and their trenches were full of water. In the mean time, Count MANSFELD came out of the vpper Palatinate with his forces and ten peeces of ordinance, towards *Nuremberg*; where hearing that the Spaniards had beſieged *Frankendale*, hee marched on ſpeedily with his forces to relieue it. C. Mansfeld reſolues to relieue Frankendale.

On the thirteenth of October the Spaniard ſent a Trumpet to the Town to require them to yeeld in the Emperors name, with promiſe that the Burgeſſes ſhould enioy their liberties with free exerciſe of religion; and that the ſouldiers ſhould depart with their colours flieing, their Arms and all their baggage: but they had an anſwer ſent them from Captain BORROVVES the Gouerner, that the Towne was not his, but had charge from Generall VERE to keep it, and that they muſt bring his conſent from *Manheim*; that he could not truſt their promiſes, hauing ſeen the contrary by the example of others. The Trumpet hauing receiued this anſwer, with many threats he returned to the enemy, who renewed his battery againſt the Town. The ſame night the Beſieged heard a great noiſe of horſes in the wood, nothing ſuſpecting the Spaniards riſing, who had ſo lately ſummoned them to yield: but they being aduertiſed that Count MANSFELD and Generall VERE made haſte to raiſe the ſiege, departed ſuddenly, leauing many ſick and wounded, with much Arms and munition behind them. At the break of day the Engliſh which guarded the out-works went into their Camp, where they found ſome Italians; whom they ſpared for that they were not Spaniards. The Spaniards being gon towards *Worms*, the Beſieged threw down their fortifications and trenches. The Citizens were very reſolute to defend the Town, ſparing neither coſt nor labour. Of the Spaniards there were ſlain 3000, by the report of ſome priſoners. The Beſieged loſt 109 ſouldiers: among which were Captain FAIRFAX and his brother, and the brother of the Gouerner BVRROVVES. Frankendale reſcued.

During this ſiege of *Frankendale*, *Don* GONZALES drew out ſome of his forces to break off the Bridge at *Manheim*. Sir HORATIO VERE the Generall (who was neuer daunted at the fight of any enemy) commanded his men to come into the out-work before the bridge, and there to be quiet till the enemies approach: who coming on with a great reſolution, they gaue them ſuch a volley of ſhot, that they were forced to retire with the loſſe of many; yet beeing not daunted heerwith, they came to a ſecond aſſault, where they were entertained in the like manner, and with as great loſſe: ſo as, deſpairing of any ſucceſſe, they retired, caſting moſt of their

1621 their slain men into the riuer of *Rhine*. Count MANDSFELD, being ignorant of the raising of the siege at *Frankendale*, marched ouer the bridge at *Manheim* with 108 companies of foot, 56 of horse, and foure peeces, to relieue the Besieged; with whom ioined Generall VERE, MERVIVS Gouerner of *Heidelberg*, OBERNTRAVD, and others with their forces. The Citizens of *Frankendale* gaue to MANDSFELD 12000 florens for raising of their siege, to the end he might giue some content to his souldiers. He followed the Spaniards towards *Steim*: but finding them well fortified, and not able to attempt any thing without danger, he dismissed Generall VERE and the other Commanders; marching himself with his army into the Bishoprick of *Spire*, to get what he could.

Tilly sent into the lower Palatinate.

The Duke of *Bauaria*, seeing himself circumuented by Count MANSFELD (hauing taken an oath from them of *Amberg*, *Newmark*, and others) sent 47 Troops of horse and 85 companies of foot, vnder the command of Generall TILLY, to follow him into the lower Palatinate: whereof some Dutchmen ran away; others fell to robbing and spoiling without respect of friend or foe. At his first coming into the Palatinate, hee took many places towards the Mountain: and, drawing neer to *Heidelberg*, he sent Letters vnto them; signifying, that he had commission from his Imperiall Maiesty and the Duke of *Bauaria*, to reduce the lower Palatinate to the Emperors obedience; to the which end he had brought an Army: but before he would proceed to force, he would admonish and require them not to oppose themselues in so iust a cause, whereby they should draw ruine vpon themselues and the whole Prouince; that hee expected a kinde answer from them, hoping that they would willingly submit themselues to the Emperors command; whereby hee promised them all safety and good vsage, and that they should receiue no wrong from the souldiers, but should be defended like to the subiects of the vpper Palatinate: but if they should do otherwise, and not obey the Emperors commandment, he would ioin his forces with *Don* CORDVA, Lieutenant Generall of the Spaniards, and subdue them by force.

The Citizens of *Heidelberg* made answer to these Letters, that they were much grieued to receiue them by night by a Trumpet; that it was not in their power, neither could they by their oath resigne a gouernment to another which was committed vnto them by the Magistrate: wherefore they did hope, that he would excuse them if they did not satisfie his desire; that they would speedily aduertise their Magistrate thereof, and expect his answer: in the meane time they did hope, that he would not attempt any thing by force. This answer, being giuen by the Counsellers of *Heidelberg*, was not pleasing to the Gouerners; who, staying it, sent another to TILLY after this maner: that they had receiued his Letters which were sent by night contrary to the discipline of war, and seen with admiration what he desired from the Counsellers of *Heidelberg*; that the gouernment was committed to them, but referred to them by Generall VERE their Commander; that they could not gratifie him, nor dispose of any thing in so difficult a businesse without his consent, especially for that the whole Electorship was committed to Generall VERE, and the City of *Heidelberg* to their guard: the which they resolued to defend to their last gasp; that if he or any other desired to try their valor, they could not hinder it: but he might come and see whether there were lesse worth in the souldiers, than in the garrison of *Frankendale*.

The Elector of *Saxony* comes to *Presław* to receiue an oath of the Silesians.

The Elector of *Saxony*, coming to *Presław* to receiue the oath of alleageance in the Emperors name from the Princes and States in *Silesia*, was receiued with great pomp, and brought into the City the 22 of October by the Princes of *Lignitz* and *Munsterberg*. The next day, the Princes and States being assembled in the Castle, he caused the Emperors proposition to bee read vnto them; whereby he let them vnderstand, that his Maiesty was glad the Princes and States of *Silesia* had so willingly come to that prouincial assembly; neither could any thing haue bin more pleasing to him than to haue been present there himself: but being diuerted by many affairs of importance, he had committed that businesse to the Elector of *Saxony* to represent his person; the which, for his obedience towards his Maiesty, and his loue to the Princes and States of *Silesia*, he would not refuse. He wished them as much happinesse as they had inioyed in the time of his Predecessors: and seeing the Prouinces were now settled in peace by the grace of God and his great care, he hoped they would continue constant, and giue him aid to repell his barbarous enemies: to which end he desired a speedy contribution of 500000 dollers, for that many other poorer Prouinces, and which had been much exhausted, had dealt bountifully; that they knew how much it concerned them to haue the bounds of *Hungary* preserued. To the which end both their Ancestors and the States of *Bohemia* had spent much: and now the danger was

was very great: for defense whereof, the Emperor required 100000 dollers yeerly for 6 yeers. As for the tribute or excise of beer for the maintenance of the Court, hee desired they would 1621
continue it as they formerly had done, his treasure being exhausted by reason of ciuill warres. And for the remouing of all occasions of war in that Prouince, he aduised them not to entertain any more souldiers than were fit to defend their Frontiers, and to send the rest against the Turk with a yeerly contribution. The next day the Elector coming to the Castle, the Princes, States and Citizens, took a new oath to the Emperor.

The Marquesse dissuading from the oath.

During this Assembly, the Marquesse of *Iagerndorf* sent two Trumpets vnto them, with Letters to perswade them not to take an oath to the Emperor, but to continue cõstant in the league and faith which they had once sworn to FREDERICK their King, and not to hasten the ruine of their Country by an vnnecessary defection: they could not be ignorant how grieuous it would be to them who knew his good disposition, hauing defended *Silesia* from hostile inuasions. And being bound to satisfie God and the league they had sworne, hee perswaded them to send their Deputies to BETHLIN GABOR, and to himself as Commissary to the King of *Bohemia*, within 14 daies with a declaration of their intents. But if any thing hapned to the contrary, he should be very much grieued for the ruine of the Country, but the cause should be imputed to them who had been the motiues of these combustions by their ambition and couetize.

Resolution of the States of Silesia.

Notwithstanding these threatning Letters, the Princes and States of *Silesia* made answer to the Emperors proposition, that they were ready to pay 400000 Imperials or dollers at certain daies; that they would contribute 70000 dollers yeerly during the space of six yeeres for the defense of the Frontiers of *Hungary*: for the excise of beer they were content to supply his Maiesty for ten yeers, and for their auxiliarie forces according to the present estate of the Countrey. This answer being pleasing to the Elector Palatine, a generall peace was proclaimed in *Silesia*.

Brunswick goes into the Palatinate.

CHRISTIAN, Duke of *Brunswick*, and Bishop of *Halberstad*, cosin-germane to the Queen of *Bohemia*, hauing a desire to relieue the Palatinate, gathered what forces he could together in the Lowe-countries, and on the 18 of October departed from *Emericq* with his Army. Hauing sent 2600 foot and 300 horse before into the territories of *Minden*, *Hildesheim* and *Brunswick*, they committed great spoils: and being commanded from the Bishop of *Halberstat*'s brother, the Duke of *Luneburg*, and the Administrator of *Magdeburg*, to remoue their Camp, they would not obey; so as they were suddenly set vpon by the souldiers of the Country, and most of them slain, losing their Arms and Ensignes. The Duke was not daunted for this misfortune, but continued his resolution to go into the Palatinat with thirteen companies of foot and fiue hundred horse.

MAVRICE, Lantzgraue of *Hesse*, at this time inuaded the iurisdiction of the Earles of *Waldec*, for that they had demanded their fees from the Emperor, and not from him; as also for the antient contentions for the City of *Corbac*. Hee took the Castle of *Esingbourg*, draue away the Gouerner, and manned it with a good garrison, leauing all to the spoile of the souldiers; who eare in peeces all their Registres, Letters, Seals and Documents which did concern *Mentz*, *Cullen*, *Patterborn* and *Hesse*, which had been kept there for many yeers in an originall form. From thence he went to other Castles, Cities and Towns, making them subiect to him. Hee called together the Knights and other States of *Corbac*; letting them vnderstand, that the Earls of *Waldec* had lost their fee by their owne fault: wherefore they should not assist them against the iurisdictions of *Corbac* and *Hesse*, but ioin with his Officers. The Earles in the meane time fledde to some places of safety; one of them posting to the Emperor to acquaint him with the whole businesse.

In the Palatinate, TILLY with his Bauarian Army made hauock in the mountaine-Countries, spoiling all places; so as the Inhabitants were forced to flee away for extreame want and penury. MANDSFELD committed no lesse spoile on this side of the riuer of *Rhine* in the Bishoppe of *Spire*'s Countrey, causing the Towne of *Brugsel* to redeeme it selfe for a great summe of money. TILLY and CORDOVA with their ioynt forces might easily haue releeued it: but there was some distast between them; so as he had good meanes to escape them: and on the thirteenth of Nouember, passing the bridge at *Manheim*, he besieged *Didesheim*, and took it, finding in it a great booty; committing the guard thereof vnto the Duke of *Lauenbourg* of *Saxony*: after which he tooke the Towne and Castle of *Kerchweil*; where the Captaine and garrison followed his colours. Afterwards he seised vpon *Lawterbourg*, which was very rich, because those which inhabited the Countrey had brought their wealth into it; all which hee

1621 gaue to the ſouldiers for ſpoil. Planting his Camp there, he cauſed 6000 foot and 16 companies of horſe to be leuied.

The Spaniards and the Bauarians on the 21 of Nouember, being 18000 men, marched towards *Lauenbourg* to recouer that Town: to relieue which, MANSFELD poſted thither with foure peeces of ordinance; but ſeeing the Spaniards lodged vpon aduantage, he retired: after which the Town yeelded. After Count MANSFELD's departure out of the vpper Palatinat, though the garriſon of *Tabor* could hope for no relief, yet they refuſed to yeeld vnto *Don* BALTHAZAR; proteſting, that they would defend it to the laſt gaſp. Hauing planted his cannon, he fought by all means to make a breach. The thirteenth of October, the Beſieged endured an aſſault the ſpace of three houres: they repulſt the Imperials with great loſſe, there being three Captains and many ſouldiers ſlain, and 200 ſore wounded. They had reſolued to defend it till S. MARTIN's day, and to expect ſuccours if happely any might come; as appeared by their Letters intercepted to Count MANSFELD. The day aforeſaid being comn, and no ſuccours appearing, the garriſon being in great want both of wood and ſalt, and the Gouerner a little before dead, they did capitulate, and left the Town on the 18 of Nouember, going out with their colours flieing. Arms and baggage: which the Imperials mand with a ſtrong garriſon, the Citizens redeeming themſelues from ſpoil for a ſumme of money: but yet they were not ſuffred to go out of the Town. The Noble-men of *Bohemia* which had fled thither, and continued there during the ſiege, were apprehended and put in priſon.

hriſtian *the* nger, *Prince* Anhalt, *ye-* ncelled *to the* mperor.

CHRISTIAN the yonger, Prince of *Anhalt*, who had been hitherto kept priſoner at *Newſtad*, after many interceſſions was brought to *Vienna* the 26 of Nouember with a conuoy of fifty horſe. He was lodged in an Inne, and had free liberty to walk vp and down the City. The 12 of December he was admitted to the Emperors preſence, and humbly craued pardon for his offenſe; the which he obtained after ſome repetition made by the Vice-chancellor.

Some months before, CHRISTIAN the elder, Prince of *Anhalt*, ſued to the Emperor for pardon, writing Letters to this ſenſe:

hriſtian *the* der, *Prince of* nhalt, *craues* rdon *of the* mperor.

The mercy which his Maieſty had ſhewed to offenders againſt him in this Bohemian warre, had made him (plunged in great miſeries) to flee to his Imperiall Maieſty, hoping that the gate of grace ſhould not be ſhut againſt him; eſpecially for that he had this more peculiar than the reſt, hauing been neither the author nor beginner of theſe combuſtions, but was lately drawn into them: neither was he abſolutely ſubiect to his Maieſty as a great number of others, but mediatly as a Prince of the Empire; neither was he at that time tied to him by oath; that he could truly affirm, he came not to thoſe warres with any bad intent to his Maieſty, being his ſupreme Magiſtrate: but the care and loue to religion which the Bohemians ſo much complaind would be oppreſſed, and the faith which he had vowed for many yeers to the Elector Palatine, had ingaged him in theſe miſeries; neither had he euer any wil to oppoſe himſelf againſt CÆSAR, but onely to preuent the falling of thoſe countries into any ſtrangers hands, and to ſee the combuſtions paciſied by ſome honeſt Treaty: to which end he had vſed many graue admonitions. But, all hope of compoſition being taken away, he could do no leſſe than became the Generall of an Army; preuenting as much as in him lay all vnneceſſary deuaſtations and ſpoils, and preferring the recouery of peace and publike ſafety before the diſcommodities of war. In the end finding that God had not onely giuen CÆSAR victory, but made it knowne to the world that he would not haue religion alwaies defended by the ſword, he had ſpeedily laid down Armes, and perſwaded the Palatine to make his compoſition, although in ſhew he had great means to rettie the war. Hee would not deny, but the loue of the reformed religion and of the Elector Palatine had drawne him into this error: yet it was true, no man liued without fault and neuer erred; God onely was free from ſinne, it was not giuen to men. It was common for all men to erre: if he in like manner had failed, he humbly beſought his Imperial Maieſty to couer his error with the cloke of his mercy and clemency, and to pardon all his offenſes, to receiue him and his again into fauour, and reſtore his captiue ſonne to liberty and his former dignity; which ſhould be an honour to his Maieſty, and binde him for ſo great a fauour to doo him perpetuall ſeruice.

The 21 of Nouemb. the Spaniards (who lay claim to any thing lying fit for them) attempted the ſtrong Caſtle of *Reinfeld* in the Earldom of *Catzenelnbogen*; which was out of the Palatinate, nor depended thereon, meaning to ſurpriſe it by night, ſending certain companies of men with a guide who knew all the paſſages, & brought them by night to their fortifications on the other ſide of the Caſtle: which hauing ſurpriſed, and diſcharged ſome peeces, they required them in the

the Emperors and the King of *Spain*'s name to yeeld: the Garriſon, being moued at this ſudden ſurpriſe and importunate demand, fell to Armes, and ſo plyed the Spaniard with ſhot and wilde fire, as they forced them to abandon the place which they had taken, and to retyre. The Spaniard ſought to excuſe the fact, vpon a pretence of the Duke of *Brunſwicks* comming, deſiring only to hold this Caſtle for a time, to the end they might ſtop his paſſage through *Haſſia*. 1621

Brunſwick *ſpoiles the Biſh. Mentz country*

CHRISTIAN, Duke of *Brunſwick*, Biſhop of *Halberſtad*, paſſed on the eighteenth of Nouember through *Haſſia*, into the Elector of *Mentz* Countrie; where he tooke *Anenbourg* by a ſtratagem. Whilſt that the Captaine treated with ſome Officers for the lodging of his Troups, certaine ſouldiers going before with a guide, who knew the place, crept vp a Hill, and got into the Caſtle by an old Priuie which was ruined: Being in poſſeſſion thereof and giuing a ſigne to ſome horſe-men which were neer, they left their horſes and went vp with their peeces. The Towne-men, hereupon, went to the walles to defend themſelues; but BRVNSVVICK's forces, ſalying out of the Caſtle, took the Towne; whereupon they fled, leauing a great booty vnto the Enemy. After which they took *Newſtad*, with all that tract, with ſome Townes belonging to the Lantz-graue of *Darmſtat*, and other Noble-mens Caſtles in the valley of *Buſec*, ſpoyling the Countrie thereabout.

Darmſtat *ſent to Brunſwick*

In the meane time LEVVES of *Haſſia*, Lantz-graue of *Darmeſtat*, ſent his Deputies to the Duke of *Brunſwick*; ſignifying, that whereas he and the Elector of *Mentz*, had receiued great ſpoiles by the paſſage of Souldiers; his Imperiall Maieſty had expreſly forbidden, that no ſouldier ſhould be ſuffered to paſſe, vpon the penalties preſcribed by the Imperiall conſtitutions; perſwading him to forbeare to appoint them any lodgings, and that he ſhould returne the ſame way he came.

His anſwere.

The Duke of *Brunſwick* made anſwere, that he would willingly (as much as in him lay) forbeare his Countrie; yet he was aduertiſed that he took Armes to oppreſſe his Souldiers: which he could not beleeue, hauing not deſerued it; but if hereafter any wrong ſhould be done vnto them, he would reuenge it by what meanes ſoeuer.

Ledowick *of Haſſia denies paſſage to Brunſwick.*

Hereunto the Lantz-graue made anſwere, that he was glad he would neither doe wrong to him nor his; yet he vnderſtood, by faithfull relation, that his ſouldiers had entred into diuers places of his iuriſdiction, ſlaine his ſubiects, and ſpoiled them of their goods: which fact hee alſo vnderſtood he had deteſted, and therefore hee entreated him to ſeeke out the Authors, and puniſh them for examples ſake. Touching his reſolution and end, he would ſpeake nothing. As for his paſſage, ſo it was, that the Generall of the Burgundian Army, in the Palatinate, hearing that the Baron *Dona* was marching vp with ſome troups againſt the Emperour, had entreated him and other Princes to be carefull that no Army, oppoſite to the Emperour, ſhould paſſe by the Riuers of *Main* and *Rhine*; whereby it may be eaſily gathered, that he makes himſelfe a partaker of the warres which ſhould giue paſſage to ſtrange Souldiers, and therefore he did aduiſe DONA, that he ſhould not moleſt him in his paſſage; the which he eaſily obtained. The like cauſe he had now for this admonition, neither did he hope that he would willingly offer any violence to his Countrey: And whereas he had with the neighbour Electors and Princes, leuied ſome Souldiers to preuent the imminent dangers which might enſue; he hoped hee ſhould be blamed no more then the Saxon Princes, who had denied paſſage to many. That the Spaniards and Bauarians, prepared themſelues to meete him and ſtop his paſſage with all their forces, whereby his Countries might receiue much ſpoile; the which he might eaſily preuent, if he would retire and leaue thoſe vpper parts of the *Rhyne*: Wherefore he entreated him that he would take the ſafeſt and moſt excuſable way, and deſiſt from his enterpriſe; That before he vnderſtood of his expedition, he had entred into treaty with the neighbor Electors and Princes, not to giue paſſage to any Souldiers; wherefore he ſhould not take this his declaration in ill part; wiſhing well to him and his whole family.

That he meddled not with the affaires of the Palatinate, but ſought only to ſtop the paſſage of Souldiers, which would be a preiudice to his Countrey. That he might turne his forces againſt the Enemy of Chriſtendome, where he ſhould reape more honour; for in theſe places he ſhould but afflict his friends and innocent ſubiects. He entreated him therefore to change his minde and to returne into the Lowe-countreys, and to free his territories from danger, not doubting but he would giue more eare to his fatherly admonition (which honour hee had once vouchſafed him) then to the perſwaſions of others which were not ſo well affected vnto him.

The young Duke of *Brunſwick* expected another anſwere: but being moued therewith he

1621

wrote vnto him like a ſouldier; that whereas he vnderſtood (beyond his expectation) that hee with his ſubiects and other ſouldiers intended to ſtop his paſſage, he feared them not, nor the Spaniſh forces; but reſolued to proceed in his reſolution by the grace of God, notwithſtanding any oppoſition: wherefore he ſhould reſt reſolued, that if he or his ſouldiers ſhould receiue any wrong, both he and his poſterity ſhould repent it.

The Lantzgraue of Darmſtats Letter to the Lantzgraue Heſſe.

Before the receipt of theſe Letters, the Lantzgraue had written vnto MAVRICE, Lantzgraue of *Heſſe*, informing him how that he had aduiſed the Duke of *Brunſwick* to abandon thoſe vpper parts of the *Rhine*, and not to moleſt his ſubiects; which he ſeemed not to regard: it beeing therefore to be feared, that if he ſhould continue in his reſolution, and try the doubtfull euent of warre, the ſeat of the warre would be drawne into *Heſsia*, and their Countries afflicted with all diſcommodities, he could not but intreat him to deal with the Duke of *Brunſwick*, and to perſwade him to depart; the which if he would effect, hee would doo his beſt endeauour to ſtay the Emperors Troops, being ready to march into thoſe parts againſt him: it being alſo neceſſary in theſe dangerous times that ſome agreement ſhould be made between neighbor Princes, how paſſage ſhould be allowed or denied, it agreeing both with the law of nature and of nations; and therefore he did hope, and likewiſe intreated him, if he ſhould be any way preſſed by the Biſhop of *Halberſtat*, or in danger, that he for their old contracts would come to ſuccour him, as he would do for him in the like caſe.

His anſwer.

The Lantzgraue MAVRICE made anſwer to theſe Letters, that whereas he intreated him to cauſe the Biſhop of *Halberſtat* to retire with his Army, thinking it to be in his power, hee did not doubt, but he vnderſtood well by his former Letters, that thoſe Troops were not onely leuied in the King of *Bohemia*'s name, but by the States of the vnited Prouinces, and ſent to thoſe parts: wherefore to ſet vpon thoſe ſouldiers, and thereby to offend ſuch potent Princes, was not ſafe; that he was aduertiſed, the Biſhop was paſſing to another Territory; that he was vnacquainted with his counſels, neither had he aduertiſed him of his courſe; that it was not in his power to preſcribe or command any thing to the Biſhop of *Halberſtat* in this action; that both they and all *Heſsia* were bound by the duty of their fee vnto the Palatine, of which fee the ſaid Lantzgraue LODOVVICK was in poſſeſſion: wherefore, as he deſired not to meddle in the affairs of *Bohemia* againſt the Emperor, ſo he could not forget the oath he had taken to the Palatine. And whereas he required his aid againſt any force which ſhould be offred him, according to the antient contracts of neighbourhood and conſanguinity, the like he expected from him to whom his innocency was well knowne; aſſuring himſelf, that if by the league of the Catholick Princes againſt the Proteſtants he ſhould be inuaded, he would not fail to aſſiſt him according to the ſaid Treaties: yet he could not forget, that of late hee had been wronged by the Spaniards, who had attempted to ſurpriſe the Caſtle of *Reinfelt*, and ſummoned them to yeeld in the Emperor and King of *Spain*'s name; from the which they were forced to retire; for which attempt they had no colour, hauing neuer been wronged by him. He therefore intreated him to imploy his credit with the Spaniſh ſouldiers touching this buſineſſe, for that delaies were dangerous; and that they would appoint a meeting for their Deputies.

Many Letters paſt betwixt them touching this action of the Duke of *Brunſwick*; the which I muſt for breuities ſake omit. In the mean time, the Duke of *Brunſwick*, hearing that the Baron of *Anhalt* approached with forces to ſtop his paſſage into the Palatinate, and to driue him out of thoſe parts; being fortified with ſome troops from the Biſhops of *Mentz*, *Virsburg*, and the Lantzgraue of *Darmſtat*, and hearing that ANHALT approacht neer the vallie of *Buſec*, hee attended him there in open field (the weather being exceeding cold, about the end of December) meaning to fight with him: but, finding his forces too weak, he retired, ſpoiled *Anebourg*, and burnt *Newſtad*, and then marcht with his Troops towards *Weſtphalia*, as you ſhall hear.

The Miniſters and Preachers of Bohemia baniſhed.

The Preachers and Miniſters of Gods word in *Prague* being taxed, that during the Bohemian combuſtions they had exceeded the bounds of modeſty, and incenſed the people by their admonitions & preachings, and ſo made themſelues partakers in theſe broils, were now baniſht the Kingdome of *Bohemia*, by an Edict made by the Prince of *Lichtenſtein*, as followeth.

For that the Miniſters and Preachers of *Bohemia* had been the firſt ſowers of ſedition in the Kingdom, and publiſht ſcandalous books both againſt the Emp. MATHIAS then liuing, and ſince againſt FERD. now Emperor, as alſo againſt his Lieutenants, Officers and Counſellers, and drawn the people into actuall rebellion, and approued the election of a new King, laboring by al perſwaſions to haue him crowned: for theſe & other cauſes ſpecifi'd at large, it was ordaind, thoſe ſeditious men (as they ſaid) chiefly thoſe who made the edict *an.* 1618, or approued the Co-

Coronation ſhould be baniſhed for euer out of *Bohemia*, the incorporated Prouinces, and all the iuriſdictions of the houſe of *Auſtria*, hauing deſerued a far greater puniſhment; whereby they were commanded to depart out of *Prague* the day after the proclamation made, and within 8 daies out of the Kingdome of *Bohemia*, the incorporated Prouinces, and all the iuriſdictions of the houſe of *Auſtria*, and neuer to return during their liues: yet they did them this fauour, To ſuffer them to carry away their moueables; and, if they had any lands, they were ſuffred to ſell them by their Deputies within three moneths. This clauſe was annexed, that If after the time prefixed any one was found in *Prague* or any place aboue-mentioned, and conuicted of theſe crimes, he ſhould without all exception loſe his head. The like puniſhment was inflicted vpon all thoſe who ſhould entertain them, lodge them, or conceal them after the time prefixed. This Edict being proclaimed, there were fifty Miniſters of the Huſſits (whereof ſome were exceeding old) forced to abandon their Country. 1621

Mansfeld take. Haguenaw.

Count MANSFELD, hearing that *Don* GONZALES *de Cordua* (after the recouerie of *Didſheim*) had put his Troops into garriſon, marcht with his Army towards *Haguenaw*; where he forced from the Catholique Inhabitants and Iews a contribution of aboue 100000 dollers: the which they were willing to pay, hoping to auoid any further oppreſſion. But returning in 14 daies with greater forces, he got entrance into the Town, the Citizens being vnable to endure a ſiege; the which he fortified with a good garriſon. Hauing got this Town without any loſſe of men, and thinking that others in *Alſatia* would follow their example, he ſent a Trumpet to *Elſaszabern*, ſummoning them to yeeld: which they denying, hee drew great ſtore of munition from *Haguenaw*, and marcht thither with his Army; which he battered with ſuch fury, that hee thought they would haue yeelded the firſt day: but, finding the Gouerner reſolute to defend it, he continued his battery 12 daies; hauing made a breach, but not fit for an aſſault. The Beſieged defended themſelues reſolutely, and ſlue 300 of his men who had entred the ſuburbs, and in a ſalie took ſome priſoners, carrying ſom into the town, hanging others ouer the wals.

Mansfeld beſieged Elſas Zabern.

The weather growing ſo exceeding cold that they were not able to endure it, hauing loſt many braue men, there was a truce made for ten daies at the interceſſion of the Duke of *Lorraine*; but with this condition, that they ſhould chuſe whether they would pay him 100000 PHILIP's dollers, or endure the extreamity of a ſiege. The beſieged accepted of this condition: but hauing in the mean time receiued a ſupply of 2000 ſhot, they ſent an anſwer vnto Count MANDSFELD (who was gon to *Haguenaw*) that they had bought powder and bullets with their mony, and that he might return if he deſired to ſmell of them. After which, they burned their ſuburbs, ſent their wiues and children into *Lorrain*, mured vp all their Ports but one, and prepared themſelues for a ſiege.

Count MANSFELD, ſeeing the Town thus fortified, and that the continuance of a ſiege in ſo vnſeaſonable and ſharp a time of winter would be the ruine of his Army, lodged ſome of his Troops in thoſe parts, and paſt with the reſt into the further *Alſatia* and the hereditary Countries of the houſe of *Auſtria*: where he put all to fire and ſword, and where he ſtruck ſuch terror into the Inhabitants, that they thought of nothing but flight, leauing much cattell in their ſtals and ſtables: whereof ſome died for hunger, and others were carried away by the ſouldiers; which bred a great dearth of victuall through all the Country. Colonell OBERNTRVDA on the other ſide being in *Briſgo*, made an incurſion to *Briſac* and *Enſisheim*; where he ſpoiled the Country, and put all the garriſons to the ſword.

A Proſcription againſt Count Mansfeld.

Mean while, the Emperor ſent out another proſcription againſt Count MANDSFELD to this ſenſe: that whereas ERNEST of *Mandsfelt* had ſome yeers before been proſcribed by the Emperor MATHIAS his Predeceſſor, for that he had preſumed to take Arms, and been a chief actor in the Bohemian rebellion, hoping he would haue acknowledged his fault, and yielded him due obedience as the ſupreme head of the Empire, to which dignity he had been aduanced by the ioint conſent of all the Electors: yet it was knowne to all men how that MANSFELD had perſiſted ſtill in his reſolution, vſed all means to entertain the rebellion, giuing all aid and aſſiſtance to the head thereof who was alſo a baniſhed man, and after that memorable victory of *Prague* had not forborn to leuie new ſouldiers, and to annoy thoſe who were faithful to him and the States of the Empire, eſpecially vpon the *Rhine*, with murders, ſpoils, burnings and grieuous exactions; whereby it was eaſie to be coniectured, that he would neuer ceaſe (although he had nothing of his owne) to trouble the Empire during his life. Wherefore to preſerue his authority, to maintain peace in the Empire, and to free his faithfull States from this his tyranny, hee did admoniſh all Electors, Princes, and Common-wealths, to obſerue him

carefully, and whereſoeuer they ſhould take him to keepe him ſafely, and not deliuer him at any mans interceſſion without his commande. He alſo commauded them not to lodge him, feede him or releeue him, and to call preſently back their vaſſailes and ſubiects which ſerued vnder him, by publike proclamation, vpon paine of the loſſe of all their goods, priuiledges and dignities and the baniſhment of their wiues and children.

1622

treaty of ace betweene e Emperor & thlin Gabor

BETHLIN GABOR, in the meane time, hauing miſerably ſpoiled *Morauia*, there being nothing left to relieue his ſouldiers, hee retired into *Hungary*, where there was a treaty of peace propounded betweene the Emperors Deputies, BETHLIN'S, and the Hungarians at *Nicholasbourg*, vpon theſe Articles following. That the Emperour ſhould graunt a generall pardon to all the Hungarians. That BETHLIN ſhould forbeare to vſe the title of King. That he ſhould reſtore the Crowne of *Hungary* to the Emperour, reſtore the frontier forts, yeeld vp the kingdome, and attempt nothing againſt the Emperor nor the houſe of *Auſtria*. On the other ſide, he ſhould haue from the Emperour the title of a Prince of the Empire with ſeauen iuriſdictions and the towne of *Caſſouia* during his life: he ſhould alſo hould the Principalities of *Oppell* and *Radiborne* in *Sileſia*; with the forts of *Moncats*, *Toccay*, *Sagmary* and *Eſchet* for a certaine ſumme of money, and 50 thouſand florens yearely for the entertainement of his ſouldiers; but vpon condition they ſhould aſwell be bound by oath to the Emperour as to BETHLIN. That the Crowne of *Hungary* ſhould be left in the Caſtle of *Trinchin* vntill the aſſembly of States. To the which, the compoſition for grieuances and the admitting of Germanes vnto publike offices ſhould be referr'd. That matters concerning Religion ſhould remaine in the ſame eſtate, they were in, when the Emperour came vnto the Crowne. That the Ieſuites ſhould be againe receiued, but ſhould enioy no lands &c.

he Marqueſſe Iagerndorfs rmy diſper- d by the Im- rialiſts.

The Marqueſſe of *Iagerndorf*, being abſent from his Camp during this winter ſeaſon, the States of *Sileſia* began to treate with his ſouldiers, perſwading them to diſſolue their Camp and be gon for a certaine ſumme of money; but they requiring too great a ſumme perſiſted in their reſolution. In the meane time there was ſo great a want of victuals among the Imperialiſts in *Sileſia*, as they ſhould be enforced to abandon their lodging or endure all extremities: whereupon the commanders reſolued rather to dy valiantly then to retire ſhamefully; ſo as on the ſixteenth of Ianuary they marched away in an extreame colde night, with 30 companies of horſe and foote, and fower Cannon (beſides ſix companies vnder Collonell BODEARVS) and came early in the morning to *Wageſtadt* where hauing ſeized vpon all the approaches, they ſummoned the Towne to yeeld: but the Gouernour making anſwer, the Towne was giuen him to defend & not to yeeld, they beganne to batter it, the beſieged anſwering them in the like maner. During which, they had newes that two miles off, there lay certaine of the Marqueſſe his ſouldiers: whom they ſuddenly ſurpriſed, diſarmed, and bound them by oath, that for ſix moneths they ſhould not carrie Armes againſt the Emperour, the Elector of *Saxony*, the Prince of *Bauaria*, nor the States of *Sileſia*, and ſo diſmiſſed them. The next day the garriſon of *Wageſtad* yeelded and took the like oath. After this they marched towards *Odera*, whereas there lay ſeauen of the Marqueſſe his troupes: but before their comming to the place, they had newes by a trumpet, that if they might obtaine the ſame conditions they would depart. The report hereof being brought to the Earle of *Ortenbourg* who lay at *Tetſchin* with ſix companies of horſe and foot, abandoning the place he departed. Other Captaines and ſouldiers followed this example, ſo as in fiue daies 40 companies of horſe and foote were diſarmed, and all thoſe places except the Caſtle of *Glats* reduced vnder the Emperours obedience.

e Emperor s vaſſed to Duke of nauares ſiſter.

There had beene a marriage treated of betweene the Emperour and ELIANOR the Duke of *Mantuas* Siſter, by IOHN VLRICK Baron of *Egenberg*. When as they had agreed vpon the conditions and dowry, the Duke of *Mantua* conducted her with 300 Noblemen and Gentlemen & a great band of ſouldiers from the monaſterie of Saint VRSVLA to the Cathedral Church: where ſhee receiuing the keys of the City from the Biſhop, as the Emperours future wife, and the ceremonies being ended, on the 26 of Ianuary ſhee beganne her iourney with a great traine, and paſſing through the Venetian territories came to *Oenipont*; whither alſo the Emperor came with a great Troupe of Princes, Earles, Barons, and Noblemen: where finding his ſpouſe the fourth of February, the marriage was afterwards ſolemnly celebrated with great Pompe.

he King of emia's Let- s to the Pro- ant Princes.

The King of *Bohemia*, remaining in the Low Countries, had reſolued to returne into the Palatinate, and to attempt if he might by force recouer his inheritance & free his poore afflicted ſubiects from the cruelty of his inſulting enemies. But before he vndertook his iourney, he wrote

wrote Letters vnto the Electours, to the Princes, and to the Proteſtant States, after this manner. 1622

Hee did not doubt (ſaid hee) but they all remembred what practices had beene for many yeeres againſt the Proteſtant Electours, Princes and States, and how faithfully his houſe had alwaies oppoſed it ſelfe, and euer endeuoured to maintaine the liberty of Religion in all aſſemblies of the Empire; his Father, Grandfather and great Grand-father, hauing nothing but the glory of God, and the publique good, before their eyes; as did well appeare by the Acts of the Empire. That he had followed their commendable example; and, as ſoone as he came to the Electorſhippe, had directed all his counſels and actions to the ſame end; without reſpect of perſons or priuate profit: Whereby he grew into great hatred of the aduerſe party, and ſo continued; vntill at laſt, the troubles falling out in *Bohemia*, and the alteration of that Crowne, the States deſiring and preſſing it, he had accepted of that Kingdome; being conferred vpon him with all their conſents, comming into a voide poſſeſſion, not with any deſire to raigne; but moued with a friendly care to releeue ſo many Chriſtians, and to free the Empire from greater dangers; and the rather, for that he was giuen to vnderſtand from many Proteſtant States, that theſe perſecutions in *Bohemia* were for the common cauſe of Religion. And although there had been many things publiſhed in Print, whereby he had beene taxed that he had not onely engaged the Turke in theſe troubles of *Bohemia*; but alſo ſought to expoſe the Romane Empire, in prey, vnto him; yet he hoped no man ſhould euer proue, nor would giue credit vnto thoſe ſcandales. And ſo refuting thoſe ſurmiſes, he ſaid he would not then make any Apologie of his innocency, but deferre it vnto another time; only he would make knowne vnto the World, that as he neuer was aſhamed of his actions; ſo after the taking of the Crowne of *Bohemia*, he had alwaies offered to ſubmit himſelfe to juſtice and right, and to yeeld due obedience vnto the Emperour: yea, the Electors and Princes of the Empire, with other forraigne Kings, for the ſettling of a good Peace in the Empire, had vndertaken that he ſhould accept of, and doe any thing which he might with his dignity and Conſcience; ſo as thoſe places (which had been taken and ſpoiled in his Electorall Countrey) might be faithfully reſtored vnto him. That it was neuer heard of, yea it was contrary to Law, and all the conſtitutions of the Empire, that without any citation or knowledge of the fact, any man ſhould be proſcribed, and the iudgement begin by the Execution, inuading his Countries, and oppreſſing his miſerable ſubiects with hoſtile fury; hauing neuer imparted it to the Electors, and other States of the Empire, who haue receiued much prejudice thereby. Seeing then the proceeding hath not been lawfull; neither can the execution be juſt, nor reſtitution of the charges be demanded. Touching this execution; the capitulations were made with ſome few, who were partakers and aduancers of theſe combuſtions for their owne priuate profit; when farre lighter buſineſſes were referred to Diets and Aſſemblies of the Electors: Neither ſhould they make ſuch haſte to the execution, whereby the neighbor and innocent States might receiue great loſſe, and many poore innocent creatures be ruined and ſlaine.

They to whom this execution was committed, might well haue excuſed themſelues; neyther did he doubt but they would haue done ſo, if they had not regarded their owne profit and aduancement, contrary to the treaty which they themſelues had made; in the which the Palatinate was comprehended. To diuert all theſe miſeries, and to preſerue the Empire from ruine; many Kings and Princes had interpoſed their Authoritie, but haue not preuailed any thing; ſo as vpon the treaty propounded by the Lord DIGBY although that the Emperor had yeelded to a ſuſpenſion of Armes in the vpper and lower Palatinate, and MANDSFELD withdrawne his Army out of the confines of *Bohemia*; yet did the Duke of *Bauaria* inuade and take the vpper Palatinate, as may well appeare by the Lord DIGBIES Letters of complaint to the Emperor. At the ſame time CORDOVA, Lieutenant generall of the Spaniſh Army (neglecting the Truce) tooke many places in the lower Palatinate, beſieged *Frankendall* (his wiues Dowrie in caſe ſhe ſuruiued him) and ſought to force it.

To excuſe theſe attempts, nothing could be obiected againſt him; but that in theſe grieuous perſecutions, he thought himſelfe bound in Conſcience to haue a care of his afflicted Subiects, and had ſought ſome helpe for them from other Princes, his Allies; the which being allowable by all diuine and humane lawes, could not be denied vnto him; if there had been any exceſſe committed by his men (whereof he was ignorant) they ſhould haue admoniſhed him, and known if it had been done with his will and command. They ſought a pretext, for that before theſe times, he had giuen Commiſſion to the Marqueſſe of *Iagerndorfe*, and the Count

1622 MANSSFELD, to doe all things during his abſence, in *Bohemia* and the incorporated Prouinces, which they ſhould thinke fit for his ſeruice; but no man that is impartiall will miſconſtrue thereof.

It is conformable to reaſon and equity, that a man ſhould hold that *which he thinkes is his* owne, if he ſee that taken from him in another place, which is his without any controuerſie; vntill that hauing recouered it, all ſuits might be ended by ſome honeſt agreement. The vanity of thoſe things which were objected againſt him might very well appeare, for that they which labored to perſecute him, vnder a colour of ſettling Peace in the Empire, did ſo waſte and ſpoile it in many places by warre, as it would hardly be able to recouer ſtrength to make head againſt forraine Enemies; The affaires of *Bohemia* ſtanding vpon thoſe tearmes, as there was no neceſſity to trouble the Peace of all *Germany*, it being only for a priuate pretention of the houſe of *Auſtria*, and might well haue been determined in *Bohemia*: Touching thoſe things which concerne the Empire, they might haue beene compounded in a publique Aſſembly of all the Electors and States with full knowledge of the cauſe. This hath not been done, but priuate treaties and leagues made and confirmed with hoſtile violence, and the fire of *Bohemia* diſperſed ouer the nobleſt Prouinces of the Empire; which were expoſed to the ruines and deuaſtations of Spaniſh Souldiers.

The Warre being continued (to the end there might be ſome colour of juſtice) there followed a declaration of Proſcription againſt him. He did not finde, that ſince the making of the golden Bull, and the wholeſome conſtitutions, as fundamentall lawes of the Empire, euer the like violent courſe was taken againſt the meaneſt State of the Empire; much leſſe againſt an Elector, who had alwaies ſubmitted himſelfe, and doth ſtill, vnto reaſon and equity. And it was worthy obſeruation, that neglecting all the Emperours promiſes, not to queſtion any State of the Empire, which had not beene an actor in the combuſtions of *Bohemia*; yet many Princes, Earls, and Noble-men, had been much oppreſſed and wronged, not ſparing Widowes and Electorall Pupils; among others, they diſpoſſeſſed his brother of his inheritance, and lately forced his Towne of *Luthra*, who had neuer meddled with the affaires of *Bohemia*, but had beene declared innocent by the Emperour himſelfe, notwithſtanding the treaties of *Vimes* and *Mentz*, and the conſent of SPINOLA himſelfe, at the laying downe of Armes: whereby it appeares plainely that they ſeeke to draw the firſt Electorall voice from the Proteſtants, and to transferre it vpon a Romane Catholique.

That the D. of *Bauaria* had planted the Maſſe in diuers places of the vpper Palatinat; nor was ther doubt but hereafter they would plant Popery by force, according to the reſolution of the Councell of *Trent*. That there was no liberty for the Proteſtant Religion, there being no reſpect of the Imperiall conſtitutions; eſpecially for that there was no regard had of the Emperours promiſes by forraine ſouldiers, who hated the liberty of the Germanes, and alwaies pretended ſome colour of warre. And matters were brought to that paſſe, that it was no more in the Emperours power to make a Peace or Truce without the conſent of his confederats, as might appeare by his treaty with the Lord DIGBY; all which he left to their conſideration: For his part he thought it moſt neceſſary, that to preuent the ruine of the Empire, the Proteſtant States ſhould ioyne their forces, and oppoſe them againſt this eminent daunger. He entreated them that they would not only conſult carefully of this buſineſſe, but impart it to others, and eſpecially to the Electors of *Saxony*; to the end they may oppoſe themſelues to the pernicious practices of the aduerſe party; and ſo deale, that he being reſtored, that cruell warre might be ended, and a deſired Peace ſettled: But if all meanes of compoſition and reconciliation were denied him, and the gates of juſtice and grace ſhut againſt him; *he intreated them* to aſſiſt him with their counſell and ayde; and likewiſe, that they would endeuour to diuert the daunger from themſelues, and to preſerue the liberty of Religion; which had beene gotten with ſo much labor and coſt.

King of Bohemia's ſecond ouer to the Proteſtants.

He wrote another Letter vnto them, whereby he did intimate that the Duke of *Bauaria* had ſent a great part of his forces into the lower Palatinate; that his Generall TILLY had ſummoned *Heidelberg*, the chiefe ſeate of the Electorſhippe, to yeeld; that he had ioyned his forces with the Spaniſh Army, and had drawne ſo neere vnto the City, as they expected newes daily of the ſiege; That by the copies of Letters, ſent by the Emperor to the Lord DIGBY, and the *Infanta of Spain*, it plainly appeared what the intentios of the aduerſe party were; and vnder what pretext they ſought to peruert all. That he had receiued many Letters ſigned by the Emperours owne hand; the which he ſent vnto them, that they might ſee with admiration, what ſtrange Counſels

Councells were treated of in the Empire, for the reall tranſlation of his Electorſhip vpon the Duke of *Bauaria*. Yet he did hope, that God, who had ſo miraculouſly diſcouered it, would not ſuffer them to bring it to effect. In the meane time hee entreated them to conſider of the *common cauſe, giue away to his former admonitions, and aſſiſt him in his neceſſarie* defence. 1622

Brunſwick inuades the dioceſe of Paderborn.

The young Duke of *Brunſwick*, being fallen out of *Heſſia*, and theſe vpper partes of *Germany*, into *Weſtphalia*, he took in a manner all the Townes of the Dioceſe of *Paterborne* with the Citie it ſelfe; He ſuffered the ſouldiers to ſpoile the Iewes which dwelt there, and exacted a great ſumme of money from the Clergie, and found great treaſure in the Cathedrall Church, beſides the patron of the Church called Saint *Liborius* which was made of pure gould. To ſtay his courſes, the Elector of *Cullen* ſent for part of the Bauarian forces out of the Palatinate and *Veteravia*, vnder the commande of the Baron of *Anhalt*: who paſſing through the County of *Naſſau* and *Dillenbourg* marched towards the Elector of *Cullen*; whoſe forces hearing of *Anhalts* approach, paſſed the *Rhine*, on the 21 of February, and ioyned with him, with 3000 foote and 600 horſe.

Iuliers yeelded to the Spaniard.

Hauing formerly made mention the laſt yeare of the ſiege of *Iuliers* (it being a fee belonging to the Empire though held by the vnited States) I hould it fitt to ſpeake ſomething of the yeelding of it. It hauing beene long blockt vp by Count HENRY VANDENBERG and the Spaniſh Army, and diſtreſſed for want of victuals, he ſummoned them to yeeld, threatning them that if they forced him to vſe extremity he would not ſpare any. PYTHANIVS the Gouernour anſwered, that he was but a ſeruant and could not yeeld without the reſolution of the vnited States, but they conſenting he would vſe no delay. After this anſwere they fell to their Cannon on both ſides: and being againe preſſed to yeeld, he ſaid, they ſhould expect it at Eaſter; yet he began to treate with the Spaniards on the 17 of Ianuary, ſending three Captaines out of the Towne to that end. Hauing conferred with them, the Earle acquainted SPINOLA therewith, and in the end theſe conditions were concluded. 1. That there ſhould be no alteration in religion. 2. That the Captaines and ſouldiers ſhould depart with their Armes, colours flying, drums beating, and their wiues, children and goods. 3. That the Ordinance and munition ſhould remaine in the City. 4. That the Gunners, Armorers, Smiths, Carpenters, and others might depart with their ſouldiers. 5. That the Gouernour and Captaine ſhould haue horſe and waggons to carry their goods to *Nemigen*. 6. That the ſicke and wounded might ſtay in the Towne vntill they were recouered, and then haue waggons to carry them to *Nymegen*. 7. That the Captaines and ſouldiers ſhould haue a whole yeares liberty to ſell their lands if they had any. 8. That the ſouldiers which were in any other Townes or Caſtles ſhould haue leaue to come thither and bring their wiues and children. 9. That all Armes and commodities belonging to the Towne and Caſtle ſhould bee left behinde. 10. That recordes and antient writings in the Towne and Caſtle ſhould remaine there ſtill. 11. That the ſouldiers ſhould not be arreſted for debt. 12. That the bedds which the ſouldiers had brought into the Towne ſhould be reſtored to their owners, and they bound to receiue them. 13. That the Elector of *Brandenburghs* officers and miniſterrs ſhould execute their offices for the ſpace of one whole yeare. 14. That the Citizens might depart the City and diſpoſe of their goods within one yeare. 15. That there ſhould be two hoſtages giuen on either ſide vntill the Articles were performed: all which being ſigned and ſealed by the Gouernour, he ſhould ſend one to the Prince of *Orenge*, and bee bound to yeeld the place if they were not releeued within 12 daies, with at the leaſt 300 waggons: which timebeing expired and no releefe comming from the Prince, the Earle of *Vandenberg* ſent 600 waggons to carrie away their baggage, wiſhing the Gouernour to haſten his departure: who, ſending the keys of the Caſtle vnto the Earle, departed with all his ſouldiers and goods, leauing two within the City vntill the waggons were returned. PYTHANIVS the Gouernor comming to the *Hague*, he was committed and called in queſtion for deliuering vp the Towne.

The Emperour enters Vienna with his Empreſſe.

The Emperour hauing conſummated his marriage with the Duke of *Mantuas* ſiſter at *Oenipont* (as we formerly related) he returned to *Vienna* with his new Empreſſe. Comming to the Towne, all the ordinance was ſhot off, and a guard ſet on either ſide from the Port vnto the Caſtle. *Firſt, there entred ſix troupes of horſe, with many Towns-men: then followed the* Emperours ſeruants and young Noble-men with the Emperours horſes, his officers, Senators and Counſellors in great numbers. Before the Emperour went fiue Heralds. LOBESTEIN Lord Marſhall carried the ſword, and with him went LEOPOLD ERNES-

TVS

1622 TVS, his Maiesties eldest son. The Sindiques and Senators carried the Canopy. The Empresse was in a rich Chariot, accompanied by CHARLES WILLIAM the Emperours youngest son, and two of his daughters; being enuironed by seuenty foure Noblemens children and many souldiers: after which, followed DETRISTEIN with some troupes of horse.

The Funerall of the Arch-duke Albert.

As this action was ioyfull at *Viena*, so was the funerall of the Arch-duke ALBERT of *Austria*, mournfull at *Brussels*: the which was performed with so great pompe, as those of the Emperour CHARLES the Fift were not comparable, as some write; whereof I must make some little mention. Omitting the ordinary ceremonies, I will onely make relation of those things which were extraordinary. Before the Herse there were 32 horses couered with black, hauing euery one a Gentleman going before them, carrying the Armes of so many prouinces. Euery horse had two Gentlemen to leade them, with diuerse Heralds. After which the Archiducall Diademe, his scepter, the goulden fleece, with two swords (whereof the one with a cup of great price was giuen him by Pope CLEMENT the Eighth) were carried by Noblemen. Betwixt these, and the body went a triumphant Chariot of Liberality, in remembrance of his great bounty, for that after the death of the Emperour MATHIAS he had freely giuen to the Emperour FERDINAND eleuen Kingdomes: namely, *Hungary*, *Bohemia*, *Dalmatia*, *Croatia*, *Sclauonia*, *Bosnia*, *Seruia*, *Halista*, *Lodomicio*, *Cumania*, and *Bulgaria*, with the Arch-duchy of *Austria*, the Duchie of *Silesia*, the Marquesates of *Morauia*, *Lusatia*, and *Burgau*, the Earledomes of *Habsburg*, *Tiroll* and *Ferret*, the Principalitie of *Sweuia*, the Marquisate of *Alsatia*, with other territories which descended vnto him by hereditarie right. In this Chariot sate Liberty (a beawtifull Nyph) and before her an altar whereon were diuers Scepters and Crownes with this inscription, *His spretis obijt*. About this Chariot were the Armes of 27 Kingdomes and prouinces, which in his life time he had so bountifully bestowed vpon the Emperor FERDINAND. This tiumphant Chariot was drawne by six horses, representing six vertues; namely, Nobility, Mildnesse, Wisdome, Loue, Reason and Prouidence; whereon sate six boyes, representing Nymphs. After the body followed the Popes Nuntio, the Spanish Ambassadour, Marqueses, Earles, and Knights of the Goulden fleece, with the rest of the traine, as is vsuall in such funerall pomps.

ploits in sphalia.

The Duke of *Brunswick*, hauing taken many Townes in *Westphalia* (as was said) ERVYS (a Commander of the Elector of *Cullens* forces) came by night with a thousand horse and some companies of foote, on the 8 of March, to *Gifee*: which he took, with some other Townes, by the secret practices of the Inhabitants; where they slew 900 of *Brunswicks* souldiers, and took some few prisoners. The Duke (to reuenge this losse and disgrace) hearing that 8 troupes of horse and foure companies of foot, lay not far from *Susat*, he presently posted from *Lippa* thither, with his Horse. The commanders of the *Cullen* forces, seeing his furious approach, abandoned their foot and baggage, and fled. The foot retired into a Church-yard: whereof 200 were slaine, and 748 with their officers taken prisoners. There were also 36 horsemen taken and foure ensignes; which were sent vnto the Elector Palatine. After which, the Duke recouered some places which they had taken, and punished some which had beene authors of the Treason.

ttengaw in hemia yeelded the Emperor.

The Towne of *Wittengau* in *Bohemia* held yet against the Emperor: the garrison being without all hope of succours, pressed with hunger, and seeing all the passages stopped, they entred into treaty, and compounded to yeeld vp the Towne and Castle, and to depart with bagge & baggage whither they pleased. But the Garrison of *Clingenberg*, although they saw all passages stopt, would by no means consent to yeeld.

Emperors bassadour ck to his ieſty.

About the end of March, the Earle of *Swartsenbourg*, Ambassador for his Imperial Maiesty, arriued in *England*: where he was honourably receiued, lodged in *Denmark* house, and defrayed with his whole traine at his Maiesties charge, during his abode in *London*. He had his Audience in the vpper house of Parliment: where, after the ordinary complements, he made an expression of the Emperors loue and zeale in particular to his Maiesty; That hee desired to enter into conditions of an euerlasting peace, and to hould an indissoluble contract of perfect friendship with him; That it had pleased his Maiesty to giue him assurance of his sincere loue & affection by many stately Embassies endeauoring still to settle the peace of Christendome; And, whereas some ill affected had sought to trouble the quiet state of *Europe* with combustions, none but his Maiesty had endeauord to reconcile them, and like a rising sun to dispel those cloudy vapours of dissension, to the great honor of his royal name for so worthy a work: intreating his Maiesty, in the Emperours name, to continue still in the same course; that the Princes of *Europe*

Europe might not onely enioy peace by his meanes, but that he himself might haue the fruition of his desire, and immortall fame. 1622

And, to let him vnderstand how highly his Imperiall Maiesty did esteeme of his loue and affection, and his endeuour to gratifie him, as farre as honourable correspondence might extend; he had sent him, as his Ambassadour, to acquaint his Maiesty with his gracious intent, and to assure him that he did affect the common good of Christendom, and especially the welfare of his Maiesties house. Although there had been some cause of discontent; yet it was part of his care, that the decayed peace (which had beene interrupted by some turbulent spirits) might be restored; acknowledging, that those violent courses had beene distastfull vnto his Maiesty; who out of his regall piety had alwaies endeauored to preuent those mischiefes, as well for the generall good of Christendome, as for the settling of a peace in *Germany*, which had beene dismembred by dissension. And whereas his Imperiall Maiesty had taken Armes for his owne defence and the maintaining of his honor and dignity; so he said he would be as easily entreated to lay them down againe, and desist from all hostility, if others without any iust cause did not shew themselues refractarie: to the which, he was the more tractable, for that his Maiesty could so nobly act his part in defending the dignity of kings, and the prerogatiue of monarchs. His conclusion was, that his Imperiall Maiesty had a worthy intent to treate sincerely, really and without fraude, with him about those affaires, that all might bee firmly ratified and performed, whereunto the king of *Spaine* was also willing; and that they were both ready to harken to his Imperial Maiesties propositions, when his Maiesty should think fit to treate about the same: neither did they doubt, but that the work being generally good, charitable and perfitable for all the Prouinces of *Europe*, it would haue a happie succesſe; there being nothing intended but truth, sincerity, and the hope of an indissoluble friendship.

Sir Richard Weston sent to Brussels.

His Maiesty was well pleased with this proposition, and willingly embraced the offer of a Treaty appointed at *Brussels*: whereupon, after an honourable dismission of the said Ambassadour, his Maiesty made choice of Sir RICHARD WESTON, Chancellor of his Exchequer and Counsellor of State, to be employed in this Action: whome he sent presently after him, to treate of a peace for the Elector, and restitution to his hereditarie lands and dignities; and during the treaty to procure a cessation of Armes. And to the end all obstacles might be taken away, his Maiesty soone after sent the Lord CHICHESTER, Baron of *Belface*, into the Palatinate, to acquainte his sonne in law the Elector with this treaty, that he might conforme himself accordingly; whereby no exception might be taken: but there followed no such fruite of this treaty, as all good men did wish. For, there was neither any suspension of Armes, nor any peace concluded; but after six moneths treaty, his Maiesties Ambassadour returned home without any satisfaction, as the world did coniecture.

The Duke of Virtemberg refuses to send his Souldiers to the Bauarian.

In this moneth the Duke of *Bauaria* sent an Ambassador to the Duke of *Virtemberg*, requiring him, to send him those souldiers which he had leuied (hauing no neede of them) to be employed against Count MANSFELD. To whom the Duke answered, that he had no quarrell against the Palatinate, in the defence whereof MANDSFIELD was to be employed; and, besides, it was contrary to the treaty of *Vlme*, by the which it was decreed that nothing should be attempted against the Palatinate. Moreouer, the souldiers being leuied by the States for the defence of the countrey, they could not be drawne away to any other place, without their consents. Count MANDSFELD, hauing spoiled *Wansenau*, and fortified *Haguenaw* with two Bullwarks, 20 Companies of foote and 4 troupes of horse, he returned with his Army into the Bishoprick of *Spire*; where he demanded a great quantity of corne, wine, and money from the Clergy: but, preuailing nothing, hee caused the Castle of *Meidebourg* (into the which the inhabitants of the Countrey had carried great store of goods) to bee besieged by the Earle of *Locuenstein*: the which was yeelded the fourth of Aprill.

Count Mandsfeld takes the Castle of Meidebourg.

After this, TILLY cut downe all the trees about *Ladebourg*, and ouerthrew the walles and ditches, and ruined Saint MARTINS Church without the Towne: and that he might haue the better meanes to besiege *Heidelberg*, he took one Towne after another: and on the fift day of Aprill (as GOTHARDVS writes) falling vpon 20 troupes of Count MANDSFELD's horse and three thousand foote at *Wingare*, he ouerthrew them, took a hundred and fiftie waggons with fiue hundred horses, and a great prey; the rest sauing themselues by flight.

Tilly makes his way to Heidelberg.

To prepare his way (as I saie) to *Heidelberg*, on the fourth day of Aprill he laide siege to the Towne of *Necargemond* being a mile from the same: and for that the garrison resolued to

1622

to yeeld vpon the first summons; the next day he forced them, and put them all to the Sword, with most of the inhabitants, their Wiues, and Children; as he had done some daies before at *Oberndilsbae*. The same day he sent to *Dilsberg* to summon the Castle in the Emperours name: the Gouernour refusing to yeeld, TILLY marched thither on the 6 of Aprill, with all his forces, and battered it the next day for the space of fiue houres; but the Gouernor of the Castle (whose name was BARTHOLOMEVV SMID, borne at *Sedan*) defended it so valiantly, as hauing endured foure fierce assaults, they were forced to retire with great losse, leauing great store of Armes and Ladders behinde them. After this a Truce was made for the burying of their dead, and retyring of their wounded; TILLY sending a messenger to *Heidelberg*, with a promise that he had no intent to annoy their Towne, but only to force that Castle: whereupon they returned to Armes, on the tenth of Aprill; where, continuing his battery from ten of the clock in the morning till six at night, he had made some breaches in the walles, the which the Garrison did resolutely defend; and the enemy ceasing to giue any further assault, they were summoned againe to yeeld: which the Garrison refused, requiring three daies respite to consult; which being granted, they sent a Messenger to *Manheim* & *Heidelberg* for ayde; who returned on the 14 of Aprill with these comfortable newes: That they should not onely haue ayde, but that the Electour Palatine himselfe was comming into those parts. Being againe pressed by Generall TILLY to yeelde; the Gouernor answered that he was yet ready to defend it 3 dayes longer, and then he would come to a treaty. In the meane time, they being aduertised in the Camp that succors were comming, and that the Elector Palatine was arriued in his country; the Bauarian retired speedily, burned his Camp, and left much Munition, Corne, Wine and Meale behinde him.

Dilsberg besieged in vain by the Bauarians.

The Elector Palatine king of *Bohemia*, having resolued to see his Countrey, and Subjects, which were ruined by the enemy; having no safe passage if hee should be discouered, being to goe through the enemies countrey: hee tooke a generous resolution, rather to hazard his life then to abandon his afflicted subjects; wherefore in March hee departed from the *Hague*, imbarked himselfe and arrived at *Callis* with a small company, hee being disguised and attendant to one of them. He passed through part of France, went by *Sedan* and *Lorrane*: at *Bitsi* he (comming into an Inne) fell amongst some of the Archduke LEOPOLD'S souldiers; where, being at the table, he heard them raile freely at the Palatine, the which hee swallowed up quietly. He past from thence in the night, and never discouered himselfe untill hee came to *Landaw*, to GEORGE LEVVES Earle of *Loneſtein*, who presently gaue notice thereof to the Earle of MANDSFELD, who lay then at *Germersheim*, and was in treaty with an Ambassador sent from *Brussels* from the *Infanta*; who propounded many faire conditions vnto him, as GOTHARDVS writes; namely that he should hold the Towne and Province of *Haguenaw* in fee for him and his heires; That hee should be a Prince of the Empire: that hee should enjoy the lands of the Prince of *Orange*, during the confiscation; and, if a peace were made, then he should haue the like yeerely pension; or, if it might bee redeemed from the Prince, hee should enjoy it for ever in fee: that hee should receiue a great sum of money for the entertainement of his souldiers: that hee should bee Marshall to the *Infanta*, with a pension of 1200 crownes a month, and should bee subject to no mans command but Marquesse SPINOLA'S. But receiuing newes of the King of *Bohemia's* arrivall, hee brake off the treatie with the Ambassador, who prepared to depart: but Count MANSFELD would not suffer him. The King of *Bohemia* arriving soone after, inuited him to dinner; and could him, that, He laboured in vaine in seeking to withdraw a faithfull seruant from him: that hee had need of his help: that hee was come to assist & defend his poore subjects, miserably afflicted; and, if hee had any further charge hee might freely deliver it.

The King of *Bohemia* goes vp to the Palatinat

offers made to Mansfeld by the Infanta of Spaine.

The *Infanta's* Ambassadour being dismissed, the King of *Bohemia* and Count MANSFELD, with the whole Army, spoyling the Bishop of *Spires* Countrey, past the *Rhyne*, with an intent to charge the Bavarians, who were lodged neer to *Wisbloch* in a little wood, having fortified themselues upon an eminent place of good advantage, where they had planted six peeces of Ordinance, but did not much annoy the Kings Army, which went and lodged neere unto *Mingleſheim* which was not above halfe a mile from the enemies Camp. On the seuententh of Aprill Count MANSFELD marshalled his Army, and marched against the Enemy; but they, having advantage by reason of the countrey's situation, after a hot skirmish, valiantly maintained on both sides, the Mansfeldians were forced to retyre, with the losse of some few men. TILLY grew proud with this successe, perswading himselfe upon this retreat, that he had already gotten the victo-

defeate.

victory: whereupon hee removed his Campe to pursue them, crying out, in great bravery; March on, they are all ours. The weather was exceeding foule; yet TILLY used such diligence, as hee planted two peeces of Ordinance, which shot into the Kings Army, but did not much annoy it, for that hee could not well discouer it. The Generall MANSFELD drew his Army out of *Mingleſheim*, and put it in order of Battaile behind the Village. TILLY, finding that the Kings forces had left the Village, imagined that they were fled for feare; the which he beleeued the more confidently, for that Count MANSFELD had caused the Village to bee set on fire, onely to blinde the enemies sight, and to cover his army with the smoake vntill it were put in battail. TILLY presently seised on the Village, and drew all his forces over at a narrow Bridge to pursue the King of *Bohemia's* Army: which he imagined to be fled, for that hee could not well discouer it. 1622

The King's Army being in battaile, he, and his Generall MANSFELD encouraged the Souldiers to shew some testimonies of their valour, whereof the King himselfe would be a witnesse, resolving to fight in person: whereupon the Vantguard marched on and charged valiantly; yet seeming a little to retyre, the enemy pursued them, and were so entertayned by Count MANSFELD'S forces, as they were forced to retyre in confusion, hoping to saue themselues by flight; but the passage of the bridge was so narrow, as within lesse then halfe an hower they were quite overthrowne, and above 2000 men slaine vpon the place; where the Enemy lost many Cornets and Enfignes, with foure peeces of Ordinance, and many prisoners taken. After this ouerthrowe, the Bauarians which were left in Garrison in *Wisbloch*, *Snitzen*, *Hilſpach*, and some other places, abandoned them and fledde; of which there were 150 slayne by the Marquesse of *Baden's* Souldiers, and three hundred taken prisoners.

On the 26 of Aprill, Generall MANSFELD went to beseige *Ladebourg*; which, hauing battered with 7 peeces of Ordinance, he summoned to yeeld by his Trumpet: The Gouernour, whose name was EINET, gaue him thanks that he thought him worthy to be visited by such an Army; yet he did not hold it fit to giue vp the Towne so easily: That he was tyed by oath to the King of *Spain*, that he should defend it to the vttermost of his power. MANSFELD, hauing receiued his answere, renewed his battery, sending for 4 peeces more from *Manheim*, wherwith after 3 daies battery he made a reasonable breach. He then sent again to the Gouernor, giuing him to vnderstand that vnles he yielded, he wold not spare the children in the mothers wombs: whereunto he answered, that he had no womb, yet he would not refuse an honest treaty, so as the Cannon might cease, that he might take counsell with the soldiers; promising to yeeld it if he were not relieued within 4 daies, vpon the same conditions that were granted to the Earle of *Isenbourg* at *Dideſheim*, or else that he should send Commissioners to treate, and he would do the like: the which was performed accordingly. In the meane time the Gouernor encouraged the soldies to haue a care of their guard, and that the townsmen with their wiues and children shold carry wood, stone & other prouisions to mend the breaches. During the treaty MANSFELD'S soldiers preſt the garrison to come vnto them, if they would saue their liues; wherfore seeing 7 Regiments ready to giue an assault, the soldiers neglecting their captains cõmand, for the most part went to them. BREDENBACH, who was sent from the Gouernour, returning from MANSFELD, told him they would treat with him in person; who, going out of the Port, and receiuing the cõditions, told them he wold acquaint the captains therwith, but in the meane time seeing MANSFELD'S soldiers make a violent assault at the breach, he protested against it, desiring they would stay a little till he were retired into the town. WALDMANSHVS, who was Cõmissioner for MANSFELD, did his best to stay this furious assault, but in vain: for being entred in troups, they slue all that bare Armes against them: the spoile was great; hauing taken 8 Enfigns, store of Arms, and 10000 Ricks dollers from the Spanish Cõmissary, and then ruined the town. CHRISTIAN D. of *Brunſwick* & Bishop of *Halberſtad*, greatly annoyed the Bishopricks of *Patterborne* & *Munſter*, his forces encreasing daily: from the citizens of *Munſter* (where he burnt S. MAVRICES Church, and other places without the town) he exacted 100000 Ricks-dollers: At *Susat* he had 100000 dollers, besides a great quantity of *Hungarian* gold, left there by a certaine Bishop whose name was THEODORIC of *Furſtemberg*. At *Franc* he intercepted 80000 dollers, belonging to the Abbesse of *Herfeens*: but hearing that the Earle of *Vandeberg* was comming with great forces to relieue them of *Giſee*, he was forced to raise the siege, hauing lost many men. Of the money which he had gotten at *Patterborne* and in other places, he caused new dollers to be coyned: on the one side there was an Army comming out of a cloude with a sword in the hand, and his name; on the other side an inscription, whereby hee professed

Ladebourg besieged and taken by Mansfeld.

Brũswick gaines thereth great sums of money in Westphalia.

professed himselfe a friend to God, and an Enemy to all Papists.

1622. The Duke of Brunswick writeth to the Bishop of Virsbourg.

Before his departure from *Westphalia*, he wrote vnto the Bishop of *Virsbourg* and *Bamberg* after this manner: That he had long obserued (not without admiration) how that during these troubles in the Empire against his faith giuen for Neutralitie, by the instinct of Sathan and the Iesuites his adherents, since that cloud in the Bohemian State, hee durst not only send his Army, remaining in his Diocese, into *Bohemia*, and to ioyn with the Prince of *Bauaria*, but had endeuored by all means to ruine the Protestants; which was done to no other end, but to establish the Spanish Monarchy; decreed many yeers before, to oppresse the liberty of the countrey and the Protestant States, and to bring in the Councell of Trent, with the tyranny of the Inquisition. These counsells to the oppression of the Germane liberty, were not to be suffered; wherefore he could not but aduise him to desist from those practices, and to call back his Army out of the lower Palatinat; where they had committed many outrages vpon wiues & virgins: and withall that he should remember, being a Scholer, that such tyrannies were hatefull to the Heathen; and that it was his duty, as a Pastor, to reclaime his strayed sheepe, rather by milde meanes and faire speeches, then by fire and Sword: That this his passage into the lower Palatinat was not only contrary to equity, but to the treaty of *Ylme*, confirmed by all the Princes of the Empire; That his onely end was to expell the lawfull Elector all heir, and conferre the dignity on some which were remoued by many degrees; whereby they might haue more voices in the Electorall Colledge for the Bauarian party, and the Protestant States with the liberty of *Germany* bee the more oppreſt: That he had alwaies disliked the Elector Palatines meddling with the affairs of *Bohemia*, seeking to take the Crown from the Emperor; neither should hee now allow, that the Electorship should be taken from the Palatine, much lesse to cast oil into the fire with such violence; aduising him to call back his army, with this protestation, that he would do him all good offices if he gaue credit to his words; if otherwise he should suffer any one to bee depriued of his possessions, he would vse all means of defense for the glory of God and the liberty of *Germany*; calling God and posterity to witnes, that whatsoeuer he had done or should do, was for the peace of their common Country.

The Bauarians, after the aboue-mentioned defeat at *Mingelsheim*, had their reuenge of the Marquesse of *Durlach*, who lay apart with his Army between *Wimpfen* and *Heilbrun*. TILLY, hauing sent to discouer his Camp, ioining with CORDOVA's forces, on the 25 of April he seised on a wood and hil which was of great aduantage. Next day morning their cannon began to play on either side: but, DURLACH's forces, lying in open field, were much annoied. Their Troops encountred, and maintained the fight valiantly with equall losse, the Bauarians still refreshing their men in the wood; which the Marquesse his souldiers could not do. After noon, sending some troops of horse to charge them, they were repulst with such fury, that they were routed and put to flight: whereupon, TILLY and CORDOVA march against the Marquesse his forces with 6 regiments of foot and 800 horse; who attended them so resolutely, that they were forced to retire again to the wood: but returning again with greater fury, they putte his horsemen to flight, the footmen still fighting valiantly: during which conflict, certain carts loaden with pouder were by chance set on fire; which greatly spoiled the Marquesse his men, and was the losse of that daies battell. There was a Commander called HELMSTET, who maintained the fight to the very end, and (as they write) had got the victory if he had been well seconded by the horse. This battell continued from Sun-rising till eight of the clock at night; there being slain on both sides, as the report went, 5000 men, and 800 of the Marquesse his men taken prisoners. The Spaniards opinion was of this and of some former actions, that if they had been entertained in the beginning with such encounters, they should neuer haue been able to enter so far into *Germany*.

During these exploits in the Palatinate, the Town and Fort of *Glatz* seised on all the passages, repaired their Bulwarks, and fortified themselues with men and Arms against any enemies inuasion. The Elector of *Saxony* aduised them louingly to submit themselues to the Emperors mercy; promising them by his Letters, to obtain them a free pardon for all that was past: but the young Earle of *Thurne* returned him this answer, that they could not giue any credit vnto his promises; and therefore they were resolued to defend themselues to the last gasp. After which, the Towne-men tooke downe the roofes of their houses, and couered them with earth, to preuent the danger of fire. And being supplied with new Troops which came vnto them after the yeelding of *Wittigaw*, they made a sallie, and spoiled the Countrey foure or fiue miles round about, carrying away all the cattell and victualles into their Fort: and by night they surprised

prised *Beurath*, where there was a good garrison; whom they slue and set fire on the Town.

1622. Haguenaw besieged by Mansfeld the Arch-duke Leopold.

At such time as Count MANSFELD was busie at the siege of *Ladebourg* vpon the Riuer of *Neccar*, the Arch-duke LEOPOLD taking aduantage of the time, thinking the other busied, marcht with an Army of 7 or 8000 foot, 2000 horse; and six or seuen peeces of ordinance; and set himself down before *Haguenaw*, a Town belonging to the Bishop of *Spires*, lying very fit for his passage into the Palatinate. Hauing made his vsuall summons to yeeld, and the garrison refusing to parley, he fell to his battery, seeking to get it before they should be relieued: and, for the speedier effecting thereof, he wrote his Letters to them of *Strasbourg*, requiring them to send him aid to force the Town. The Citizens (being very wary) forbare to answer him presently: yet they sent him some victuals and munition. Count MANSFELD had left within *Haguenaw* 4000 foot & 500 horse, who defended it valiantly til they might aduertise their Generall of the danger; who vpon the first aduertisement posted out of the Palatinat with the king of *Bohemia* and almost 20000 men to relieue the siege. His coming was very seasonable: for the enemy had gotten into the Town-ditches; so as it was feared they could not haue held it aboue two daies longer. LEOPOLD, hauing intercepted a Letter of aduice which Generall MANSFELD had sent to the Besieged, and finding by his scouts that his Army was on foot the 16 of May, and seeing no possibility to take the Town suddenly, fearing to bee hemd in betwixt the Kings Army, the riuer *Rhine*, and the town-garrison; he sent 1000 Croatian horse with som foot-companies to encounter him about *Wisemberg*, that by this stay he might saue the rest of his Army; with which he rose so tumultuously, that the garrison salying forth, slue 5 or 600 of his men in the trenches and rereward. They likewise who were sent against Count MANSFELD were ouerthrowne, and most of them slain or taken prisoners. The Arch-duke LEOPOLD fled ouer the *Rhine*: many of his souldiers were slain in the flight: six companies of horse retired into a wood; where, after 3 daies hunger, they yielded themselues to Colonel OBERNTRAVD, and serued the King. Some companies fled into *Lichtenaw* which they fortified, bringing with them six peeces of ordinance from before *Haguenaw*: but they were in great feare of the Marquesse of *Durlach*; who although he had receiued an ouerthrowe, and lost his baggage and cannon, yet he drew together again his dispersed regiments, and swore the companies hee had cashierd before, to the king of *Bohemia*; so as he had again an Army in field of 6000 foot & 1500 horse.

Mansfeld sieth on Darmstat.

After the relief of *Hagnenaw*, and the ouerthrowe of the Arch-duke LEOPOLD's Army, Count MANSFELD retired with his Army to *Germensheim*, *Frankendale* and *Manheim*; where putting the souldiers in hope that he would bring them to good pastures, and leaue all to their spoil, so as they would abstain from firing and murder; vpon the two and twentith of May hee with the King of *Bohemia* went with 16000 horse and foot to *Darmstat*, a Town belonging vnto LODOVVICK, Lantzgraue of *Hesse*; and hauing enuironed the Town by night, early in the morning they summoned it to yeeld. The Inhabitants, being amazed at this sudden accesse, opened their gates. The King's and MANSFELD's guards being within the wals, the one went to the Court, and the Kings to the Castle: the rest of the souldiers, gaping for prey, spoiled the Town, Villages and the whole Country, driuing away their cattell, some to *Hannow*, and some to *Frankfort*; where the Burgers were suffred to buy them on this condition, that they should restore them to their owners, paying the same price. The misery and lamentation of the Inhabitants was great, the souldiers sparing no man. Hauing continued 7 daies in DARMSTAT's Country; MANSFELD, hearing that TILLY, who had bin supplied with 6000 men from the Duke of *Bauaria*, came to encounter him with an Army of 20000 strong, he thought it not fit to make any longer stay there, but retired the same way they came, carrying the Lantzgraue LODOVVICK with them, who had sought to escape: but being knowne, hee was brought back again, and conducted to *Manheim*. This Prince had been alwaies a professed enemy to the King of *Bohemia*, and was the chief instrument to make the accord between the Princes of the Vnion and Marquesse SPINOLA. He had alwaies giuen passage and assistance to the Spanish forces, and dissuaded the Marquesse of *Durlach* and other Princes from taking Armes vnder a colour of desire of peace, and had perswaded the Inhabitants of *Heidelberg* from their obedience and duty to their lawfull Prince: for the which reasons, the King took him prisoner, and carried him to *Manheim*, suffering his countrey (which was very rich and plentifull) to be spoiled by the poore and hungry Souldiers; who were well relieued and the needy garrisons supplyed with store of Beeus, and sheep, and other necessaries.

CHRISTIAN Duke of *Brunswick*, making preparation to march towards the Palatinate,

1622 great feare of the Switzers running down.

the bruite thereof was dispersed ouer the whole countrey; which strooke such a terror into the poore inhabitants, as they carried whatsoeuer they had, good and pretious, into *Franckfort*: To stop whose course; the Baron of *Anhalt*, marching speedily through the Countey of *Waldec* and *Hesse*, came to *Aschaffenbourg*, where he ioyned with the Bauarian and Spanish forces: who spoiled both friend and foe. BRVNSVVICK, leauing *Westphalia* on the 6 of May, marched to the Riuer of *Visurgis*, ouer which Colonel KNIPHVS had built a bridge; where he passed with 82 Cornets of Horse, and 15000 foot, leading captiues with him some Iesuites, and a certain President. He was followed by the Bishop of *Cullens*, the Duke of *Newbourgs*, and the Spanish forces; but hauing no meanes to ouertake him, for that all the bridges were broken down; they returned, and in their way recouered *Susat*, *Alten*, and other places in *Westphalia*. Approaching neere vnto the Elector of *Saxonies* countrey, the Duke came with good troops of souldiers to *Langesalt* vpon the Frontiers, to preuent all danger, and to preserue his subiects from oppression. The Duke of *Brunswick*, hauing receiued victuals, past quietly by the iurisdiction of *Coburg* towards the Abby of *Fuldam*; where he exacted from the Chapter 40000 dollers. The Elector of *Saxony*, hauing freed his Frontiers from feare, entred into *Lipsick* in great Pompe, with his royal Standard before him, bringing with him Captaine FISCHER prisoner, for that hee had exceeded his Commission contrary to the Edict, and had spoiled certain villages about *Eysfeld*, belonging to the Elector of *Mentz*. This Captain had many good friends which did intercede for him, especially FREDERICK a Duke of *Saxony*, who loued him much; yet he could not so palliate the offence, but 3 of his chiefe officers were hanged.

The L. Chichley arriues at Manheim.

His Maiesty of great Brittain, hauing (as I said before) resolued to send the Lord CHICHESTER, Baron of *Belface*, into the Palatinate, to the Elector Palatine his son in Law, to dispose him to imbrace this treaty of Peace now in hand at *Brussels*, and to remoue all lets & obstacles that might hinder it, or a suspension of Arms, which his Maiesty so much desired: about the end of May he arriued safely at *Manheim*; whereat the king of *Bohemia* was much satisfied, & the poor soldiers greatly reioyced, hoping that the presence of such a person should supply all their wants; where, after great welcome and entertainment, the king and his General MANSFELD, returned to the Army; which, about the end of May, marched to *Achenburg*, a town of the Bishop of *Mentz* lying aboue *Franckfort*, to meet with BRVNSVVICK who as they heard was marching into *Franconia*: But ere he could get to the riuer of *Main*, which of force they must pass, TILLY hauing a very strong Army (beeing newly fortified with 6000 men from the Duke of *Bauaria*, and supplied with the *Infanta's* horse-troops from GONZALES) had got before him; so as he must of necessity fight or retire: for, BRVNSVVICK was not yet come to the riuer, neither had any notice of the Kings being so neer. Finally, it was not held conuenient to fight vpon such disaduantages: for, the Country was very poor, and not able to feed them; and the enemy was strong and very well prouided, which might endanger their Army: wherefore it was thought fit to retire; which was done in so good order, that the King himself was much commended. Notwithstanding all their diligence, yet the enemy followed them so fast, that he ouertook them, and their horse made such way through and about the woods, that they were forced to skirmish, the King going from place to place to make head against the enemy. This continued about two daies, the 30 and 31 of May. During these encounters of the horse, the foot retired to *Manheim*, hauing lost not aboue 100 on either side: the horse skirmisht still, wherin the King demeaned himself so brauely, as he drew on others by his example to noble performances; where many Gentlemen were much praised for their valor: among which Colonell OBERTRAVNT (Commander of the Palatines horse) and Sir IOHN MANVVOOD of *Kent* (a Captain of a Troop of MANSFELD's horse) were specially noted. The report was, there were not aboue 200 slain, besides the wounded and prisoners; so as TILLY had little cause to boast of this attempt, where they lost so few men, and no baggage, in a retreat of 30 or 40 miles, albeit the enemy made great maters of it; giuing out, that MANSFELD lost aboue 2000, as both GOTARDVS and LONDORPIVS write; and that this encounter was at their retreit from *Darmstat*: but it seems, ignorance or passion abused them.

The Emperors generall pardon.

In the beginning of May, the Emperor had caused his Letters to be set vp in the 3 Townes of *Prague*, commanding all men to acknowledge honor and respect to the Prince of *Lichtenstein*, as his Lieutenant and Vice-gerent in the kingdome of *Bohemia*, and that they should faithfully obey him, as if his Maiesty were there in person; and on the other side, the Prince should Minister Iustice to all men indifferently, and take them into his protection. On the next day a generall pardon was proclaimed throughout all *Prague*; but with this condition expresst, that no mention should be hereafter made of any former offences or transgressions; neither should death be inflicted vpon any man; yet such as during that time of Rebellion had assisted the directors of *Bohemia* and the Count Palatine, or at the least had been partakers in the Bohemian combustions, should within 3 weeks bring in their names to certain Counsellors appointed for that businesse, and attend their resolution: and then (matters being duely considered) should pay a fine: yet such were expresly excluded out of the pardon, who had bin particularly condemned before, and whose names had been affixed vpon the place of Iustice.

1622

The Emperor prepares to goe into Hungary.

The Emperor resolued to leaue a garrison of 18 companies in *Viena*. The citizens which dwelt in the high market place, refusing to receiue this garrison into their houses, and therby shewing their smal deuotion to the Emperor, the soldiers entred the lodgings which were appointed for them, by force; with the consent and approbation of the Magistrate. Hereupon the Prouinciall States of *Austria* came speedily to *Vienna*; and, amongst other things, most humbly besought his Maiesty that they might hereafter liue in Peace vnder the shelter of the Eagles wings: whereupon there was a new treaty propounded for the leuying of money; but by reason of his iourney into *Hungary*, it was deferred. On the 18 of May, he began his Iourney with 2 regiments of foot, and 12 cornets of horse, hauing sent some Noble-men and Counsellors of *Hungary* before, to conferre with the States, with this expresse resolution; that if the Hungarians would not be forgetfull of the Oath they had taken, he would then shew them all grace and fauor: if otherwise, then for the loue of Iustice, he would shew them the Sword wherwith God had girt him.

About the 11 of May, certain Commissioners which had been sent to Prince BETHLIN returned to *Vienna*; who aduertized his Maiesty that BETHLIN shewed himself not only a good and deuout Imperialist, but also faithfully perswaded his Maiesty not to disarm himself of those warlike preparations, lest the Turkish Emperor should take an aduantage of this treaty of Peace, and inuade the one or other party: whereunto the Emperors Commissioners replied; That although his Maiesty had greater and more difficult war, yet he was resolued to conclude a firme and constant Peace with all his enemies; the which he had often fought of many, but in vaine: Which declaration did so please BETHLIN, as he concluded, that now was the wished time that all his Maiesties subiects and rebels, for loue of their countrey, should ioyn with the sacred Roman Empire, and therby breake and ruin all the Turkish forces. The Emperor parting from *Vienna*, the 18 of May after the new stile, on the 26 he came to *Edenbourg* with his Empresse and children, hauing a guard of 5000 horse & foot; where he was receiued & brought into the town by the Hungarians: two daies after, he made his propositions in Latin vnto the States. 1. His Imperial Maiesty did perswade them to forget all hostility, and to resolue on a generall Peace, for the loue of their country; to which end he came to them in person. 2. That the Crown might be presently brought back againto *Presbourg*, & there safely kept; to which end his Maiesty would appoint certain Commissioners. 3. That a Peace should be maintaind with the Turk and other neighbor Princes; which his Maiesty would endeuor to see effected, and that such as should break the league might be duely punished. 4. That a law might be made against such as should treat with the Turk or any other Enemy to the preiudice of the kingdome. 5. If any hostile inuasion should be made, then the States should take care for defence. 6. That EMERICVS LIPTAGVS, STEPHANVS DOTRIVS, and IAMIS RIMAIVS, should giue an account of their Embassie to the Turkish Emperour, to the intent the Peace might be the better kept. 7. All goods taken away during the time of the Rebellion, should bee presently restored to their owners. 8. That the Germanes (necessity so requiring) should bee lodged againe vpon the Frontiers, according to the prouinciall constitutions; the which hereafter should be obserued with more strict discipline. 9. That they should consider by what meanes, the Dominions, which had beene deliuered to BETHLIN Prince of *Transiluania*, should be reduced to the Crowne of *Hungary*. 10. That their late Letters of confederacie with their Prouinciall orders, should bee deliuered vnto his Imperiall Maiestie. 11. That the houses should bee numbred, and that euery one should be bound to pay six Hungarian florens, vntill the next Assembly of the States. 12. That Trees and Timber should bee fetcht out of the neereſt Woods, for the re-edifying and repayring of the decayed Forts. 13. That Corne should bee sent vnto the Frontier Forts, during these turbulent times. 14. That the Articles formerly made should be renued and duely obserued against those which did ill intreate Souldiers. 15. That whereas there was a generall forgetfulnesse of all that was past; the States, to shew their loue vnto their lawfull King of *Hungary*, should

The Emperor enters into Odenburg: and his propositions to the States of Hungary.

make a Law againſt ſuch as ſhould attempt any thing to the prejudice of the Country. 16. That
1622 a Law ſhould be made for the reſtitution of ſuch places as were fit for the keeping of powder for his Maieſties neceſſity. 17. And whereas, during the Peace, *Vaccia* had been deliuered; therefore the States ſhould haue a care of the ſafety of the Common-wealth, leſt by this auulſion; the conſtitutions of the Prouinces might be endangered. 18. That the fortification neer to *Canifis* might be prouided for; to which end, his Maieſty promiſed to treate with the other Prouinces. 19. That the paſſage of the Riuer of *Iauerin* might be cleanſed, and the new Mills demoliſhed, which otherwiſe would be a hinderance vnto the defence of the Fort. 20. That ſuch Officers might be appointed for the adminiſtring of Iuſtice as ſhould remayne in a certaine place.

During this aſſembly, BETHLIN Prince of *Tranſiluania* ſent his Deputies, who preſented vnto the Emperour a goodly horſe, with other rich preſents; he himſelfe then remaining at *Caſſouia*, for that his wife CAROLA was newly dead: Some wtite, that during the conſultation touching the Emperours propoſitions, among other things it was debated, that the Ieſuites ſhould be no more admitted into *Hungary*, at leaſt enioy no Lands: And ſecondly that they would not only haue a generall pardon, but a particular for the Ambaſſie they had ſent to *Conſtantinople*; and in the meane time the Emperor appointed a Commiſſioner to fetch the Crowne from *Trentſchin*.

Brunſwick approacheth the Palatinate.

Let vs now returne againe to the Palatinate, and obſerue what ſucceſſe BRVNSVVICK hath in his march thitherwards. It ſeeming by all circumſtances that his Army approached neere vnto the limitts of the City of *Franckfort*, there was great ſtore of treaſure brought from the neighbour villages and townes, the which might ſerue the owners to good purpoſe, many of them being fled to the City. On the fourth of Iune his Army drew neere to *Vrſell*, a Towne belonging to the Arch-biſhoppe of *Mentz*; the Gouernour whereof (who was buſie about the fortification of the Town) holding his greateſt ſafety to be in flight, abandoned it, to the ſpoile of the Souldiers: After which, Colonell KNIPHVS marched with one thouſand fiue hundred ſhotte, foure troups of horſe, two peeces of Ordinance, and ſome Petards to *Hoeſt*, a town ſeated vpon the Maine, a mile from *Franckfort*; where he meant to make a bridge to ioyne with MANDSFELDS forces. Hauing inueſted the Towne by night, in the morning the Garriſon fell to Armes, ſhooting continually at them, ſo as the Colonell was hurt in the left arme; wherewith, being nothing amazed, he ſummoned them to yeeld: but ſeeing them reſolute, hauing loſt aboue a hundred men, he ſent preſently to the Duke of *Brunſwick* for more forces; the which the Townes-men ſeeing approach, they grew amazed and fled preſently to the watergate, where they all (with their wiues and children, and the beſt of their ſubſtance) paſt the Maine; ſome going to *Mentz*, ſome to *Franckfort*: whereupon they entred the Towne and Caſtle. The next day the Army came thither: In the meane time TILLY and CORDOVA, lying at *Aſchaffenbourg* with an Army of thirty thouſand men at the leaſt, they ſent two hundred foote, and two troups of horſe, by night, to reliene *Hoeſt*, but they were met withall and defeated by BRVNSVVICK's Troups.

On the ſeuenth of Iune they paſſed the Maine towards *Franckfort*: The Duke of *Brunſwick*, hearing of the Enemies march, ſent to Count MANDSFELD, to let him vnderſtand in what poſture he ſtood; reſoluing that he would continue ſo ſtill, vntill he might march vnto him: for whoſe paſſage or his owne retreate (if he were forced) he prepared a bridge ouer the Maine. Count MANDSFELD receiued theſe newes as he was marching with a deſigne to breake the bridge at *Oppenheim*; or (that failing) to make ſome other diuerſion, thereby to draw GONZALES homewards; commaunding threeſcore Cornets of horſe to march preſently towards the Duke, meaning himſelfe to follow after the reſt of his Army: but he was ſtayed by contrary newes of his ouerthrow as you ſhall heare.

Brunſwick defeated by the Bauarians at Hoeſt

On Whitſonday, the ſouldiers hauing burned many villages thereabouts, the Bauarians marched with 15 Regiments of foote, 140 Cornets of horſe and 18 peeces of Ordinance: In the meane time, the Duke of *Brunſwick* encamped himſelfe, and ſent ſome of his carriages ouer the bridge. The enemy approaching his Camp, the fight beganne preſently, and continued ſix houres: the Bauarians had 18 peeces of Ordinance fitly placed, which did much annoy his horſe: BRVNSVVICK had but three, whereof one was broken in the beginning, and another was made vnſeruiceable by the enemies Cannon; ſo as they could not make the fight good, notwithſtanding that his foote-men fought valiantly. The Duke, by the aduice of his commanders, retired himſelfe: whereupon, the whole Army fell into confuſion, and fled preſently towards the bridge: where, by reaſon of the narrowneſſe thereof, many were turned into the riuer, and drowned. The Bauarians durſt not purſue them which fled, fearing ſome ſtratagem. 1622
The Duke of *Brunſwick* waded through the riuer with fiue troupes of horſe: they loſt moſt of their baggage, and many of the ſouldiers in their flight threw away their Armes: which was a very great loſſe. The number of the dead was vncertaine, for that many both of horſe and foote were drowned in the paſſage of the riuer: But the loſſe had beene farre greater, if the Bauarians had had any horſe to purſue them on the other ſide of the riuer. They had no great cauſe to brag of this victory, there being three ſtrong Armies ioyned againſt one, and hauing ſix times as much Ordinance. The Duke came to *Mainheme*; and, gathering together his ſcattered troupes after this loſſe, muſtered 5000 horſe and 8000 foot. TILLY, retiring after this defeate towards *Frankfort*, cauſed a bridge to be built by *Steinheym*, to paſſhis army ouer the riuer of *Maine*: which being finiſhed, they diuided their Armies. TILLY went to *Schrife*, a fort which he had taken vpon the riuer of *Neccar*: and *Don* CORDOVA encamped at *Ladenburg*; where making a bridge, *Heidelberg* was in a manner blockt vp; without any hoſtile attempt.

An Ambaſſadour from the King of Denmark to the Emperor.

Whil'ſt the Emperour continued at *Edenbourg* (during the aſſembly of the States of *Hungary*) there arriued an Ambaſſadour from the King of *Denmark*, to intercede againe for the reſtitution of the Elector Palatine to his hereditarie Countries and dignities; intreating his Maieſty, that (for his fatherly affection to the Common-wealth and his innocent ſubiects) hee would change his minde (preferring clemencie before rigour) and ſuffer the Elector Palatine to be reconciled vnto him. That he had often ſhewed himſelfe ready, both to him and the States of the Empire, to renounce the crowne of *Bohemia* both for himſelfe and his heires; and to yeeld all due obedience vnto his Imperiall Maieſty; ſo as he might enioy his hereditarie poſſeſſions with the Elector all dignity, and recouer that which had beene taken from him. But if his Maieſty thought that his offences were ſuch as they could not ſo eaſily be pardoned, and that he had cauſe ſufficient to proſecute the execution of the proſcription; yet he could not but let him vnderſtand, that in theſe extremities whereas the publike ſafety was in danger, it was not needfull to proceede according to the rigour of the law; but, remember that worthy ſaying of an Antient, *It is not neceſſarie I ſhould doe all things according to mine owne will.* Wherefore he could not but intreate his Maieſty againe (ſeeing that the Elector Palatine was ready vpon the former conditions to make his renunciation, ſubmiſſion, and ſatisfaction) that he would in the end vanquiſh himſelfe, and forget his conceiued diſpleaſure againſt him, for the good of the Common-wealth; whereby he ſhould free many thouſands from death and deſpaire; hee ſhould make an end of warre and the deuaſtation of countries; ſettle peace and the publike quiet, and reſtore the Common-weale to life; being now in the very agonie of death; and as it were breathing out his ſoule: And, to conclude, he ſhould ſo bind all his Noblemen and ſubiects, yea and his very enemies vnto him, as they would not only be ready to employ their liues and fortunes in all cauſes of neceſſity, but would alſo poure forth their vowes and prayers for his health and ſafety.

The Emperour anſwere vnto the Danish Ambaſſadour

The Emperour, in his anſwere to this Daniſh Ambaſſador, made an ample relation of all the proceedings of the Bohemians, and of the combuſtions which had hapned there ſince the yeere 1618, as he had formerly donne to others: That, notwithſtanding the great victory which hee had got at *Prague*, he had not changed his minde, which was alwaies enclyned to peace: That he had appointed diuers aſſemblies of the Electors and Princes, meaning to aſſiſt there in perſon for the ſettling of a general peace: the which had been diſappointed by Count MANDSFELD; who, leauying new forces in the vpper Palatinate, had entred into the confines of *Bohemia*, meaning to infeſt it againe, if he had not oppoſed the Duke of *Bauaria* againſt him: That both hee and CHRISTIAN Duke of *Brunſwick* had committed many outrages in *Aſſatia* and *Weſtphalia*: That the Elector Palatine could not excuſe himſelfe of theſe proceedings; which were no ſignes of repentance, but of obſtinate malice: yet he had ſent the Earle of *Swartſenberg* to the King of great *Brittaine*, to acquaint him with the conditions whereby a ſuſpenſion of Armes might bee obtained; the which he had referred to the *Iuſanta* of *Spaine* remaining at *Bruſſels*. Yea, he had beene content, that the Electors and Princes ſhould meete touching this buſineſſe: Yet, in the meane time, before he could receiue their concluſions, FREDERICK Elector Palatine, neglecting the Treaty (which his father in law had ſo often deſired) came againe into the Empire, and ioyned with MANDSFELD and others, to the end they might inuade the Territories of the Electors and Princes which had beeene faithfull vnto him. Whereby the King of *Denmark* might well perceiue, with what patience he had endured theſe affronts: finally,

1622

ly, when he should receiue aduice from his Ambassador at *Brussels* what was fit to be done touching this desired treaty, he would so resolue, that the King should finde that his interposition was not in vain.

The Ambassadors reply to the Emperor.

The Ambassador, seeming not well satisfied with the Emperors answer, vpon a second audience gaue him to vnderstand, that his Master would not make any question to the troubles of *Bohemia*, nor the punishing of such as were the motiues: but seeing that his Imperiall Maiesty had now recouered this his Kingdome with the incorporated Prouinces, part by force, part by treaty, his King did aim at nothing more than to see an end of this warre and misery, that peace and tranquillity might be restored with due obedience to his Maiesty, all offenses forgotten, and perfect loue and trust confirmed among the States; that there was nothing wanting in the Elector Palatine, who was ready to make his renunciation and an honest satisfaction, desiring nothing but his owne hereditary Countries and Electorall dignity, as he enioyned them before the troubles; that it was apparant to all the world, that the Duke of *Bauaria* alone laboured to expel him by force from his hereditary right, contrary to the treaty of *Vlm*. If the Palatin according to the law of nature had vsed any defense, or sought means to preserue his subiects liues, and those poor possessions which yet remained, from cruell subuersion, such as that of *Neccargemond* (where they vsed barbarous cruelty against innocent women and children) he was not to be blamed; neither was it to be reputed a new crime of obstinacy and rebellion against his Maiesty, if in his defense there had been some wrong done (as souldiers can hardly containe themselues within their bounds) to them of *Strasbourg*, it was that wherof the King of *Denmark* complained, that the sparks of this fire did flee into the neighbour Prouinces; and if it were not speedily quenched, all *Germany* would be on flame, and in a manner reduced to ashes. Hee did not doubt but those Prouinces, which had suffred some losse, had giuen counsell and assistance against the Palatine; that SPINOLA, Generall for the King of *Spain*, had been a great cause thereof, who had done great wrongs to MAVRICE Lantzgraue of *Hesse*, to the Countesse of *Hannow*, to an innocent pupill, the Count Palatine LODOVVICK the Electors brother, and to diuerse Imperiall Towns; that he would not be troublesome to his Maiesty with a commemoration of those calamities, but would only intreat him not to blame the Palatin if he had sought to protect his subiects, nor to think he had done any thing contrary to the promise of the King of great Britanne; being ready to accommodate himself to any friendly Treaty, so as he might not be forced to submit himself to the Duke of *Bauaria* and the Catholick League, to the ruine of his Country, and blemish of his dignity. Wherefore the King of *Denmark* did hope, that the Emperor would giue way to so many intercessions; that hee would forget what had past in the troubles of *Bohemia*; that he would not tax the Palatine with any new crime, nor spoil him of his Country and Electorall dignity: whereby the Protestants mindes might be much distempered, if, seeing all other men pardoned which had been partakers in those troubles, and that BETHLEN (who had marched in the same steps with the Palatine, if not worse) had been admitted to a friendly composition without any intercession, and diuerse Principalities and Earldoms granted to him during his life; but to the Palatine all fauour was denied, and a cruell reuenge exercised against him: this might easily breed iealousie in the Protestants, as if ther were some other matter intended to their preiudice by his oppression; and the rather, for that it was commonly spoken, that the Electorall dignity was conferred vpon the Duke of *Bauaria*, which might be the cause of new combustions; that his Maiesty should not giue credit to such turbulent men who regarded onely their owne priuate profit, nor think that by the defeat at *Wimpfen* the Palatines forces were so weakned, as he should not be able to finde meanes to defend himself; that MANSFELD could not bee drawne to leaue his Master by the rigor of Proscriptions, but had made head against the forces of the Bauarians with a good Army, and had beaten them at *Vislock*; that no enemy whatsoeuer was to be contemned; that if all hope of reconciliation were taken away, and (the title of rebels continued) they were brought to despair, his Maiesty might well conceiue what calamities were to be feared, seeing that the warre (increasing since the Treaty of *Vlmes*) seemed to threaten all estates. Wherefore he besought the Emperor, that seeing the Palatine shewed himself willing to renounce the Kingdome of *Bohemia* and the incorporated Prouinces, he would shew him grace at the request of the King his Master and the Elector of *Saxony*, who did likewise intercede for him: whereby there might be hope of his restoring to his former dignity and inheritance; that the King would willingly send an Ambassador to this Treaty, with instructions whereby it should plainly appear, that whatsoeuer he had done was out of a sincere loue to settle peace, and to maintain the dignity of his Imperiall maiesty.

sty. Touching CHRISTIAN Duke of *Brunswick*, the king his Master had vnderstood by vulgar relations, that he had made an irruption into *Westphalia*, and had taken diuers places; but he had not hard of his Tyrannie. That what he had done was out of his meere loue and pity to the Palatine, his wife and children, being so neere allied vnto him in bloud, and dispossessed of all their States: wherefore, he intreated the Emperour not to take any seuere counsells against this Duke; but rather to vse lenity and mildnesse in respect of his youth and other circumstances, whereby he might draw him to better counsells, and make triall of his fidelity and valour, either against the sworne enemy of Christendome, or in some other good occasion. 1622

The Emperors answere to the Ambassadour.

The Emperour hereunto made this answere; That what-so-euer had beene attempted by force in the Palatinate, was done by his commandement, and by the vertue of his Commission. That the Army which was then in the Palatinate was to be accounted the Emperours: so as whatsoeuer was attempted against it by the Palatine or his commanders, was to be held done against his person. That he persisted constant in his first resolution, touching a treaty of peace: wherein he hoped all long disputations should bee auoided, according vnto the desire of the King of *Denmark*, promising withall that hee would haue a respect vnto his intercession.

The Elector of Saxony intercedes for the Palatine.

During this Embassie, The Elector of *Saxony* wrote Letters vnto the Emperour, whereby he gaue him to vnderstand, that he had beene requested by the King of *Denmark*, to be a suter vnto his Maiesty, for the reconciliation of FREDERICK Elector Palatine, who seemed ready to renounce the Kingdom of *Bohemia* for him and his heires; to make his submission and giue satisfaction. Hauing therefore found by diuers Letters and Embassies sent vnto him, that his Maiesty was wholy enclined to settle a wished peace, and had referred the whole business to the *Infanta* of *Spaine*, lying at *Brussels*, whereby all Acts of hostility might cease, or at least a cessation of Armes be concluded, that they might proceede in their treaty, and the faithfull States be freed from further danger; and seeing the King of *Denmarks* loue and affection to his Imperial Maiesty, and the publike peace; he thought it his duty to employ his best indeuor for the pacifying of all troubles and combustions in the Empire, neither could he forbeare to assist this his commendable designe by his Letters. That he held it very necessarie and high time that a peace were settled in the Empire; which could by no meanes be effected, vnlesse the Spring of all troubles were stopt and the fier quenched. Wherefore he entreated his Maiesty not to suffer this intercession of the King of *Denmark* to be without fruit, but that he would vanquish himselfe; and as the Palatine seemed ready to make a renuntiation and submission, so in like manner he would suffer him to be reconciled vnto him: whereby he should preserue the loue and affection of the King of *Danmark*, make an end of all those miseries, settle a peace in the Empire, and purchase immortall thanks and glory with all the States of the Empire and posterity.

About this time, those of *Glats* surprised the Towne of *Wunselburg*: in the which, were fiue companies of foot belonging to the Prince of *Lichtenstein*, whereof they slew the greatest part; some few flying to *Brun*. In like manner, they of *Clingenberg*, being besieged by the Imperialists, made a salie and slew many of their souldiers. About the same time 5000 Cossacks came and offered their seruice to the Emperor; they sate downe within two miles of *Glats*, bringing great spoiles with them: of which, they of *Glats* took a great part from them; CHARLES Bishop of *Nisse*, the Emperors brother, sending them word he had no neede of their seruice: yet they continued their course, and marched towards the Duke of *Bauaria*, spoiling the Towne of *Glatz* in *Bohemia* as they passed.

Demandes made by the vnited States to the countries of Iuliers and Mounts.

The vnited States hearing that the Countries of *Iuliers* and *Mounts* (which are a part of the circle of *Westphalia*, and subiect to the Empire) had giuen great assistance to the Spaniards, they sent an Ambassadour to *Dusseldorf* with these demandes following: That they should pay them one hundred thousand dollers within three weekes, or expect the like that had beene done in *Brabant*; That they should make yeerely paiement vnto the States of halfe their profits. That they should receiue no Spanish garrisons into their townes as they had done the last winter. That they vnderstood, they had maintained the king of *Spaines* forces without any charge to him; the which if they should do againe this winter, they would burne all their Townes and villages: And lastly that they should giue them as greate a quantity of oates as they had done to SPINOLA.

Heidelberg besieged by Tilly

TILLY hauing taken the Castle of *Ladebourg* without any great toyle, vpon the 21. of Iune he marched toward *Heidelberg*: and finding that the Towne and Castle might be annoyed from a neer place which they call the holy Hill; he presently seised vpon it, and soon after tooke a fortification,

1622 fortification, which for some considerations had been abandoned, and in a manner cast downe by them of *Heidelberg*; from whence they began to shoot against the Towne: and comming downe the Hill, they began to fortifie against the bridge which went ouer the *Neccar*, and to take it if they could, and withall to disturb the besieged if they should attempt to recouer the Fort vpon the Hill, but they were forced to desist from their attempt, by their continuall shooting from the Castle. There were diuers salies and Military exploits for some daies together, with losse to either side; they within hauing a Captaine with thirtie seuen footmen and two horsemen slaine, besides such as were wounded. The Bauarian lost some hundreds of his souldiers with one Captaine, there being aboue 100 of them carried prisoners into the Towne. In the meane time two of MANSFELDS Captaines, being shut into the Towne, and hauing no meanes to returne vnto their Armie, had drawne together a troupe of 300 foote, and eightie horse of the Mansfeldians and others, who lying sicke there had recouered their healths; these men salied forth daily, and neuer returned without some prey. TILLY, finding hee should doe little good beyond the Riuer of *Neccar*, on the 28 of Iune raised his campe, and returned to *Lawdebourg* with his Armie: where passing the Riuer, he marched to the other side of the Towne, and put his Armie in battaile, shewing himselfe readie to fight, but to no effect: only he made the Towne Gardes sometime retire, as they did his, his souldiers spending the time in gathering vp the corne, and spoiling and burning the neighbour Villages.

Lodowick of Hassia sent home to his Country.

In the meane time, LODOVVICK of *Darmstat* Lantsgraue of *Hesse* was released from his imprisonment before the comming of two Ambassadors from the Elector of *Saxony*, and from MAVRICE, Lantsgraue of *Hesse*: the conditions of his dismission were, That he should labour to procure the peace of *Germany*; That he should doe his best endeuor for the restitution of the Palatinate, and other iurisdictions belonging vnto the Elector FREDERICK: That he should attempt nothing in hostile manner against the Electour or his subiects during these troubles; and that he should not seeke any reuenge for that which had been formerly done. Hauing accepted and allowed of these conditions (so as they might not preiudice the hereditarie contracts which he had with other Electors and Princes) he presently returned to *Darmstat* the first of Iuly. At the same time the Marquesse of *Durlach* gaue ouer Armes and resigned his troupes to the Baron of *Helmstat*.

Count Mansfeld and Brunswick go into Alsatia.

Count MANSFELD and the Duke of *Brunswick*, hauing ioyned their forces together, left the Palatinate (being wholly wasted and not able to feede their Armies) and marching into *Alsatia*, they passed by *Strausbourg*, and in the way took diuerse Townes belonging to the Bishops iurisdiction, whereof they spoiled and burnt some and ransomed others, from whom they exacted great summes of money besides other supplies of corne, wine and other victuals for the releefe of their Army.

The Lord CHICHESTER Baron of *Belface*, being sent by his Maiesty of great *Britanie* (as you formerly heard) to his sonne in law the Elector Palatine, to dispose him to retire out of the Palatinate, and to lay downe Armes in regarde of the present treaty of peace, being also pressed by Letters from the King of *Denmark*, who had much laboured his reconciliation with the Emperour, and had consulted with some States of the Empire; he thought good to aduise him to desist from Armes and dismisse his forces, setting downe certaine conditions, whereby they hoped this difficult businesse might be compounded.

The Elector freeth the Army from their oath.

The Elector (by the aduice and counsell of the King his father in law, and the perswasions of the King of *Denmark*) not onely raised the siege from ELSAS ZABARN, but also freed the Army from their oath; as may appeare by this attestation which was made in the Camp, the 13 of Iuly: He could not but confesse (said he) *That his worthy Generall and Lieutenant generall, the Earle of* Mansfeld, *with his Kinsman* CHRISTIAN Duke of *Brunswick, with al their* Colonels, *Captaines and Officers, together with the whole Army of horse and foote, had hitherto faithfully discharged their duties: but, being now destitute of all meanes to entertaine them any longer, so as they should not be able hereafter to continue in their fidelities and duty, He would not therefore blame them for that they had required an honest dismission; but did willingly graunt it, and declared them freed from their oath, and that they might now freely take what course they in their discretion should think fittest for their good and safety.*

Count Mansfeld offers his seruice to the Emperor.

GOTHARDVS writes, that Count MANSFELD (hauing receiued this attestation from the Elector) wrote vnto TILLY, sending him a copie thereof, letting him vnderstand that both he, the Duke of *Brunswick*, and the whole Army were discharged from the Elector: so as being now their owne men & at liberty, mooued out of loue and affection vnto the Emperour they were ready to serue him, if they might be sure of the remainder of their pay: or if his

his Maiesty had no need of his seruice, the proscription being taken away and a pardon granted for his former offences, he would speedily depart out of the lymits of the Empire: yet I dare not warrant the truth hereof. The Assembly of the Prouinciall States in *Hungary* continued still: in the which, they shewed themselues very willing to giue the Emperour *content*; and among others, they concluded these Articles following. That all persons aswell Ecclesiasticall as Secular, *should be restored to their goods*, which had beene taken away during the time of the rebellion. That ayde should bee giuen vnto his Imperiall Maiesty against his enemies. That the Germanes should be receiued into garison, for the defence of the frontier townes; and that the Empresse should be crowned Queene of *Hungary*; to which end the Emperours Commissioners should be presently sent to fetch the Crowne to *Edinbourg*, whereby the Assembly might be concluded. In the meane time, *Clingenberg*, with the Towne and Castle, was yeelded to the Emperors deuotion, vpon certaine conditions: which done, the Garrison departed with their baggage, and other troupes entred for the Emperor: and at the same time the Earle of *Holoch* was reconciled to the Emperour; and the Electorall Diet, appointed at *Ratisbone* or *Rainsbourg*, was deferred vntill the first of October. 1622

The Empresse crowned Queen of Hungary.

The States of *Hungary*, to shew their deuotion to the Emperor, resolued to haue his Empresse crowned Queene of *Hungary* vpon the 26 of Iuly; for the which, there was great preparation made. The Hungarian Crown had beene carried by BETHLIN GABOR from *Presbourg* to *Trentschin* (as you haue formerly heard) the which was now brought back with a troupe of 1000 Germanes and Hungarians horse and foote: it was carried with great solemnity in a Caroach, hauing many Noblemen both of the Emperors Court and Hungarians going before and after it, with trumpets in front. Being come to the house where the Crown was to be kept, presently the Archbishop of *Iauerin*, the Lord Palatine TVRSO, with many other Noblemen Hungarians, receiued it with great honour, from certaine Haydukes, and carried it into the house. Before they came vnto the said place, the citizens stood on the one side in Armes, and the Haydukes (being Armed after their manner) on the other. The next day the Crowne was brought forth into the Court and publikly shewed, being found whole and vntouched.

On the day appointed for this ceremonie, the Emperour went with great pomp vnto the Franciscan Church: before him marched the Gentlemen and Noblemen of the Court, with some Knights of the Goulden fleece: then followed fower Bishops in their Episcopall habits, and six other in their ordinarie attire: then came there fiue Heralds: and then followed the Emperour with his Kingly Diadem, on his head; the Earle of *Solmes* carrying the regall Ball, BRVNO Earle of *Mansfeld* the scepter, and the Baron of *Locenstin* the sword; Next to the Emperour followed STANESLAVS TVRSO, the Palatine of *Hungary*, who carried the Hungarian Diademe, SETSCHIVS the regall Ball, and ESTERHASIVS the scepter: and, last of all, came the Empresse with her traine and the Emperours guard. Comming into the Church, the Archbishop of *Iauerin* was appointed to performe the ceremonie: who, after the ending of Masse, anoynted her vpon the right Arme, betweene the elbow and the hand, and likewise vpon the face: which done, she was conducted by the Earle of *Dietrichstein* and the Countesse of *Porcia*, into the Vestrie; where she was attired with rich robes: and then comming forth, the foresaid Noblemen went before hir with the Crown, Scepter and Ball. Comming to the Altar, and falling vpon hir knees, the Archbishop anointed her againe. Then came there another Bishop and set her owne Crowne vpon her head, and so departed: after which, the Archbishop returned, and taking the scepter, he put it into her right hand, the regall Ball into her left, and the Crowne of *Hungary* he set vpon hir right shoulder: which as it seemes, is their manner when they crowne a Queene: the which, after some small pause, was taken off and set vpon the Altar.

The ceremonie being ended, the Queene taking hir owne crown, and carrying the scepter & Ball in her hands, went to hir appointed seate: after which they returned with great ioy & pompe in the same maner they came, the Palatine often shewing the Hungarian Crown to the people.

Count MANSFELD, and the D. of *Brunswick*, hauing retired their forces out of the Palatinate, and being discharged from the Elector Palatine king of *Bohemia*'s seruice, as you haue heard; TILLY and CARDOVA remaining still there with great forces, hauing no enemy able to make head against them, they had a faire opportunity to attempt any thing they pleased. Generall VERE hauing worke enough, to man, fortifie, and munition the Townes of *Heidelberg*, *Manheim* and *Frankendale* with some few others which remained yet vntaken, and were commanded by him vnder our Kings Maiesties protection. He therefore neglected not any thing that might either

either hinder the enemy in his designes, or auail himself in his defense; and therefore commanded the Gouerner of *Gemersheim* to seise on all the boats he could vpon the riuer *Rhine*, and burn them, lest the enemy should make vse of them for bridges or some other designe: and those Troops which the Marquesse of *Durlach* had cashiered when he retired himself, the Generall entertained.

1622

Mansfelds proceeding after his discharge.

The Elector Palatine, King of *Bohemia*, hauing discharged his Army (as wee haue formerly related) retired himself to *Sedan* to the Duke of *Bouillon*, his vncle. Count MANSFELD and the Duke of *Brunswick* in the mean time left *Alsatia* and the Territories of *Strasbourg*, sending to the Duke of *Lorrain* to demand passage through his Country: the which was granted either for loue or fear; yet it strucka great terror into the poor inhabitants, who fled with their goods into the walled Towns, fearing the insolency of disordered souldiers, which can neuer be kept in discipline where there wants pay: and therefore their Commanders are often forced to giue way to their spoils and violences. This Army passing through *Lorrain* and the Bishoprick of *Metts*, they entred vpon the edge of *Champagne* in *France*, sitting down by *Mouson* a small Town belonging to the French King vpon the riuer of *Meuse*, hauing put all the Countries round about in alarum, and caused them to stand vpon their guard; whom wee will at this time leaue for a while.

Durlach his country spoiled.

The Marquesse of *Durlach*, soon after his giuing ouer Arms, had a great disaster falleh vpon him: for, certain Troops of Croatians and Cossacks, comming from the Bauarian, entred his Country, spoiled where they came, and put all to fire and sword. They not onely wasted and consumed the corn in their Barns, but also that which stood vpon the ground, the husbandmen being fled, and not daring appear to reap it: they also did beat out the heads of their wine-vessels, pouring it on the ground; after which insolencies they made an incursion toward the duke of *Virtembeag*'s Country: where, as many as they took of the country-people, they barbarously mangled and slue, not sparing the very infants.

The Hungarians hauing had many treaties in the prouinciall Assembly, there were these heads following offred to the Emperor by the Noble-men to be confirmed: that there should be free exercise of religion vnder both kindes, by what name soeuer it should be called, and that the Palatine of *Hungary* should haue authority to punish the Bishops if they should attempt any thing to the contrary; secondly, that the Emperor should haue power to put Germans in garison into the frontier Towns and Forts, giuing order for their sufficient pay, and where they should receiue it, lest they should be inforced to fall to spoil, and thereby waste the Countrey; if otherwise, they would then place Hungarians vpon the Frontiers, yet vnder the Emperours command: thirdly, that the coin should be reduced to the antient value; whereby the Hungarians might traffick more commodiously with the Turks, and the subiects should not be so oppressed by the Magistrates: fourthly, that all grieuances (whereof they had often complained) might be taken away and redressed.

To these foure heads the Emperor made answer, first, that they should haue free exercise of religion, were it Caluenian, Lutheran, or any other: but hee had no power ouer the clergie in spiritual matters; that they should try if they could obtain that power from the Pope, to whom would he write touching that busines: secondly, that he could not excuse the drawing away of the Germans from the Frontiers by the Princes and States of the Empire, who supplied the charges for the defense of the Frontiers against the incursions of the Turk: yet it would be dangerous, that they being drawn away would be forsaken if the Turk should make any sudden irruption; but they should haue two Noble-men, Hungarians, resident in his Court and of his Councell, who should haue a care that the contributions of the Empire should not be imploid to any other vse than the defense of the Frontiers of *Hungary*: thirdly, that touching the reduction of monies to their old values, his reuenues had been so miserably wasted in the charges of the Court, that they were not able to entertain the souldiers; but there should bee a care taken for the restitution and reforming thereof, as soon as the troubles of the Empire were pacified: fourthly, touching the grieuances of the Empire (whereof they complained) they had not been taken away, compounded nor redrest by any former King; yet if his Imperiall Maiesty should finde, that they were such as concerned that Kingdome onely, and no other Prouinces, hee would be pleased that twelue of the Nobility of *Hungary* should bee chosen; who, conferring with the Palatine, all grieuances (according to the constitutions of the Kingdome) should bee examined by them, abrogated and compounded; promising, that he would not contradict their answers, but allow of their resolutions.

After

1622

Hagenau and Spire taken by Leopold.

After MANSFELD's departure out of the limits of the Empire; the Bauarians being now Masters in a maner of the whole Palatinate, and hauing no enemy to crosse their designes, took *Frisseisheim*, *Winsnig*, *Neustad* and some other places, without any great opposition. The Bishop of *Spire* in like manner recouered some Townes belonging to his iurisdiction: and the Arch-duke LEOPOLD, being aduertised of his departure, came with his Army out of the vpper *Alsatia*, and recouered *Hagenaw*; from whence he went to *Spire*: where the Bishop entring on the 9 of August on horseback with two companies of foot & one of horse, within few hours after he arriued with great troupes; to whom the Magistrates of the City presented wine as they had done to TILLY.

After which, the Senate, submitting themselues to the deuotion of the Emperour, did put in anew garrison and discharged the olde, causing the citizens to bring all their Armes into the Court. Presently after, they went to besiege *Germesheim*: which they battered with their cannon, and the Besieged in the beginning defended themselues valiantly; yet, finding no hope of any releefe, they offred to treate: but in the meane time, the Croatians, on the 14 of August, getting ouer the walls, made a cruell slaughter of men, women and children; meaning to leaue none liuing if the Arch-duke LEOPOLD had not restrained their fury by a seuere Edict. And, not long after, *Wormes*, which had supplied the souldiers of the Bauarian and Spanish Armies with great store of victualls, was also surprised by the Arch-duke LEOPOLD; to the great losse of the Citizens; where the old garrison was discharged and a new brought in.

The cruelty of the Croatians.

All things tending to ruine and desolation in the Palatinate, about the same time an Edict was made in *Bohemia*, and proclaimed by CHARLES, Duke of *Silesia*, concerning the goods of such as had been proscribed and banished; That wheras, in the yeer 1620, commandement had bin made in the Emperours name, to all the subiects of *Bohemia*, of what estate or dignitie soeuer, that were any way indebted to those Rebels and turbulent persons, by whose fault the kingdom had receiued an incomparable losse, and was brought in a maner to vtter ruine, or that had in their possession any gold, plate, or other moueables, by way of trust, borrowing, or other title, or did know were in the hands of any other, should presently without anie delay deliuer in their names and discouer them: and whereas many offending against this expresse Edict of his Imperiall Maiestie (not carrying themselues like faithfull subiects, but rather fraudulently consenting with those pernicious Rebels and enemies) had not beene conformable nor satisfied the contents thereof, but neglected the paiment of those debts, according to the Tenor of that and other Edicts; hee had therefore good and sufficient cause to proceede to the execution of all their goods moueable or immoueable: yet, to the end no man should haue cause to complaine of wrong, he would out of meere fauour and grace forbeare the execution thereof; giuing a strict command in the Empetours name, to all the Subiects of *Bohemia*, that if they had discouered any debts or goods belonging to those Rebels, and had not brought them into the Treasurie, or had dissembled them, and not discouered them to himselfe or some others who had that businesse in charge; that now, within one moneth after the publication of the sayd Edict, they should bring, or cause to be brought, the sayd debts or goods committed to their charge, into the Emperors Exchequer: If any one, neglecting this fauour, should continue obstinate, or presume in any sort to alienate the goods of these Rebels thus condemned, or hereafter to be condemned, hee should presently bee censured to pay a Fine, thrice as much as the value.

An edict touching the goods of them which were proscribed in Bohemia.

On the fifteenth of August, the Emperour with his Empresse returned from the States of *Hungary*, to *Vienna*, with great content: where, soone after, a cause depending betwixt the eldest sonne of EDWARD Marquesse of *Baden*, against the Marquesse of *Durlach* and *Baden*, was heard before his Maiesty; whereas the said sonne of EDWARD, demanded to haue the vpper Marquisate graunted vnto him in Fee. This cause had been long in question, and the parties were now commanded to appeare in Court: where the Emperour sitting in his Imperiall Throne, the Vice Chancellor of *Vlmes* made a speech, shewing that his Maiesty was ready to discharge his duty, and to administer Iustice to all men; especially to widowes and Pupills. And whereas the cause had beene long debated before three Emperours, and the Tutors of the dispossessed Pupills of the Marquesse of *Baden* had beene humble suters to haue the cause decided (diuers Kings, Electors, and Princes, hauing beene also intercessors vnto his Maiesty in that behalfe) hee would no longer deferre it; and the rather, for that the Defendant sought many delayes; and would haue more time spent to informe his

The Emperors iudgement touching the Marquisate of Baden.

1622 Maiesties better. He had therefore caused all the Acts to bee viewed by his Councell: which done, the sentence, which was to be pronounced by the Secretarie, was concluded by all their consents. His speech being ended, the Imperiall Secretarie read the sentence publiquely; which contained, That the Marquesse of *Durlach* the defendant should not onely yeeld and restore the vpper Marquisat, with all the fruits receiued & to receiue, to the heir of EDVVARD, but also pay him all the charges of the sute; A heauy sentence for this poore Prince after the ruine of his Countrie and so great losses: but, I doubt not but his willingnesse to assist the Elector Palatine in his iust defence of the Palatinate, did make the Emperour so willing to proceede vnto iudgement, whereby hee hath now in a manner ruined another Protestant Prince.

Mansfelds course going into the low countrys

Let vs now return to Count MANSFELD, who had incamped some weeks neer vnto *Mouson*. The world expecting what course he would take, euery man spake of him according to his fansie. Some said he was a souldier of fortune; that he had more ambition in him then Religion: That he would serue him that should offer him the faireſt conditions, and that he had offered himselfe to the State of *Venice*, to the Duke of *Sauoy*, to the Duke of *Bouillon*, and them of the Religion in *France*, to the *French* King and to the vnited States. It was generally giuen out, that he should serue the *French* King vpon very noble conditions; with which supposition, he sought to satisfie his discontented Souldiers who were ready to mutine, telling them that he expected a messenger from the King; whereof there was some likely-hood, hauing treated with some of his Ministers. This did somewhat pacifie his Souldiers; yet there were many which would not enter into the kings pay. And to make the Inhabitants of *Mouson* the more confident, he put his Ordinance into their Towne, desiring them to assist him with some victuals for his Army, for that he was to follow the King. Whereupon the Townesmen, giuing credit to his words, sent him out presently Corne to refresh his Troups; but in the meane time he contracted secretly with the States of *Holland*, and entred into their pay.

The Earle being come to *Mouson*, the *Infanta* of *Spaine* (doubting that he would come down to assist the vnited States) called home *Don* GONZALES *de Cordoua*, with all his Army (being fourteene thousand horse and foot well Armed) who marched with great speede through *Luxeubourg* and the countrey of *Liege* vpon the Riuer of *Mense*, to stoppe MANSFELD in his passage: and as LONDORPIVS writes, the Baron of *Anhalt* was sent after him with another Army into *Lorraine* to preuent his return into *Germany*.

The Earle, hauing receiued resolution from the States, soone after demanded his Ordinance from the Townesmen of *Mouson*, pretending that he would march directly to the King. And to the end they should the more credit him, he deliuered money to certain Captaines, for the leuying of Souldiers within their Towne: after which he beganne to march, discouering his intent to all his Army, shewing them his Letters-patents which he had receiued from the States, and withall telling them that they must resolue to fight more then once. Seeing himselfe out of daunger, his and the Dukes Army past *Auesnes*; and on the twenty seuenth of August attempted *Mauberg*: but, being fortified with a good garrison, they only burnt the suburbs, and so past the Riuer of *Sambre* with their whole Army. There he and the Duke of *Brunswick* burnt most of their Carts, mounting their foote-men on the horses, getting also many other in the Countrey; whereby he might aduance with the more speede in the march. They were held to haue 14000 men in their Army, horse and foote: but it is confidently reported, his horse-men were very ill Armed, hauing for the most part no Armes at all but their Swords and Pistols. They were now in an Enemies countrey, where there was nothing to relieue them but what the Trees would afford; all the Boores being in Arms watching some oportunity to set vpon them, if *Don* CORDOVA should put them to route. The Earle comming to *Iamblours* which lyeth betweene *Haynault* and *Namures*, his Souldiers being weary and tyred with long marches and want of victuals, he caused them to rest and refresh themselues. *Don* CORDOVA was encamped, neere vnto *Fleury*, in a straite whereas Count MANSFELD and the Duke of *Brunswick* must of necessity passe, hauing a very good Army of Souldiers with an infinite number of Boores. Some write that MANSFELD, comming neere vnto CORDOVAS Campe, he sent a Trumpet vnto him, to know whether he would giue him passage or fight: who answering that he had charge to stop his passage and to fight, The Earle presently prepared to charge (knowing there was daunger in delaies) the which his men performed so resolutely, as they put CORDOVAS men to route and surprised his Ordinance from the Boores, the which they kept for the space of two houres, but afterwards they recouered it againe;

Where-

Whereupon the fight grew very cruell: the Duke of *Brunswick* (behauing himselfe most valiantly) was shot in the left Arme neere vnto the wrist; yet, notwithstanding, he would not leaue the field, but continued still fighting; so as with the losse of blood, and heate, his wound so enflamed, as afterwards hee was enforced to haue this arme cut off aboue the Elbow. To conclude, after a long fight, Count MANDSFELD hauing slaine many, especially of the Boores; *Don* CORDOVA *was forced to sound a retreit*: whereupon Count MANSFELD and the Duke of *Brunswick*, being Masters of the field, marched directly towards *Breda*, hauing taken much of the Enemies baggage and some of his Ordinance. What men were lost in this battaile is not certaine: but at their comming to *Breda* they mustered, as it is written, 10000 men; besides many sick and weary, which came daily vnto them. 1622

I cannot relate the particular circumstances of this battaile, being so diuersly reported by such as haue written thereof, nor what their particular losses were; neither doth it concerne this Historie, being out of the limits of the Empire: But thus much I dare boldly affirme, that it was one of the most resolute (if not desperate) exploits that hath been performed in our Age, to see a weake Army (the horse-men hauing no Armes but their Swords and Pistolls) tired with long marches in an enemies countrey, where they had nothing to friend but the Heauens which couered them; to encounter a powerfull Army, fortified with the best men, from the neighbour garrisons, and seconded with at least 20000 Boores Armed; to charge them in their own strength, to force through them, to make them retire after great losse, and then (being masters of the field) to march almost 30 or 40 miles through the enemies country, there being 10 or 12 strong Towns with great garrisons in their way; who no doub. would haue cut them in peeces if they had been routed. The Prince of *Orrange* (being aduertised of their march) sent them bread and other prouision to refiesh their hungry Souldiers before their comming to *Breda*. At *Brussels* they proclaimed a Triumph before the victory, and made bonfires with a confident assurance they were quite ouerthrown, for that certaine Ensignes of the Duke of *Brunswick's* and Count MANSFELD's were brought thither; but afterwards their mirth was turned to heauinesse, when they had intelligence of the truth, how that *Don* CORDOVA had been forced to retire with great losse; that they were Masters of the field, and had burnt the corn and countrey as they past, and were safely arriued at *Breda*, where they were receiued with great ioy by the Prince of *Orrange*, the vnited States and the whole Army.

Towards the end of July, Count MANSFELD and the Duke of *Brunswick* being retired out of the Palatinate with their forces, and no man left there able to make head against the Enemy; The Baron of TILLY, Generall for the Emperour, returned againe to *Heidelberg* with an Army of 15000 men, and laid a straight siege to the Towne and Castle. Presently after his sitting downe, he seized vpon a Fort, which had been built by IOHN Earle of *Nassaw*; but first abandoned by the besieged, lying too farre off to be well kept. From this Fort which lay behinde the Castle, he sought to annoy the Towne: and with the rest of his Army, he blocke vp *Manheim* and *Frankendale* to keepe all reliefe from them. Hauing fortified his Trenches, and planted certaine Ordinance, he played vpon the Towne, but did it no great harme; perswading himselfe that they would soone yeeld, being giuen to vnderstand that they wanted Salt and all kinde of victuall but Breade and Wine. *With this perswasion hee spent* aboue two Moneths before the Towne, and neuer tooke any of their out-workes or place of any importance, but summoned them often, and perswaded them to yeeld obedience to the Emperour: but finding that his perswasions preuailed nothing, and that his long stay there had not yet driuen them to any extremity of hunger; he resolued to attempt some thing by force. The Towne was commaunded by a Dutch-man, whose name was MERVIN, vnder whom were good Troupes of Souldiers of diuers Nations besides the Inhabitants. Heidelberg besieged, & taken by Tilly.

The Castle was vnder the charge of Sir GARRET HARBERT with 2 Companies of English, his owne and Sir IOHN WENTVVORTHS, being not aboue two hundred strong, whereof there were not aboue one hundred and forty English, the rest were of other Nations. On the fift and sixt daies of September, Generall TILLY plaid with his Ordinance vpon their out-workes, resoluing to giue a generall assault.

Those out-workes without *Spire* Port were defended by the Dutch, and might well haue beene kept against any daring Enemie whatsoeuer, if they had had any courage or valour in them: But presently after their approach, and before they came to the foote of their Rampart; a Dutch Captaine whose name was GRAY, and had the commaund of the first out-worke, most cowardly abandoned it, and in this amazement all the rest of the troup

1622 caſt away their Armes and fled towards the towne, or yeelded themſelues to the enemy; where wee will leaue them a while and turne towards the Caſtle, where the enemy had ſent to aſſault an outwork called the Pheſant garden by 2000 men; which Sir GARRET HARBERT defended valiantly with one hundred of his men: They came often to the ſcalado, and were valiantly repulſed by the defendants, *where as the Gouernor brake three pikes, hauing his page attending* him with 6 more: but to the loſſe of this braue Captaine, and as we may coniecture to the loſſe of the place, he was ſhot in the head, hauing no head-peece, and was the firſt man which was ſlaine vpon the work: His Lieutenant was alſo ſhot in the ſhoulder and retired, yet the ſouldiers defended it valiantly, the ſpace of two houres after, vntill that the enemy had left ſhooting. The Dutch being fled from the defenſe of the outworks and comn into the Suburbs, the Gouernour ſhut the Towne gates againſt them, ſo that many of them were either ſlaine or taken priſoners.

The enemy comming to *Spire* Port commanded Petards to be brought to force it: but in the meane time certaine Crabats (which are aduenturing Boote-halers of *Croatia* like vnto the Coſſaques and liue vpon ſpoile) got by the riuer to the water Port, and entred; where they beganne to fier the houſes and to ſpoile. During the which, TILLY forced the Port and in this confuſion the Gouernour, Captaines, with many ſouldiers, Burgers, and women fled to the Caſtle; and in the meane time, the inſolent ſouldiers fell to ſlaughter and ſpoile in the Towne. Notwithſtanding all this diſaſter, the Engliſh ſtill maintained their worke vntill that the gouernour had perſwaded them to retire: they alſo fearing that the enemy might come vpon their backs from the Towne; yet they ſhewed no amazement in their retreat; for they drew away their ordinance and munition, and brought off the bodies of ſuch as had beene ſlaine being but 13 in all. TILLY being Maſter of the Towne, and hauing abandoned it to the ſpoile of the ſouldier, he ſummoned the Caſtle to yeeld: where the Gouernour MERVIN, hauing propounded large conditions for himſelfe and his troupes, in the end it was concluded, 1. That he ſhould yeeld vp to Generall TILLY, the Caſtle, with the Cannon, munition and all other inſtruments of warre, to the behoofe of his Imperiall Maieſty, with all other goods, Iewels, writings or any other thing belonging to the Count Palatine and the Princeſſe his wife; onely that excepted which the General out of his grace ſhould ſuffer to paſſe. 2. That the Gouernor, Colonels, Captains, and ſouldiers with all other belonging to them, might depart with their drums beating and full Armes, and with all their baggage, ſo that it were their owne and not belonging to the Caſtle or Towne. 3. That they ſhould haue a ſafe conduct giuen them to *Franckfort* or any other place whither they would go, except *Manheim* and *Frankendall*. 4. That they ſhould haue carriages allowed them by the Generall. 5. That all low Dutch, French, Engliſh and other ſtrangers which were priſoners, ſhould be ſet at liberty without any ranſome: As alſo on the other ſide, all priſoners ſhould be reſtored vnto the Generall vpon the ſame tearmes. 6. All ſick and wounded ſouldiers ſhold be put into ſome conuenient place, and there maintained with neceſſarie releefe, where hauing recouerd their health, they ſhould haue ſuch paſſeports giuen them as they ſhould deſire: That none ſhould be moleſted in body or goods for debt or any other occaſion. This was the Capitulation concluded vpon the 9 of September: and the next day he gaue them a ſafe conduct; entreating all the Electors, Princes and States of the Empire, of what dignity or quality ſoeuer, to giue free paſſage vnto Mounſieur MERVIN ſometimes Gouernor of *Heidelberg*, with his companies and baggage, through all their Principalities and Segniories, gluing them all aſſiſtance for the aduancement of their Iouney. The next day MERVIN went out of *Heydelberg* with ſeauen hundred men of all nations; but the capitulation was ill obſerued: for as they marched through the ſtreete and ouer the bridge, the enemies ſouldiers ſtanding in guarde on either ſide, ſtript all they could lay hand on to their verie ſhirts: which bred a great tumult in the Towne. Whereof Generall TILLY being aduertiſed, hee came forth of his lodging to ſtay the ſouldiers furie, and conducted them three or foure miles out of towne with a troupe of 200 horſe, fearing the ſouldiers ſhould haue followed them to haue cut their throates. I cannot forget one inhumane act of Generall TILLY's, who would not ſuffer the body of that braue and valiant Knight Sir GARRET HARBERT to be buried like a Chriſtian in the Towne Church, but they were forced to lay him in the greene Court in the Caſtle; there being nothing in the Towne to embalme his bodie, which they meant to haue brought into *England*, his worth deſeruing a moment of better note.

The yeelding vp of the Caſtle of Heidelberg

The Gouernour with the ſouldiers, being (as ſome affirme that were preſent) 700 men, came ſafely to *Franckfort*, whereas my Lord CHICHESTER then remained attending directions

1622 tions from his Maieſty, either to go to the Diet appointed at *Reinsberg*, or to returne home into *England*: by whoſe meanes the Engliſh receiued money to conduct them into the Low Countries or home, by the hands of Maſter BOVRLEMACK, who was appointed Paymaſter in thoſe parts to the Engliſh and other ſouldiers that were entertained in his Maieſties name for the defence of the Palatinate.

Thus the cheefe place of reſidence for the Elector Palatine was by the baſe cowardize of the Dutch loſt, and with it one of the goodlieſt Libraries in the world; a Iewell which cannot well be valued, for the many rare Manuſcripts which had beene there gathered together by his predeceſſors. The Duke of *Bauaria* did highly eſteeme this prize, and committed the guard thereof to his Ieſuits. The ſouldiers being gone, the Inhabitants were miſerablie ſpoiled by the enemy; who ſtript both men & women, ſo as they neither had clothes to couer them, nor meat to releeue them, but what they got from *Heilbrim* or *Franckfort*: and yet their cruelty was ſuch as they forced the poore inhabitants to ranſome themſelues, and to pay the ſouldiers which were left there in garriſon.

The loſſe of this Towne did adde much to the king of *Bohemias* other afflictions: Hee was then at *Sedan* vnder the protection of the Duke of *Bouillon*, his Vncle; deſiring much to be at the *Hague* with that Noble and generous Princeſſe his wife: but the difficulty was to paſſe. To goe thtough the Low Countries was not poſſible; all was ſubiect to the enemy: and to paſſe diſguiſed through *France* as he had formerly done, there was little hope, he was too well knowne; but he was ſoone freed of theſe apprehenſions: for the French king, either by the interceſſion of ſom others, or out of his owne princely and generous diſpoſition commiſerating the diſtreſſed ſtate of this Prince (whoſe houſe had alwaies beene firmely allied to the Crowne of *France*, and had aſſiſted it in the greateſt extremity of their affaires) ſent him a ſafe conduct to paſſe freely through his kingdom to what Port he pleaſed, commanding all his ſubiects to giue him that aſſiſtance and reſpect which was fit for the greatneſſe of his perſon. Whereupon he took leaue of the Duke of *Bouillon*, who gaue him a conuoy of 100 horſe to conduct him to *Callis*: where the Gouernour receiued him with much honour, and the people obſerued him with much reuerence and reſpect. There he embarqued in ſome of the States Ships, and ſo came ſafely to the *Hague*, where he was ioyfully receiued by the Queene his wife and the whole Court.

The King of Bohemia goes from Sedan to the Hague.

Let vs turne head a little towards *Bohemia* and the incorporated prouinces, whereas the Emperour was now abſolutely obeyed, *Glatz* only excepted; which had beene long beſieged: yet the ſubiects were in no great ſecurity. For they were both queſtioned for their liues and ſtates, and were in danger to loſe the free exercize of religion, the which had beene promiſed them at the reduction of thoſe prouinces. The Emperour ſent his Commiſſioners both into *Bohemia* & *Moravia*, to call diuers Lords and men of account in queſtion, touching the late combuſtions. 1. All thoſe were to be queſtioned which where preſent when ſome of the Councell were caſt out of the windowes in *Prague*. 2. Thoſe which had conſented to the League againſt the Emperor and the houſe of *Auſtria*. 3. Thoſe which had beene at the Emperours reiection, and ſuch as had beene preſent at the Count Palatines election to the Crowne of *Bohemia*. And laſtly all ſuch as had marched in Armes againſt *Viena*.

Executions in Bohemia and Moravia.

In *Moravia* many Noblemen and others of note, abſenting themſelues, were proclaimed Traitors, their names fixed on the common gallows, degraded of their honours, and their Lands & goods forfeited, which were preſently ſeiſed on to the Emperours vſe; nor did they ſpare the dead: for the Emperours Commiſſioners began to examine the cauſes of the deceaſed rebels (as they tearmed them) meaning to brand them with infamie after their deaths; and reduce their heirs to miſerie, by the confiſcation of their eſtates, for that is alwaies the concluſion; being a great meanes to raiſe money to pay the Coſſaques and other ſoldiers. It was alſo giuen out, that the Commiſſioners in *Bohemia* would proceede criminally againſt all thoſe that had borne Armes vnder the Prince of *Anhalt*, Count HOLOCH, Count MANDSFELD, or any other, his Maieſties enemies: which Article had ſo large an extent, and would comprehend ſo many of all degrees, that if they ſhould proceed with rigour againſt them, the Emperour ſhould bee faine to bring in new Colonies to repeople thoſe Prouinces: but it ſeems they took a milder courſe: for, diuerſe Lords and Knights with other Citizens, being condemned at *Brin* in *Moravia* to loſe their heads, their corporall puniſhments were turned into impriſonment; ſome for their liues, ſom for yeers: but there was no grace for their goods; they were ſtill forfeited. And thus haue they proceeded touching the examination of ſome Lords and others, whom they tearmed rebels, in *Bohemia* and *Moravia*.

1622 The protestant churches shut in Prague.

Touching matters of religion, it seemd the Emperor had an intent to root out the Protestants in *Bohemia* and the incoaporated Prouinces: for, the Prince or Lantzgraue of *Lichtenstein*, Lieutenant of *Bohemia* for the Emperor, had commission from him to shut vp the two Dutch Protestant Churches in *Prague*, and to presse the City and Country to reformation in religion; the which was put in execution: so as they were likely to lose the comfort of the Gospell by the preaching of their Ministers, and the grounds of religion which the youth learned by the instruction of their Teachers: for, both the Ministers and Preachers were commanded to be presently gon; which did much afflict the Protestants: and the Colledges where their youth was instructed, were shut vp. There was also commandement giuen by publique proclamation to all book-sellers and Stationers, to bring-in a catalogue of all their Lutheran & Caluinian books to the Secretary of State, within foureteen daies, vpon great penalties.

The Duke of *Saxony*, hauing notice giuen him of this alteration in *Bohemia* touching the shutting vp of the Protestant Churches, was much discontented, both in regard of his owne particular, being of that religion, and might in time be subiect to the like calamity with the rest of the protestant Princes of *Germany*; as also houlding his honour to be blemished, for that, at the reduction of those Countries to the Emperors obedience, hee had promised them by warrant from the Emperor, that the Churches should not be molested, nor they depriued of the free exercise of their religion, hauing also taken them into his protection; and therefore the Duke obiected these proceedings to the Emperors Ambassador as a wrong done to him: and beeing still importuned by the petitions of the Preachers which had been driuen out of their Countries, he wrote to the Prince of *Lichtenstein* to this effect; that forasmuch as hee could not but take notice by sundry aduertisements from *Bohemia* and the incorporated Prouinces, as also by the complaints of diuerse Preachers lately banished out of those Countries, of the restraint of the publike profession of the reformed religion, and of the shutting vp their Churches, and the putting down of their schools: yet for that men in miserie do commonly seek to moue pity by the report of their estates, and for that he had been alwaies better conceited of his Maiesties word, who had promised him, that if those Countries could bee reduced to obedience by his forces, he should by his Maiesties direction passe his word to the subiects of those Prouinces, that those of the reformed religion should still enioy their freedome of conscience: Wherefore, relying vpon the Emperors word, he would not rashly giue credit to those informations till he might hear the certainty both of the authority of his commission, and in what manner it had been executed: wherefore he could do no lesse in fauour of the cause, and for the honour of his owne word (whereon the inhabitants of those Prouinces had much relied) than to entreat him earnestly to aduertise him of the truth of the businesse; the which if he found conformable to the Petitioners complaints, he could not but hold his own honor ingaged to take care for a timely remedy, and withall imploy his credit and power with his Imperiall Maiesty for the staying of all future proceedings. Some think, these alterations in *Bohemia* staied the Duke of *Saxony*'s iourney to the Diet at *Regensbourg*; who, continuing his discontents, gaue the Emperor to vnderstand by his Letters, that he was much grieued for the shutting vp of the 2 protestant Churches at *Prague*, the which did not belong to the Bohemians, but to the Electors and Princes of *Germany*, professing the gospell; who had built and maintained them at their owne charges, and procured them great priuiledges and immunities: wherefore his Maiesty had not to do with the Protestants of *Bohemia*, but with the Electors and Princes of the Empire, which should not suffer them of their owne religion (contrary to his Imperiall promise and the priuiledges of the Empire) to be persecuted and oppressed. This may breed some new combustion and trouble, vnlesse it shall please the Emperour to restore those Churches to their former estate and condition.

The Duke of *Saxony* writes to the Prince of Lichtenstein.

The siege of *Glatz* continued still: which being resolutely attempted by the Imperialists, it was as obstinately defended by the besieged. The young Earle of *Thurne*, making many salies vpon the Enemie, cloyed some of their Cannons and returned with good spoiles and much honour: but in September there was an accident which did much impaire the state of the town; for they setting fire of their suburbs, to the end the Imperialists should not lodge in them, some sparks of it fell by chance into their powder; whereby part of the Town, and much of their prouision was burnt; and likewise a part of the wall, with two peeces of Ordinance falling downe, through the violence of the fire, the Imperialists aduanced to a scallado, but they were valiantly repulsed by the Garrison.

The continuance of the siege of Glatz.

About the middest of October, the Imperialists assaulted the Towne with great fury: and they

they within, suffering them to approach to their very walles, they hauing discharged their Ordinance, they presently set open their Ports and salied forth with one thousand horse and foot; where they slue six hundred of the Enemy, and then retired with no great losse. During these 1622
factions of warre before *Glatz*, there was a parley between the young Earle of *Thurne*, Gouernour of the Towne; the Earle of *Torquato*, Generall of the Emperours Army; and the Prince of *Lichtenstein*, Gouernour of *Bohemia*; where there were many propositions made vnto the young Earle with promises of pardon and great rewards, both for himselfe and his Souldiers, in the Emperors name, if he would yeeld vp the Towne. The young Earle of *Thurn* made them this answere:

That if they could procure the King of *Bohemia* to free him from his double Oath (one as he was his subiect, and the other as his Soldier) that then he would not only yeeld vp the towne and castle, but would also forsake the quarrell and lay down Armes: But, seeing they could not dispense him of his Oath, that both he and his companie were resolued to make it good against the Imperialists; and although they might haply, with great losse and charge, take the Towne, yet they had a Castle to retreat into, the which they would defend to the last man; and so the treaty brake off, euery man returning to his quarter: Presently after which, they made a great salie, which was very bloody and many were slaine on either side; among the which, there were thirteen Captains of the Imperialists.

They so annoyed the Campe with their Ordinance, as the Emperour commanded all his forces in *Bohemia* to march towards *Glatz* to re-enforce the siege, and they sent for powder, bullets and munition from all parts. The siege had continued almost two yeers, and had put the Emperor to wonderfull great charges, the which could hardly be supplied; and therefore they vsed a policy to make the besieged pay for their own ruine: for, by a publique proclamation in *Silesia*, they enioyned all men vpon paine of death, which ought any money, or had any goods in their hands belonging to them of *Glatz*, to bring it presently into the Towne-house at *Presslawe*: Whereupon, much money and goods was brought thither; which extremity hath beene often, and is still, vsed against the Nobility and Gentry of those Countries which had beene executed; yea, euen against such as were dead before they had beene called in question.

This Proclamation did nothing amaze them of *Glatz*, who held their Armes to be their greatest wealth, the which could not be violently taken from them, without the losse of their liues; and then their cares were past, and their scores paid: But, to auoide tediousnesse, I will omit the daily skirmishes which were before that Towne, and come to the yeelding of it. After a long and obstinate siege resolutely defended by the yong Earle of *Thurne*, they were driuen to some extremities, by reason of some casualties by fier, in the which their salt, powder, and meale was consumed, and their water cut off by the Imperialists: which daunted the Souldiers much, and made them mutine; so as the Gouernour (although he were one thousand fiue hundred strong) was glad to come to a parley, and to yeeld vp the Towne vpon honourable tearmes on the twenty sixt day of October. The Articles were, First, that they should haue free exercise of the reformed Religion, and their Church remaine as it was, vntill the Emperour shall otherwise dispose: And if any Protestant were desirous to leaue the Towne, they should haue free liberty to sell their goods within six moneths, and goe where they pleased. Secondly, that the Gouernour, Captains, Commaunders and Souldiers, both of Horse and Foote, should freely and safely depart with bagge and baggage, Drums beating, Colours flying, and their full Armes; conditionally, that all the companies should be cast and dismist about *Swainitz*, and there leaue their Commanders, and their Cornets and Ensignes to be torne from their staues, and all sworne not to beare Armes against the Emperour for six moneths following. Thirdly, that the Gouernour, Commanders, Officers and Souldiers, should haue a generall pardon for all offences and rebellions committed against the Emperour, and suffered to depart where they pleased. Fourthly, that all Commanders, Officers and Souldiers, which had serued his Maiesty, and now born Armes against him in this quarell, should haue Pasports giuen them to passe freely through the Dominions of the Empire, into their own Countries, or whither they pleased. Fiftly, the sick and hurt should remaine still in the Towne of *Glatz*, and there haue all due attendance and prouision from the Cittizens, for their cure and recouery; after which they shall haue free leaue to depart, and pasports giuen them to goe where they pleased. Sixtly, that the Earle of *Thurne* should leaue two Captaines with the Imperialists as Hostages vntill he had dismist his Troups about *Swainitz*, according to the capitulation.

The yeelding of Glatz.

These Articles, being very honourable for the Earle of *Thurne* and the besieged, were very
1622 duely obserued by the Imperialists, who gaue them a good conuoy to *Swainitz*, which is fiue German miles from *Glatz*. It was thought that they were very rich when they left the Town, hauing a hundred waggons heauy loden with baggage, beside lighter carriages: of which there were fifty belonging to the young Earle of *Thurne*, which were conducted to his wife in the Marquesse of *Brandenburg*'s Country by 500 light horse of his owne, and a conuoy of 2000 Imperialists. Thus at last the Emperor hath reduced all *Bohemia* with the incorporated Prouinces to his obedience; and his brother, the Arch-duke CHARLES Bishop of *Nuis* or *Nisse*, liking well the ayre of the Countrey and the strength of the place, hath gotten the gouernment of the countrey of *Glatz*, from the Emperor.

Heidelberg being lost, Generall TILLY marched presently with his Army to *Manheim*, where Generall VERE attended him; it being the place of most importance and best fortified in all the Palatinate, standing neer the point of a land where the *Neccar* which passeth by *Heidelberg* falleth into the *Rhyne*, so as it commands both the Riuers, and receiues the Toll of all boats which passe. The Enemy being set downe on the one side of the Towne; Generall VERE, considering that the guard thereof and of the out-workes was very great, and that he was not sufficiently prouided with men, hauing but seuen companies of English, and nine of Dutch (all which were very weake in numbers, and many sick) he sent to *Franckendale*, to haue Captain BYRROVVS to send him three companies more of English and as many Dutch: which he performed accordingly.

The Enemy, as soone as the oportunity of the swelling Riuers would giue him leaue, intrenched his Camp, and planted seuerall batteries. During his approaches, Generall VERE made diuers braue Sallies, especially one which was generall; in all which he slue many of the Enemy with little losse of his own: yet considering that in continuance he should waste his men, he hauing not in all full two thousand of all Nations, sick and whole, which would hardly be able to man his out-works, which were very great; and that after the losse of *Manheim*, *Frankendale* could not subsist; He sent a Commissary againe to Captaine BYRROVVS, wishing him to abandon the Towne and repaire vnto him with all his Troups: which the inhabitants vnderstanding, began to mutine, fell to Arms, and slue to the Ports; giuing the Gouernour to vnderstand, that as he had defended them valiantly the last yeere, so they would now liue and die with him, and not leaue him vnlesse he would passe by force ouer their bellies, desiring rather to be slaine by him then by the Enemy: Whereupon the Gouernour aduertised the Generall in what state he stood; who returned him an answere presently, that he should doe as he thought good, referring it to his discretion: whereupon he stayed in *Frankendale*.

Generall VERE, hauing no hope of any more supplies of men, was forced to abandon his out-workes, suffering the Enemy to approach neere to the Walles. After some dayes, the Town being not defensible, he set it on fire, and retired with those fewe troupes he had into the Castle, from whence he so annoyed the Enemy, as he could hardly lodge within the Town. TILLY often summoned him to yield vpon honourable conditions; but he found an Enemy who preferred his honour before his life, and would giue care to no parley, as long as he had any meanes to keepe it: Wherefore TILLY being loth to assault a Fort defended by such resolute men, resolued to get it by Mine or Sappe. His Pioners being come to the very brimme of the Moate, hauing with other Trenches drained away the Water, which at first was some hindrance vnto them; he then resolued to giue an assault; for the which he had prepared great store of bauins to fill vp the Dike: yet considering that to force this Castle would cost him much blood, and although they could not keepe the place long, yet he should hardly get it without great losse: He held it the safest course to summon them againe, and to get it by composition.

Generall VERE, on the other side, finding that he had neither men sufficient to man it long, and that he had not powder for three daies seruice; considering withall, that although they should lose themselues they could not keepe the Fort long, and knowing withall that dead men could doe their Prince and Countrey no seruice; he resolued to make a vertue of necessity, and not to lose so many braue men with obstinacy, whom he might bring off with honour: Whereupon, after summons made by the Enemies Drumme, Generall VERE accepted of a parley; in which, after much debating, there were six Articles concluded betwixt Mounsieur TILLY, Generall for the Emperour and the Duke of *Bauaria* on the one side; and Sir HORATIO VERE, Generall of his Maiesties forces of great Britaune in the Palatinate, on the other:

ther: The Articles were, that the Gouerner, Captaines, Officers and Souldiers, should haue leaue to depart freely with bag and baggage, drums beating, colours fleeing, matches light, and 1622
bullets in their mouthes: secondly, that they might take with them two falconets or small field-pieces, with munition and instruments belonging to the same: to the which, Monsieur TILLY (after some contestation) yeelded, to do honour to Sir HORATIO VERE, because he was a Generall; thirdly, that they might carry away with them thirty pipes of wine, with two hundred sacks of meal, and prouant for three daies onely; the which was to go with them by land, and the rest to be transported by water: fourthly, that they should haue a conuoy of one thousand horse to *Frankfort*, and there to stay foureteen daies till the English Ambassadour or his Commissarie might come to conueigh them downwards: fiftly, that all goods and moueables, which had been brought into the Castle for safety, should be free, and the owners haue liberty to transport themselues and their goods whither they pleased: sixtly, all Ministers and Church-men should haue free liberty either to stay in *Manheim*, and exercise their function, or depart safely whither they pleased.

Vpon these honourable conditions the Castle of *Manheim* was deliuered vp to the enemy on the fiue and twentith of October, *stilo veteri*. And so Generall VERE retired out of *Manheim* with ten companies of English, and twelue of Dutch vnder the command of Colonel WALDMANHVSE. He marched to *Frankfort* with a good conuoy of one thousand horse. The Generall with his Captains was lodged in the City; and his Troops, in the villages thereabouts. After their departure from *Franfort*, the Dutch left them, and would go no further, notwithstanding they had promised to march with them into the Lowe-countries: and after some stay, the Generall with the English, being fiue or six hundred men, were conducted by a Commissary of the enemies, through the Lantzgraue of *Hesse* his Country; where they past down a riuer to *Breme*, there to be embarked for *England*.

After the surrendring of *Manheim*, Generall TILLY marched with his Army to *Franken-* Frankendale
dale (it being the onely place now remaining in the Palatinate for the Elector) with an intent, by besieged.
the taking of this place, to make himself absolute Master of the whole Palatinate: but he found the same Gouerner Captain BVRROVVES, who had so valiantly defended it the yeer before against *Don* GONZALES *de Cordoua*; and the same resolution, hauing vowed to lose his life rather than any iot of that honour which he had gotten at the former siege: neither was he idle during the siege of *Heidelberg* and *Manheim*, but furnished and fortified it by all the meanes hee could, hauing drowned the land about it on the weaker part of the Towne; so as the enemie could neither make trenches on that side to lodge his men in, nor approach his cannon to plant his batteries: yet it seemd still he was resolued to force it, drawing souldiers from all places thither with the hope of spoil, hauing promised them the sack of that Town: but he was deceiued of his present expectation; because the approaches were so difficult by reason of the drowned land, and the wayes so slippery and deep with the continuall rain, that he forbare to attempt any thing by force, and imploied his best eloquence to perswade the Inhabitants to yeeld. Hee assured them, that they should not be molested in their religion, nor oppressed with any great garrison; that the commerce should be open and free, and that the Emperor would keep no garisons in the Palatinate, but in some important places. To these good words Generall TILLY added some threats, that if they continued obstinate, they must expect nothing but the rigor of warre, and the ruines which are incident to Towns besieged; whereas by their voluntary yeelding they should purchase the Emperors fauour, preserue themselues, their wiues and children, and haue fair Quarter kept with them, and be protected by his Imperiall Maiesty with the rest of the Palatinate. All this could not moue the resolute Inhabitants; who had vowed to take the fortune of the warre, and to defend the Town with the Gouerner and souldiers: and therefore they gaue no answer to his propositions.

The Generall, after all his practices to draw them to a composition, finding little meanes to aduance any thing by force in regard of the vnseasonablenes of the weather, and the continuall rain which made the waies exceeding deep, he resolued to retire his camp for a time, marching towards *Hannow* and the Lantzgraue of *Hesse* his Country, with an intent to winter his Troops thereabouts, leauing some companies of horse about *Frankendale*, to keep them from excursions and from all relief. Thus this poor Town, the onely remainder of all the Palatinate, hath som time of rest and breathing, till that the season of the yeer will giue the enemy leaue to return; who is well assured, that they haue no means to be relieued, being enuironed by their enemies garrisons which ly in the Towns round about them; and that time will waste their prouisions, and

1622 The protestant churches shut in Prague.

Touching matters of religion, it seemd the Emperor had an intent to root out the Protestants in *Bohemia* and the incoaporated Prouinces: for, the Prince or Lantzgraue of *Lichtenstein*, Lieutenant of *Bohemia* for the Emperor, had commission from him to shut vp the two Dutch Protestant Churches in *Prague*, and to presse the City and Country to reformation in religion; the which was put in execution: so as they were likely to lose the comfort of the Gospell by the preaching of their Ministers, and the grounds of religion which the youth learned by the instruction of their Teachers: for, both the Ministers and Preachers were commanded to be presently gon; which did much afflict the Protestants: and the Colledges where their youth was instructed, were shut vp. There was also commandement giuen by publique proclamation to all book-sellers and Stationers, to bring in a catalogue of all their Lutheran & Caluinian books to the Secretary of State, within foureteen daies, vpon great penalties.

The Duke of *Saxony* writes to the Prince of Lichtenstein.

The Duke of *Saxony*, hauing notice giuen him of this alteration in *Bohemia* touching the shutting vp of the Protestant Churches, was much discontented, both in regard of his owne particular, being of that religion, and might in time be subiect to the like calamity with the rest of the protestant Princes of *Germany*; as also houlding his honour to be blemished, for that, at the reduction of those Countries to the Emperors obedience, hee had promised them by warrant from the Emperor, that the Churches should not be molested, nor they depriued of the free exercise of their religion, hauing also taken them into his protection; and therefore the Duke obiected these proceedings to the Emperors Ambassador as a wrong done to him: and beeing still importuned by the petitions of the Preachers which had been driuen out of their Countries, he wrote to the Prince of *Lichtenstein* to this effect; that forasmuch as hee could not but take notice by sundry aduertisements from *Bohemia* and the incorporated Prouinces, as also by the complaints of diuerse Preachers lately banished out of those Countries, of the restraint of the publike profession of the reformed religion, and of the shutting vp their Churches, and the putting down of their schools: yet for that men in miserie do commonly seek to moue pity by the report of their estates, and for that he had been alwaies better conceited of his Maiesties word, who had promised him, that if those Countries could bee reduced to obedience by his forces, he should by his Maiesties direction passe his word to the subiects of those Prouinces, that those of the reformed religion should still enioy their freedome of conscience: Wherefore, relying vpon the Emperors word, he would not rashly giue credit to those informations till he might hear the certainty both of the authority of his commission, and in what manner it had been executed: wherefore he could do no lesse in fauour of the cause, and for the honour of his owne word (whereon the inhabitants of those Prouinces had much relied) than to entreat him earnestly to aduertise him of the truth of the businesse; the which if he found conformable to the Petitioners complaints, he could not but hold his own honor ingaged to take care for a timely remedy, and withall imploy his credit and power with his Imperiall Maiesty for the staying of all future proceedings. Some think, these alterations in *Bohemia* staied the Duke of *Saxony*'s iourney to the Diet at *Regensbourg*; who, continuing his discontents, gaue the Emperor to vnderstand by his Letters, that he was much grieued for the shutting vp of the 2 protestant Churches at *Prague*, the which did not belong to the Bohemians, but to the Electors and Princes of *Germany*, professiug the gospell; who had built and maintained them at their owne charges, and procured them great priuiledges and immunities: wherefore his Maiesty had not to do with the Protestants of *Bohemia*, but with the Electors and Princes of the Empire, which should not suffer them of their owne religion (contrary to his Imperiall promise and the priuiledges of the Empire) to be persecuted and oppressed. This may breed some new combustion and trouble, vnlesse it shall please the Emperour to restore those Churches to their former estate and condition.

The siege of *Glatz* continued still: which being resolutely attempted by the Imperialists, it was as obstinately defended by the besieged. The young Earle of *Thurne*, making many salies vpon the Enemie, cloyed some of their Cannons and returned with good spoiles and much honour: but in September there was an accident which did much impaire the state of the towne; for they setting fire of their suburbs, to the end the Imperialists should not lodge in them, some sparks of it fell by chance into their powder; whereby part of the Town, and much of their prouision was burnt; and likewise a part of the wall, with two peeces of Ordinance falling downe, through the violence of the fire, the Imperialists aduanced to a scallado, but they were valiantly repulsed by the Garrison.

The continuance of the siege of Glatz.

About the middest of October, the Imperialists assaulted the Towne with great fury: and they

they within, suffering them to approach to their very walles, they hauing discharged their Ordinance, they presently set open their Ports and salied forth with one thousand horse and foot; 1622
where they slue six hundred of the Enemy, and then retired with no great losse. During these
factions of warre before *Glatz*, there was a parley between the young Earle of *Thurne*, Gouernour of the Towne; the Earle of *Torquato*, Generall of the Emperours Army; and the Prince of *Lichtenstein*, Gouernour of *Bohemia*; where there were many propositions made vnto the young Earle with promises of pardon and great rewards, both for himselfe and his Souldiers, in the Emperors name, if he would yeeld vp the Towne. The young Earle of *Thurn* made them this answere:

That if they could procure the King of *Bohemia* to free him from his double Oath (one as he was his subject, and the other as his Soldier) that then he would not only yeeld vp the towne and castle, but would also forsake the quarrell and lay down Armes: But, seeing they could not dispense him of his Oath, that both he and his companie were resolued to make it good against the Imperialists; and although they might haply, with great losse and charge, take the Towne, yet they had a Castle to retreat into, the which they would defend to the last man; and so the treaty brake off, euery man returning to his quarter: Presently after which, they made a great salie, which was very bloody and many were slaine on either side; among the which, there were thirteen Captains of the Imperialists.

They so annoyed the Campe with their Ordinance, as the Emperour commanded all his forces in *Bohemia* to march towards *Glatz* to re-enforce the siege, and they sent for powder, bullets and munition from all parts. The siege had continued almost two yeers, and had put the Emperor to wonderfull great charges, the which could hardly be supplied; and therefore they vsed a policy to make the besieged pay for their own ruine: for, by a publique proclamation in *Silesia*, they enioyned all men vpon paine of death, which ought any money, or had any goods in their hands belonging to them of *Glatz*, to bring it presently into the Towne-house at *Presslawe*: Whereupon, much money and goods was brought thither; which extremity hath beene often, and is still, vsed against the Nobility and Gentry of those Countries which had beene executed; yea, euen against such as were dead before they had beene called in question.

This Proclamation did nothing amaze them of *Glatz*, who held their Armes to be their greatest wealth, the which could not be violently taken from them, without the losse of their liues; and then their cares were past, and their scores paid: But, to auoide tediousnesse, I will omit the daily skirmishes which were before that Towne, and come to the yeelding of it. After a long and obstinate siege resolutely defended by the yong Earle of *Thurne*, they were driuen to some extremities, by reason of some casualties by fier, in the which their salt, powder, and meale was consumed, and their water cut off by the Imperialists: which daunted the Souldiers much, and made them mutine; so as the Gouernour (although he were one thousand fiue hundred strong) was glad to come to a parley, and to yeeld vp the Towne vpon honourable
tearmes on the twenty sixt day of October. The Articles were, First, that they should haue free *The yeelding vp of Glatz.*
exercise of the reformed Religion, and their Church remaine as it was, vntill the Emperour shall otherwise dispose: And if any Protestant were desirous to leaue the Towne, they should haue free liberty to sell their goods within six moneths, and goe where they pleased. Secondly, that the Gouernour, Captains, Commaunders and Souldiers, both of Horse and Foote, should freely and safely depart with bagge and baggage, Drums beating, Colours flying, and their full Armes; conditionally, that all the companies should be cast and dismist about *Swainitz*, and there leaue their Commanders, and their Cornets and Ensignes to be torne from their staues, and all sworne not to beare Armes against the Emperour for six moneths following. Thirdly, that the Gouernour, Commanders, Officers and Souldiers, should haue a generall pardon for all offences and rebellions committed against the Emperour, and suffered to depart where they pleased. Fourthly, that all Commanders, Officers and Souldiers, which had serued his Maiesty, and now born Armes against him in this quarell, should haue Pasports giuen them to passe freely through the Dominions of the Empire, into their own Countries, or whither they pleased. Fiftly, the sick and hurt should remaine still in the Towne of *Glatz*, and there haue all due attendance and prouision from the Cittizens, for their cure and recouery; after which they shall haue free leaue to depart, and pasports giuen them to goe where they pleased. Sixtly, that the Earle of *Thurne* should leaue two Captaines with the Imperialists as Hostages vntill he had dismist his Troups about *Swainitz*, according to the capitulation.

These Articles, being very honourable for the Earle of *Thurne* and the besieged, were very duely obserued by the Imperialists, who gaue them a good conuoy to *Swainitz*, which is fiue German miles from *Glatz*. It was thought that they were very rich when they left the Town, hauing a hundred waggons heauy loden with baggage, beside lighter carriages: of which there were fifty belonging to the young Earle of *Thurne*, which were conducted to his wife in the Marqueſſe of *Brandenburg*'s Country by 500 light horſe of his owne, and a conuoy of 2000 Imperialists. Thus at last the Emperor hath reduced all *Bohemia* with the incorporated Prouinces to his obedience; and his brother, the Arch-duke CHARLES Bishop of *Nuis* or *Nysse*, liking well the ayre of the Countrey and the ſtrength of the place, hath gotten the gouernment of the countrey of *Glatz*, from the Emperor.

Heidelberg being loſt, Generall TILLY marched preſently with his Army to *Manheim*, where Generall VERE attended him; it being the place of moſt importance and beſt fortified in all the Palatinate, ſtanding neer the point of a land where the *Neccar* which paſſeth by *Heidelberg* falleth into the *Rhyne*, ſo as it commands both the Riuers, and receiues the Toll of all boats which paſſe. The Enemy being ſet downe on the one ſide of the Towne; Generall VERE, conſidering that the guard therof and of the out-workes was very great, and that he was not ſufficiently prouided with men, hauing but ſeuen companies of Engliſh, and nine of Dutch (all which were very weake in numbers, and many ſick) he ſent to *Franckendale*, to haue Captain BVRROVVS to ſend him three companies more of Engliſh and as many Dutch: which he performed accordingly.

The Enemy, as ſoone as the oportunity of the ſwelling Riuers would giue him leaue, intrenched his Camp, and planted ſeuerall batteries. During his approaches, Generall VERE made diuers braue Sallies, eſpecially one which was generall; in all which he ſlue many of the Enemy with little loſſe of his own: yet conſidering that in continuance he ſhould waſte his men, he hauing not in all full two thouſand of all Nations, ſick and whole, which would hardly be able to man his out-works, which were very great; and that after the loſſe of *Manheim*, *Franckendale* could not ſubſiſt; He ſent a Commiſſary againe to Captaine BVRROVVES, wiſhing him to abandon the Towne and repaire vnto him with all his Troups: which the inhabitants vnderſtanding, began to mutine, fell to Arms, and ſlue to the Ports; giuing the Gouernour to vnderſtand, that as he had defended them valiantly the laſt yeere, ſo they would now liue and die with him, and not leaue him vnleſſe he would paſſe by force ouer their bellies, deſiring rather to be ſlaine by him then by the Enemy: Whereupon the Gouernour aduertiſed the Generall in what ſtate he ſtood; who returned him an anſwere preſently, that he ſhould doe as he thought good, referring it to his diſcretion: whereupon he ſtayed in *Frankendale*.

Generall VERE, hauing no hope of any more ſupplies of men, was forced to abandon his out-workes, ſuffering the Enemy to approach neere to the Walles. After ſome dayes, the Town being not defenſible, he ſet it on fire, and retired with thoſe fewe troupes he had into the Caſtle, from whence he ſo annoyed the Enemy, as he could hardly lodge within the Town. TILLY often ſummoned him to yield vpon honourable conditions; but he found an Enemy who preferred his honour before his life, and would giue eare to no parley, as long as he had any meanes to keepe it: Wherefore TILLY being loth to aſſault a Fort defended by ſuch reſolute men, reſolued to get it by Mine or Sappe. His Pioners being come to the very brimme of the Moate, hauing with other Trenches drained away the Water, which at firſt was ſome hindrance vnto them; he then reſolued to giue an aſſault; for the which he had prepared great ſtore of bauins to fill vp the Dike: yet conſidering that to force this Caſtle would coſt him much blood, and although they could not keepe the place long, yet he ſhould hardly get it without great loſſe: He held it the ſafeſt courſe to ſummon them againe, and to get it by compoſition.

Generall VERE, on the other ſide, finding that he had neither men ſufficient to man it long, and that he had not powder for three daies ſeruice; conſidering withall, that although they ſhould loſe themſelues they could not keepe the Fort long, and knowing withall that dead men could doe their Prince and Countrey no ſeruice; he reſolued to make a vertue of neceſſity, and not to loſe ſo many braue men with obſtinacy, whom he might bring off with honour: Whereupon, after ſummons made by the Enemies Drumme, Generall VERE accepted of a parley; in which, after much debating, there were ſix Articles concluded betwixt Mounſieur TILLY, Generall for the Emperour and the Duke of *Bauaria* on the one ſide; and Sir HORATIO VERE, Generall of his Maieſties forces of great Britaune in the Palatinate, on the other:

ther: The Articles were, that the Gouerner, Captaines, Officers and Souldiers, ſhould haue leaue to depart freely with bag and baggage, drums beating, colours ſteeing, matches light, and bullets in their mouthes: ſecondly, that they might take with them two falconets or ſmall field-pieces, with munition and inſtruments belonging to the ſame: to the which, Monſieur TILLY (after ſome conteſtation) yeelded, to do honour to Sir HORATIO VERE, becauſe he was a Generall; thirdly, that they might carry away with them thirty pipes of wine, with two hundred ſacks of meal, and prouant for three daies onely; the which was to go with them by land, and the reſt to be tranſported by water: fourthly, that they ſhould haue a conuoy of one thouſand horſe to *Frankfort*, and there to ſtay foureteen daies till the Engliſh Ambaſſadour or his Commiſſarie might come to conueigh them downwards: fiftly, that all goods and moueables, which had been brought into the Caſtle for ſafety, ſhould be free, and the owners haue liberty to tranſport themſelues and their goods whither they pleaſed: ſixtly, all Miniſters and Church-men ſhould haue free liberty either to ſtay in *Manheim*, and exerciſe their function, or depart ſafely whither they pleaſed. 1622

Vpon theſe honourable conditions the Caſtle of *Manheim* was deliuered vp to the enemy on the fiue and twentith of October, *ſtilo veteri*. And ſo Generall VERE retired out of *Manheim* with ten companies of Engliſh, and twelue of Dutch vnder the command of Colonel WALDMANHVSE. He marched to *Frankfort* with a good conuoy of one thouſand horſe. The Generall with his Captains was lodged in the City; and his Troops, in the villages thereabouts. After their departure from *Franfort*, the Dutch left them, and would go no further, notwithſtanding they had promiſed to march with them into the Lowe-countries: and after ſome ſtay, the Generall with the Engliſh, being fiue or ſix hundred men, were conducted by a Commiſſary of the enemies, through the Lantzgraue of *Heſſe* his Country; where they paſt down a riuer to *Breme*, there to be embarked for *England*.

After the ſurrendring of *Manheim*, Generall TILLY marched with his Army to *Frankendale* (it being the onely place now remaining in the Palatinate for the Elector) with an intent, by the taking of this place, to make himſelf abſolute Maſter of the whole Palatinate: but he found the ſame Gouerner Captain BVRROVVES, who had ſo valiantly defended it the yeer before againſt *Don* GONZALES *de Cordoua*; and the ſame reſolution, hauing vowed to loſe his life rather than any iot of that honour which he had gotten at the former ſiege: neither was he idle during the ſiege of *Heidelberg* and *Manheim*, but furniſhed and fortified it by all the meanes hee could, hauing drowned the land about it on the weaker part of the Towne; ſo as the enemie could neither make trenches on that ſide to lodge his men in, nor approach his cannon to plant his batteries: yet it ſeemd ſtill he was reſolued to force it, drawing ſouldiers from all places thither with the hope of ſpoil, hauing promiſed them the ſack of that Town: but he was deceiued of his preſent expectation; becauſe the approaches were ſo difficult by reaſon of the drowned land, and the wayes ſo ſlippery and deep with the continuall rain, that he forbare to attempt any thing by force, and imploied his beſt eloquence to perſwade the Inhabitants to yeeld. Hee aſſured them, that they ſhould not be moleſted in their religion, nor oppreſſed with any great garriſon; that the commerce ſhould be open and free, and that the Emperor would keep no garriſons in the Palatinate, but in ſome important places. To theſe good words Generall TILLY added ſome threats, that if they continued obſtinate, they muſt expect nothing but the rigor of warre, and the ruines which are incident to Towns beſieged; whereas by their voluntary yeelding they ſhould purchaſe the Emperors fauour, preſerue themſelues, their wiues and children, and haue fair Quarter kept with them, and be protected by his Imperiall Maieſty with the reſt of the Palatinate. All this could not moue the reſolute Inhabitants; who had vowed to take the fortune of the warre, and to defend the Town with the Gouerner and ſouldiers: and therefore they gaue no anſwer to his propoſitions. Frankendale beſieged.

The Generall, after all his practices to draw them to a compoſition, finding little meanes to aduance any thing by force in regard of the vnſeaſonablenes of the weather, and the continuall rain which made the waies exceeding deep, he reſolued to retire his camp for a time, marching towards *Hannow* and the Lantzgraue of *Heſſe* his Country, with an intent to winter his Troops thereabouts, leauing ſome companies of horſe about *Frankendale*, to keep them from excurſions and from all relief. Thus this poor Town, the onely remainder of all the Palatinate, hath ſom time of reſt and breathing, till that the ſeaſon of the yeer will giue the enemy leaue to return; who is well aſſured, that they haue no means to be relieued, being enuironed by their enemies garriſons which ly in the Towns round about them; and that time will waſte their prouiſions, and

1622 and neceſſity force the ſtowreſt courages to yeeld. TILLY retiring his Army, the gouernor of the Towne ſalied forth, and ſlew diuerſe of the enemies Rereward, and brought in good ſpoile. After which, he made incurſions with two companies of horſe, as farre as *Wormes* & *Spire*, bringing-in what the poore waſted Countrey could afford. But, all this will not ſerue to maintain the Towne, for any long time.

The Prince of *Orrenge*, with the vnited States had (as you haue heard) in the yeere 1620 built a fort in the riuer of *Rhine* betwixt *Cullen* and *Bona*, which was agreat eyeſore vnto them, and did keepe the paſſage of the riuer, and the neighbour Prouinces in awe: whereupon this Summer, the Duke of *Newburg* one of the pretendents to the inheritance of the Duchies of *Cleue*, *Iuliers* and *Berck*, ſent ſome forces vnder a commander of his to beſiege it, being aſſiſted by the Archduchеſſe *Infanta*, who ſent the Prince of *Cheine* with men, cannon and munition. Theſe forces built fortes vpon either ſide of the riuer and planted their batteries, hauing receiued ſome cannon from *Iuliers* or *Gulich*: they alſo maintained two ſhips of war in the *Rhine*, whereby all boates which came vp or downe with any merchandiſe were forced to diſcharge and carrie it ouer land by cart, leſt the beſieged ſhould receiue any reliefe. They haue ſpent a long time at this ſiege without any great militarie exploits: onely they haue not ſpared their powder and ſhot, but yet made no great breach which might encourage them to offer an aſſault; for the which they haue made great preparation of *Rhine* boates, Punts, and ſuch like, as if they intended to force it; but the garriſon ſeemed reſolute: Yet ſince, in the end of December, the garriſon being growne very weake, they haue beene forced to yeeld.

Count MANDSFELD, after his retreit out of the Palatinate, entred into the States pay for three moneths: thoſe being ended, and the ſiege of *Bergh* raiſed, he marched vp with his and the Duke of *Brunſwicks* forces towards *Weſtphalia*, and the Archbiſhop of *Cullens* countrie, which is within the limits of the Empire; and there took ſome Townes and Caſtles, ſpoiling and ranſoming the Countrey to reuenge the wrong which the Archbiſhop of *Cullen* had done vnto the Elector Palatine in ſending the Baron of *Anhalt* his Generall with forces thither: from thence he went into East *Freezland* and the County of *Emden*, the Earle whereof had maintained a Regiment of foote with the Spaniard againſt the vnited States. Being in thoſe parts he blocked vp *Lingen* a farre off (which Towne had beene taken by SPINOLA before the truce, and did belong by inheritance to the Prince of *Orrenge*) and he forced the ſaid Earle to abandon his Countrey and to leaue his poore ſubiects to the furie of inſolent ſouldiers; ſo as the Biſhoprick of *Munſter* and the Territorie of *Emden* were in a manner ruined and left waſte. SPINOLA ſent Count HENRY VANDENBERO, the Baron of *Anhalt*, with ſome other commanders, with forces to follow him into thoſe parts: but MANSFELD, hauing ſeized vpon *Neppel*, *Reenen*, and ſome other Townes about *Lingen*, kept all victuall from them, whereby the ſouldiers are in ſome diſtreſſe: He fortifies himſelfe daily with new troupes which are leuied in thoſe Countries for the Duke of *Brunſwick*, and builds ſconſes vpon the paſſages by the which the enemy might come vnto him: ſo as there is no apparance of any great exploits to be done by thoſe Armies, this winter (the way in thoſe parts being ſo deepe as an Army can hardly make any faire march) but that they wil paſſe this winter & feede their troupes vpon the poore mans purſe vntill the Spring drawe them againe into action.

The Emperour had long ſince appointed a Diet at *Regensburg*, for the ſettling of a firme peace in the Empire, to reforme abuſes, and to redreſſe all greeuances whereof there had been many complaints vnto his Maieſty, and they ſtill referred for their anſwere, to the Diet; the which had beene often adiourned and put off vpon ſome important conſiderations: but now it was fully reſolued, the Emperour hauing ſummoned all the Electors, Princes, and States of the Empire, to appeare there in Nouember, and to that end both his Maieſty and all the Princes ſent their officers thither to prouide their lodgings. But before the Emperors parting from *Viena* towards *Regensberg*, there arriued two Ambaſſadours, one from the King of *Perſia*; the other from the Ottoman Emperour. The Perſian deſired confirmation of the League which his father had formerly had with the Emperor, and to intreate him to employ his forces againſt the Turk, who ſeemed to threaten his countrey this yeere with a powerfull inuaſion. The Turk ſent a Baſha with a ſtately Embaſſie and great Preſents (an vnuſuall thing in them who are accuſtomed to receiue from all Princes which ſend vnto them, and not to giue to any) but it ſeemed his new State was not ſo well ſettled as hee would truſt the Chriſtians, during his expedition againſt *Perſia*; entreating the Emperour to continue the truce, or to confirme peace, fearing leaſt ſomething might be attempted againſt him vpon the frontiers of *Hungary* during

during his abſence: to whom the Emperor gaue no preſent anſwer, but told him that he might return if he pleaſed, and leaue a Chaux behinde him to receiue his anſwer after the ending of the Diet. 1622

In the beginning of Nouember, the Emperor and the Empreſſe parted from *Vienna* towards *Regensbourg*, with a great train of Ladies and Noble-men. Hee made his entry on the fiue and twentith of Nouember in great ſtate; the particularities whereof I omit. There was yet a final appearance of Princes: for, there were onely comn three eccleſiaſticall Electors, with the Biſhops of *Saltzbourg* and *Virtzbourg*. The Dukes of *Bauaria* and *Newbourg* were expected dayly; but the Proteſtant Princes made ſome ſtay, and it was doubtfull of their coming: namely, the Duke of *Saxony*, the Marqueſſe of *Brandenbourg*, the Dukes of *Brunſwick*, *Virtemberg* and *Pomerania*, the Lantzgrane of *Heſſe*, the Marqueſſe of *Durlach* of the houſe of *Baden*, with many others of their religion. The Emperor deſired much to haue the Duke of *Saxony* preſent at the Diet, and had preſt him much by his Letters: but his coming was doubtfull; beeing, as they write, diſcontented for the breach which had been made touching religion, with the Bohemians and the incorporated Prouinces; wherein he ſaid his honour was ingaged. Some which preſume to knowe the Secrets of Princes Cabinets, haue giuen out, that one of the chief reaſons for the calling of this Diet, is, To ſettle the Electorſhip of the Palatinate vpon the Duke of *Bauaria*, with the conſent of the whole State of *Germany*; the which the Emperor hath much deſired, the Duke ambitiouſly affected, and the Pope with all his Clergie inſtantly preſt: but, as I haue heard of no propoſitions, ſo I will not diuine of their concluſions; onely I will pray to God ſo to direct their counſels, that they may preferre the publike peace and tranquillity of *Germanie* before their priuate intereſts, and not caſt oil into the fire of their diuiſions, which may draw a great part of the Chriſtian world into troubles and combuſtions.

THus, with the end of the yeer and the loſſe of the Palatinate (one poor Town excepted) I end this work: wherin we haue ſeen a great Prince, the firſt ſecular Elector of *Germany*, ſpoiled and diſpoſſeſſed of his hereditary eſtate, and forced to abandon his Country and ſubiects to the fury and oppreſſion of an inſulting enemy. But God I hope (who is the God of battailes) will in his due time diſſolue theſe pinching froſts of affliction by his almighty power, and reſtore him, with the vertuous Princeſſe his wife, to their former eſtate; and make thoſe Princely Imps (ſprung from ſo Royall a Stem) flouriſh like oliue-branches, to the great ioy and comfort of all which honour and reſpect them: for the which I will daily pour forth my vowes and praiers to almighty God; and let all good men ſay Amen.

A brief

1622

A brief Diſcourſe of the ciuill warres in the Valtolin.

HAd not meant to write of the ciuill broils in the *Valtolin* and the Griſons Country; houlding it impertinent to this Hiſtory which treats onely of the Emperors liues, and of thoſe things which haue paſt in their dominions: but, finding that the houſe of *Auſtria* doth make a chalenge to ſome of thoſe Communalties, and haue by their Arms brought the Griſons Country in a manner into ſubiection & ſeruitude, and poſſeſſed themſelues of the paſſage of the *Valtolin*; I haue thought it fit for the Readers better ſatisfaction to make a ſummary relation of theſe combuſtions, and to ſhew the motiues and the euents: for the true vnderſtanding whereof, I muſt rip it vp from the firſt beginning, which was in the yeer 1603.

The *Valtolin* is a Valley which depends vpon the Cantons of the Griſons; the which extends it ſelf in length ſome thirty French leagues from the Lake of *Como* in *Italy* to the County of *Tirol* which is in *Germany*. It is watered by the riuer of *Ada*, and is ſhut vp on either ſide by inacceſſible mountains. In the Griſons Countrey their gouernment is Democraticall. The Generall aſſembly of the Communaltie hath all ſoueraign power. Many Boroughs and Villages make a Communalty; and many Communalties, a Canton or League: and of three Cantons the Common-weal of the Griſons conſiſteth. This Aſſembly hath abſolute power by plurality of voices to make and aboliſh lawes, to treat of alliances with Princes and forren States, to diſpoſe of war and peace, and of all things belonging to Soueraignty. But, to come to the firſt beginning of theſe factions, you muſt vnderſtand, that in the yeer 1602, HENRY the Fourth, the French King, had renewed the antient alliance of *France* with the Swiſſers and Griſons, vpon the ſame articles and conditions as had been concluded with other Kings his Predeceſſors; againſt the aduice of ſome, who had propounded to make a new league with the Venecians, which might concern the paſſage of the Alps: but the Griſons which embraced the alliance of *France* would not yeeld to it.

A new league betwixt the Venecians and Griſons.

In the yeer 1603 there was a new league concluded at *Coire* or *Chur* betwixt the Griſons and the Venetians, notwithſtanding the oppoſition of the French Ambaſſador. Of 26 Communalties of the Griſons, two parts of them are Proteſtants Calueniſts, contrary to the Romaniſts. The Proteſtants, which fauoured this league, gaue the common people to vnderſtand, firſt, that the moſt Chriſtian King was well pleaſed with it, being a matter of State, and the onely means to fruſtrate the Spaniard of all alliance with the Griſons: ſecondly, touching religion, that they ſhould not doubt but by means of this league which allowed them liberty of conſcience in *Venice* without exerciſe, the Goſpell would take root in *Venice*, and from thence diſperſe it ſelfe throughout all *Italy*; and, thirdly, the yeerly penſion and the Arms they ſhould receiue from the Venecians, with the particular penſions for their captains: for, the Griſons do naturally loue money.

The Fort of Fuentes built, and the Griſons forbidden commerce with Milan.

The Earl of *Fuentes*, who was at that time Gouerner of *Milan*, grew iealous of this league betweene the Venecians and the Griſons, and could by no means endure it, by reaſon of the importance of the paſſage of ſouldiers which they allowed the Venecians through the Alps: whereupon, he forbad all commerce with the Griſons, and preſently built the Fort of *Fuentes* at the entry of the paſſage of the *Valtolin*. The Griſons, who could not liue without the commerce of *Milan* and *Lombardy* by reaſon of the barrenneſſe of their Country, fell into faction. Some prime men and Captains, with the proteſtant Commons, would haue gon to Armes: and the Biſhop of *Coire* and many of his partiſans (fauouring the Spaniards) practiſed in ſuch ſort, that Deputies were ſent to *Milan*, to treat vpon the old alliances betweene the Milanois and the Griſons, to the end that the Fort of *Fuentes* might be raſed: where, they concluded vpon certain Articles, which were reiected in the Aſſembly of the Griſons; who in the mean time wauered betweene the doubtfull euents of war and the diſcommodities of peace.

1604

The Deputies or Ambaſſadors, who were ſent to *Milan*, were much taxed by all the Griſons, to

to haue receiued Preſents and chaines of gold from the Earle of *Fuentes*: with the which hee ſought to fetter their liberty; they hauing accorded, firſt, that the Spaniard might leuie ſouldiers in the Griſons Country when he pleaſed; ſecondly, that the paſſage ſhould be open for him at all times to tranſport his Armies through their Country, and that they ſhould not ſuffer any other ſouldiers to paſſe through their Territories without the aduice of the Gouerner of *Milan*, to the end that he ſhould conſider whether that paſſage might any way preiudice the Duchie of *Milan*; Articles which they held hurtfull to their antient alliance with *France*, and to make their new league with *Venice* vnprofitable. The Griſons hauing reiected theſe Articles in an Aſſembly at *Illant*, the Earl of *Fuentes* preſently cauſed his Fort to bee immured, and the Griſons deſcent into *Italie* to be ſtopt: whereupon, the Griſons reſolued to chuſe the hazard of Armes, to maintain their liberty.

1622 *The Biſhop of Coir treats an alliance with Milan.*

Hauing demanded ſuccours of men and mony from the Ambaſſadors of *France* and *Venice*, they both took time to aduertiſe their Maſters. The like they did to the Swiſſers beeing then aſſembled at *Bade*; letting them vnderſtand, that the Earl of *Fuentes* had taken from them the commerce which was betwixt them and the Duchy of *Milan*; requiring their counſell and aid, for that the iniurie was common to them: but they returned ill ſatisfied, for that the Ambaſſador of *Spain* had preuailed much in that Aſſembly.

In the yeer 1605, the French Ambaſſador, receiuing the King his Maſters pleaſure, gaue the Griſons to vnderſtand, that his Maieſty did aduiſe them to end their differences by an accord, eſpecially that they ſhould not come to Armes: and although the buſineſſe did nothing concern himſelf, yet he would willingly imploy himſelf in regard of their alliance, to the end that the oppreſſion they receiued from the Fort of *Fuentes* might be taken away. On the other ſide, the Ambaſſador of *Venice* tould them, that the propoſition to make a Fort vpon the Frontier of the *Valtolin*, to the end they might keep a paſſage open, and free from the Griſons Territories vnto thoſe of the Venecians, was good; and that the Segniory of *Venice* would defray the coſt and charges of the building of a new Fort, and would entertain a garriſon of one hundred and fifty men.

After this, the Griſons grew diuided into three factions. The Biſhop of *Chur* or *Coire*, with many Romaniſts, ſupported the Spaniard; who caſt much of his Indian duſt among them, and blinded the eies of their vnderſtandings. The Proteſtants and others fauoured the Venecians: and the antient friends to *France* blamed both theſe factions, and the league made with the Venecians; as the onely cauſe of the confuſion which took root in all the members of their Common-wealth. Theſe men knew well, that the counſell the King gaue them, Not to come to Armes, was for the good of their Common-wealth; and that, if they oppoſed a Fort to that of *Fuentes*, it would prouoke the Spaniard to war. 1606

The motions and alterations between the Pope and the Venecians (which ended in the yeer one thouſand, ſix hundred and ſeuen) much augmented theſe diuiſions; the Venecians ſeeking to draw ſuccours from the Griſons, and the partiſans of *Spain* labouring to hinder it. Then the corruption which the Spaniſh gold had bred in the Catholique Communalties, was ouerſwaied by the Captains, who had receiued twice as much money from the Venecians to make Leuies of ſouldiers in the Griſons Countrey: and ſuch as drew penſions from *France*, deſiring to ſettle an order in the Griſons liberty, in the which the baſeſt amongſt the multitude would take knowledge of the State, and diſcourſe thereof in tauernes and ſtoues (which is not the right courſe to manage the affairs of a Common-weal, for that there Secrets were as ſoon vented as propounded) cauſed a ſecret Councel to be erected of fifteen Deputies choſen out of all the Communalties, with a certain limited power: but this was preſently croſt by the two other factions, who required to haue this Councell diſſolued.

There was a combuſtion at *Coire* this yeere in May; whither the Communalties which ſupported the Venecians came with their Enſignes diſplaied, and required to haue that which had been promiſed by the Venecian League, effected: but preſently there comming a greater number of other Communalties, by the Spaniards practice; they demanded the contrary; as may appear by theſe following Articles. 1. That heerafter no ſtranger ſhould bee ſuffred to paſſe ſouldiers through the Alps. 2. That they ſhould enquire who was the Author of the putting a garriſon into the *Valteline*, and who ſhould pay it. 3. That the Communalties had not granted vnto the Venecians any paſſage for ſtrange ſouldiers. 4. That the ſaid Communalties had not made any alliance with the Dolphin of *France*, nor promiſed to giue paſſage to the French King's friends. 5. That the ſecret Councell newly erected ſhould be wholly abrogated.

1622 6. That they should renew the antient Alliances with *Millan*. 7. That the French Captains which were in the *Valtolin*, should be discharged. 8. That hereafter no man should receiue any pension from a forraine Prince: and that those which were receiued by priuate persons should be distributed amongst the communalties. 9. That Church-men and Ministers should not meddle with the ciuill gouernment, nor should be admitted to the assemblies of the communalties. 10. That the soldiers leuied by the Venetians might not goe out of the Countrie. 11. That the Criminall chamber should proceede against such as should be found traitors to their countrie. 12. That the Deputies of assemblies should hereafter bring the aduice of the communalties in writing and signed by them. Finally, the combustion was so great, that the Spanish faction seised on the Castle of *Coire*.

The subtility of the Spanish Agents was well obserued in these Articles; who seeking to depriue the Ambassador of *France* of all liberty to giue his accustomed pensions openly to priuat Grisons, would thereby diuert them from the amitie of *France*, whil'st he practised all he could by gifts to bandie against them which supported the Venetians, who had also (as was written) dispersed among their partisans aboue 80 thousand crowns, to maintain that they had a free passage through the Alpes. In the end of the yeere, the Iudges of the Criminal chamber (who were taxed to be pensioners to the Spaniard) were changed, vpon complaint of their great couetousnesse and iniustice: but they which succeeded them in their places exceeded them in arrogancie, corruption, and cruelty, which they practised against all those which they found partisans to *Spaine*, as Traitors to their liberty.

Complaint of the French Ambassadour against the Partisans of Spaine.

The French Ambassador, who had discouered the intention of the Spanish faction, demanded Audience in a general Assembly of the communalties; where he let them see by the reading of the alliance which they had with *France*, the Imposture of those which had published, That the king his Maiesty had no free passage either for himselfe or for his friends through the Alpes: and that the Dolphin of *France* was not comprehendended in the said Alliance. After the reading whereof and an exhortation made to continue constant in the League, with a promise of bounty, the whole assembly with one voice lifting their hands to heauen, cried out God saue the king, God preserue *France* and the Dolphin. Which done, the French Ambassador demanded of them a declaration of their confirmation of the Alliance, desiring to send it vnto the king: the which they all iointly promised, and afterwards euery communalty signed. The Venetian Ambassador, to haue the like declaration vpon their new treaty of Alliance, made offer by his partisans to giue 3000 crownes to the three Grison Cantons: but his proceeding and offer was reiected; and the Garrison of 150 Grisons which was in the *Valtolin* paied by the king, was discharged: which seemed to be the subiect of some bad intelligence, which hapned afterwards betwene the Ambassadors of *France* and *Venice*, resident in those parts, the particularities whereof I must for breuities sake omit.

Bad intelligence betweene the Ambassadors of France and Venice.

In the yere 1608 and 1609, the Grisons State was vnder the power of their Criminall chamber, whereas the Bisiop of *Coir* was condemned to a pecuniary Fine; and if he would not signe certain Articles which should be imparted to him, he should be banished. Thus the Protestants held the chief places in the gouernment: and the *Valtolin* Catholiques were much discontented to bee vnder the yoak and gouernment of Podestate Grisons of a contrary religion; so as it seemed by some actions, that the Earl of *Fuentes* would willingly haue giuen them aid to haue taken Arms.

In the yeer 1610, the French King hauing been traiterously murdered, the Magistrate of *Coir* repaired to his Ambassador; where, after many signs of great sorrow for so lamentable a death, hee protested in the name of all the Grisons, to continue constant in the Alliance which they had with the Crown of *France*: and the same yeer, the Earl of *Fuentes*, Gouerner of *Milan*, died also. About this time the Venetians pursued a continuation of their Alliance for ten yers with the Grisons: but they were let vnderstand, that they had sufficiently made trial of the good & harme which this Alliance had brought them; so as they desired no more: for there were many Articles obserued in that treaty which were directly contrary to the Alliace of *France*, the which I omit being very long.

In the yeere one thousand and eleuen, VELASCO Constable of *Castile*, being newly made Gouernour of *Milan*, hee sought to continue the designes of the deceased Earle of *Fuentes*, not by Armes but by Treatie. Hee promised at first to raise the fort of *Fuentes*: But the Ambassadour of *France* gaue the Magistrate of *Coire* to vnderstand, that it was but a cunning practice, thinking thereby to reuiue the Treaty of *Milan*. Hereupon the Agents for

for *Spaine*, lay de aspersions vpon the said Ambassadour (to make him odious to the Catholiques) in a counterfeit Letter written in the Germane tongue, and directed to the Bishop of *Coire*; by the which they gaue him to vnderstand, That the reason why the Protestant Ministers of the Grisons were so affected to the French King and his Ambassadour, was for that they had seene in the Register of their accounts, that he gaue vnto them yeerly many thousands of crownes by way of pension. And on the other side, the said Ambassadour hauing laboured by the Kings commandement, that the alliance with the Venetians should not bee contynued, their partisans called him Iesuit, and they gaue it out that hee had giuen money to PLANTA and others of the Spanish faction to breake the Alliance with *Venice*. 1622

Practises of the Spanish and Venetian factions.

In the yeere 1613, the Grisons hauing againe concluded that the Alliance with *Venice* should not bee continued, the next yeere they commanded their Ambassadour to depart the Countrey. After this in the yeere 1616 and 1617 the Spanish faction got the masterie, and beganne to dispose absolutely of the gouernment of the State; so as by their practices, there was a Treaty appointed at *Coire*, this yeere on the 9 of March to reuiue the antient Alliance with *Milan*, for the King of *Spaine*. There came ALFONSO CASAT his Ambassadour, in the name of *Don* PEDRO *de Toledo* Gouernour of the Duchie of *Milan*, where there were certaine Articles concluded. Firstly, They promised that betwixt his Maiesty as Duke of *Milan* with the subiects of the said Duchie, and the three Cantons, with their subiects of the Countrey of the *Valtolin*, *Wormes*, and the County of *Chyauens* shall be true, sincere and perpetuall frendship: so as they shall not attempt aught to the preiudice one of another, nor suffer any practice to be made openly or secretly in their prouinces, nor consent to any passage, nor giue counsell or ayd directly or indirectly, but should oppose themselues with all their force & power. And if the one partie should know or discouer any secret practices, attempts or counsells to the preiudice of the other, the said partie shold be bound to reueale it presently, and seeke to diuert it with all fidelity. Secondly, And for that his excellencie vnderstood that the three Cantons desired much that the fort of *Fuentes* which had beene built in the yeere 1603 vpon the frontiers of the *Valtolin* might be demolished, to the end they might thereby bee assured to be restored to his Maiesties good grace and fauour, his excellencie promised to treat with his Maiesty with all sincere affection in fauour of the said three Cantons; and that after the Articles of this present capitulation shall be accepted, sealed, and sworne by his Maiesty and the said three Cantons, that with out all delay, the demolition of the said forts shall take effect; And that his Maiesty shall not suffer them to be built vp againe, so long as the three Cantons shall for their parts faithfully obserue the contents of the said Capitulation, and that hereafter no such cause of iealousie be giuen vnto his Maiesty as was in the yeere 1603. And for asmuch as the three Cantons knew wel that the distrust which ministred occasion for the building of the aforesaid forte of *Fuentes*, did proceede from the Alliance and passage which they had graunted vnto the Seigniorie of *Venice*: they promised by this present capitulation for them and their successors not to renew it hereafter, nor to suffer the said Alliance and passage in any sort, so long as this present capitulation shall be in force. Thirdly, That both parties shall haue free commerce and trafique from one countrey to another, aswell for themselues as their subiects, without any exception of persons: with this reseruation, that touching matters of religion they should giue no scandall, nor carry with them any forbidden bookes. And touching the role of cattell and other commerce which they should bring into the Duchie of *Milan*, or transporte from thence, the three Cantons should enioy all the priuiledges the which are granted vnto the Swissers, allies vnto his Maiesty. Fourthly, If it hapned his Maiesty shold haue neede of any troupes of souldiers of this nation for the defence of the Duchy of *Milan*, it shall be lawfull for him to make a leauie in the Territories of the three Cantons, not exceeding the number of 3000 souldiers Voluntaries: and the election of the Colonell and Captaines shall be made by his Majesties Ambassador, who shal agree with them for their Armes & pay: And in case his Maiesty would for the preseruation of his countries & Seigniories cause som troupes of strange soldiers to passe through the Grisons countrie into the Duchie of *Milan*, it shal be allowed to his Maiesty & his commanders: so as euery troupe exceed not the number of 200 persons and a daies iourney one from another: Euery troupe also shal haue his captaine or conductor to keep them in good discipline, and with them a Commissarie of the Cantons at the kings charge to preuent all inconueniencies: & to the end also that the soldiers may pay for their victualls & passages and carrie themselues honestly, they shall not carrie any other Armes but their

A new treaty of Alliance betweene the Millanois and the Grisons.

The Grisons promise not to renew their allyance with the Venetians.

Liberty of Commerce.

Leauies of Souldiers allowed the Spaniard.

Passage of soldiers allowed them.

1622 swords and daggers, and the horſemen their Piſtols: And in caſe it ſhall be ſufficiently prooued, that the ſouldiers haue committed any harme and ſpoile in the Griſons countrey and their ſubiects, his Maieſty ſhall be bound to make reſtitution. 5. If it ſhall happen that the three Cantons ſhall be hoſtilely inuaded by any Prince, Potentate, or free State; his Maieſty ſhall bee bound when ſoeuer they require him, to aſſiſt the Cantons at his owne charge with 2000 foote and 200 horſe, ſo long as the warre ſhall continue: and if the three cantons ſhall haue neede of greater aſſiſtance, his Maieſty ſhall ſend it without delay. But, if the three Cantons ſhall think it more commodious to haue money then men; his Maieſty in that caſe as long as the warre ſhall continue, ſhall effectually pay vnto them 10000 crownes a moneth; and withall ſhall lend them 6 feeld peeces with their due munition, vpon condition that they ſhall be reſtored when the warre is ended. 6. His Maieſty as Duke of *Milan*, out of his royall bounty and in teſtimonie *of his loue and affection vnto the three Cantons, doth promiſe to pay to euery Canton yeerely*, at the Feaſt of Saint IOHN BAPTIST, the ſumme of 3000 florens, euery one being 15 Batzes of the money of *Coire*; the firſt payment to beginne on the ſaid firſt Feaſt day, after the accord ſhall be ſworne. Seuenthly, That this preſent capitulation ſhall no way preiudice the antient League and alliance which the three Cantons haue with the Crowne of *France*, the which ſhall remaine in full force and vigor. And laſtly, that this capitulation ſhall be perpetuall and hereditarie.

The Griſons proceedings in the yeere 1618.

This accord bred a great combuſtion among the Griſons (whereof two third parts are Proteſtant Caluiniſts) and was the cheefe and onely cauſe which made them to proceede criminally againſt many Catholique perſons and of quality: that is to ſay, againſt the Biſhop of *Coyre*, the Arch-Priеſt of *Sondrio*, RODVLPH, and POMPEIVS PLANTA brethren, IOHN BAPTISTA Preuoſt, with an infinite number of others. And, for the iuſtification of their proceedings, they publiſhed a Proteſtation to the world, giuing all men to vnderſtand, that certaine priuate perſons had ſought to vſurpe the gouernment of their State, and to appropriate vnto themſelues thoſe Soueraignties & powers which did properly belong to all the Communalties in generall: the which they attempted by their great wealth and power, by corruption and preſents, and by the alliances of their kindred: And this was not done at one inſtant; but, ſometimes in one Communalty, and ſometimes in another, as occaſion was offered, to reduce them vnder their particular power. Which ſubtill practices had ſucceeded ſo well, as not onely the free Allies with their ſubiects, but alſo if Princes and forraine States deſired to obtaine any thing from their State, they were forced to receiue it from theſe priuate perſons, who practiſed all kindes of treaſon, infidelities, falſhood, deceits, tyrannies and violences; whereby they brought their Eſtate into great contempt with all Princes and forraigne Potentates; who, by their Treacherie and raſhneſſe, haue beene promiſed thoſe things which they could not effect. Theſe lamentable courſes being obſerued by ſome men of iudgement, yea and by the common people (deſiring to preuent the danger by ſome lawfull meanes) they complained in the laſt Aſſembly held at *Davos* in the yeere 1617, before the three Cantons, being their ſuperiors, of theſe intolerable proceedings: and there, after an ample declaration of the miſeries raigning in the State, had ſeriouſly inſiſted for a neceſſarie reformation, by the moſt conuenient meanes. Which buſineſs, in regard of the great importance and for other vrgent cauſes, was ſent by the Magiſtrate before the reuerend iudges and all the Communalties, being the ſupreme power of their eſtate: whoſe intention they followed. And whereas after, in a *Synode* held in Aprill in the yeere 1618, it had beene reſolued that a writing of the ſaid tenor ſhould be publiſhed to all Counſellors and Communalties of euery pariſh, with inſtant prayers and exhortations to prouide by all lawfull meanes without any commotion, for the reſtoring of the liberty of their countrey, freeing themſelues from the fraudulent Treaties of ſome of their ſubiects with Princes and forraine eſtates, to the end they might not bee brought into iuſt contempt; but rather to carrie themſelues in ſuch ſort towards them, as their Anceſtors had done; and ſo, their fidelity and integrity ſhould be eſteemed:

All which notwithſtanding, thoſe Authors of ſedition had ſought to abuſe the common people, and to maintaine their violent commande by their ordinary practices. Whereupon the reformed Preachers in all the pariſhes had earneſtly inſiſted for a neceſſarie reformation of the whole State; and required, that ſome good men might be choſen out of the Commons (which were no way tyed or engaged to any Princes or forraine States) to whome they might reueale certaine treacheries of ſome tyrannous commanders, who were no longer to

Side promiſed to the Griſons.

to be ſuffered, and whoſe reiection might be the reſtoring of the eſtate. But the people being out of hope, that in ſo ſmall a number of Deputies they ſhould euer obtaine any good ſucceſſe; and finding in like manner that theſe tyrants could not be vanquiſhed but by multitudes: not for any feare of their forces, but onely for plurality of voices, and to preuent all kinde of corruptions and falſe perſwaſions; In the end of Iune the yeer 1618, the fiue Communalties of *Engaden* and *Valthaſna* the lower, together with thoſe of *Muſſerthall*, aſſembled themſelues, hauing ſent Letters and Embaſſies to the other Communalties of the three Cantons, requiring them to do the like and by vertue of the Vnion to aſſiſt them as being moſt oppreſt, for that their power and authority was taken from them, and vſurped by ſome priuate perſons; their lawes falſified, their ſtatutes changed, and their goods and means wreſted from them, vnder pretext of publike authority; to the end theſe new lawes might be aboliſhed, and the antient liberty of their anceſtors reſtored, that alſo the treaſures of Princes and forrain States might no more bee waſted by priuate perſons without the priuity and conſent of the whole State, and that they might not be ſo treacherouſly deceiued by the vain promiſes of ſuch men. 1622

The Griſons aſſemble, requiring a reformation of the ſtate.

At their earneſt entreaties, there came to their ſuccours in the beginning good numbers of men from ſome other Communalties; who willingly agreed for the reſtoring of the common eſtate, and the election of indifferent Iudges to puniſh criminall offenders.

Rodulphus Planta *prepares to reſiſt the Griſons.*

In the mean time, the chief Author of theſe alterations, and Attempter vpon the ſoueraigne authority, called RODOLPHVS PLANTA, hauing as it ſeemed a guilty conſcience, retired himſelf to his Caſtle of *Vildenbourg* in *Zernetz*; the which he fortified and furniſhed with victuals and all things neceſſary, hauing drawne vnto him ſix hundred men to defend it, and ſeiſed vpon the paſſages, broken the bridges, and committed all acts of hoſtility againſt the neighbours and Allies. But, ſeeing the Troops of the Communalties approach, hee fled into *Tirol* with ſome of his moſt confident friends. During theſe proceedings, the other Communalties of the three Cantons ſent an Embaſſie to *Engaden*, offering to aſſiſt them to repaire the common eſtate, to reſtore the lawes, and to ſettle iuſtice, ſo as they would cauſe their Troops and Enſignes to retire; to the end that, all violences ceaſing, Iuſtice might be adminiſtred indifferently to all men. But, anſwer being made vnto them, that the power of the ſeditious delinquents and of their adherents was ſo great, that without the aid and aſſiſtance of many men, their enterpriſe would be in vaine; therefore they preſt the other Communalties to aſſiſt them with ſuch Troops as they themſelues ſhould think good vpon ſo iuſt a buſineſſe: which thing was granted.

Aſſemblies at Coir & Thuſis.

Vpon this reſolution, euery Communalty of the whole State aſſembled, ſome with their enſignes, ſome without, at *Coire*, and from thence to *Thuſis* in the vpper *Rhetia*; where, with a generall conſent, for the reſtoring of their eſtate and policy, they renewed certain antient lawes, and made ſome new, touching the late tranſgreſſions: whereunto alſo their Allies which were abſent, conſented, with ſome little moderation. The tenor whereof conſiſted in theſe Articles: firſt, that the free exerciſe of both religions, reformed and Catholick, ſhould bee allowed in all their lands and iuriſdictions, and euery man maintained and defended by the generality in his profeſſion; ſecondly, that in all their Territories, euery league, Communalty, iuſtice, and particular perſons, noble or ignoble, ſhould be maintained and protected in their priuiledges, cuſtomes, dignities, goods and antient poſſeſſions; and that in all differences they ſhould bee bound to ſubmit themſelues to the deciſion of a neutrall iudgement: thirdly, that their ſubiects ſhould be gouerned in equity, and bee no more expoſed to tyrants, as happely ſome had been: fourthly, that the treaſure of the common eſtate ſhould bee better gouerned, and that they ſhould not ſuffer the common reuenues to be any more waſted and conſumed by priuate perſons: fifthly, that no particular man ſhould preſume to treat with any Prince and forrain Eſtate without expreſſe commandement, vpon pain of death; but, thoſe alliances which ſhould be orderly made, and by a common conſent, they meant to maintaine with all loyalty towards all eſtates their neighbours, ſhewing them faithfull and good neighbourhood, with other circumſtances, &c.

New articles made at Thuſis.

In this Aſſembly there was appointed a criminall chamber to proceed againſt certain perfidious perſons; whereof ſome were priſoners, and others fled. To the which Court of Iuſtice euery Canton deputed two and twenty Iudges, nine Examiners, two Treaſurers, one Secretary, and two Vſhers: and finding, that by the authority of the reformed Preachers and Miniſters, the people had hitherto been maintained in better order, it was alſo thought good, that nine of them ſhould be admitted in this buſineſſe, but not at definitiue ſentences: all theſe were

Erection of a criminall Court at Thuſis.

1622

bound to sweare to discouer all such as had done any thing against law and equity: That they should not respect rewards, friendship, hatred, factions or any other thing which might draw them from the rule of Iustice; but rather attend the honor of God, the free and prosperous estate of their countrey, and sacred Iustice.

The criminall proceſſe of Preuoſt.

Among the prisoners (whose processes they were to make) the chief was IOHN BAPTISTA Preuost called ZAMBER, lying at *Vospran*, in the vpper *Pregell*: who (by the confession of certain persons executed some yeers before, the deposition of witnesses, and by Letters written with his own hand) was conuicted that he and his consorts had giuen aide and counsell to build the fort of *Fuentes* vpon the frontiers of the Grisons countrey: To haue receiued presents in money from *Millan*, and to haue been gratified with the free transportation of Corne and Wine, paying little for the custome; and to haue taken rewardes to mediate the treaties made in former time with the State of *Milan*; and, on the other side, to haue receiued money and a great pension from the Ambassador of a forraine Prince, to dissuade the Grison Communalties from that alliance: the which being testified by the witnesse of men of reputation, in the end he confessed it with all the circumstances; and moreouer said that RODVLPHVS PLANTA, with some others which were dead, had resolued the designe of the said Fort of *Fuentes* at *Danos*, in the yeer 1603, during the Assembly of the league there, to the end that they might thereby force the people to their deuotion, and treate a league with *Millan* at their pleasure, the which PLANTA had much affected. For which crimes he was condemned (as a Traytor to his countrey to be quartered; his goods to be confiscate to the benefit of the Cantons, yet without preiudice to his wiues portion and his creditors: His house to be rased, and two pillars set vp in the place for a perpetuall infamy; but at the intercession of his friends and kinsfolk, he being 74 yeers old, and hauing 9 children, they shewed him some fauor by losing only his head; and the demolishing of his house, was referred to the disposition of the Cantons.

The proceſſe of Nicholas Ruſca.

NICHOLAS RVSCA, Arch-Preest of *Sonders*, being a prisoner, was accused of the like crimes, both by the deposition of witnesses, and the confession of some which had been executed, and also by Letters which were found about him: All which he constantly denying, or seeking to auoide by subtle deuices, he was condemned to the rack; the which he endured the first day, being without any waight: but, being tied vnto it again after the same manner, he grew so weake as they were forced to vnbind him, so as he presently after died, not without suspicion of poison by some manifest signes appearing in his body. They proceeded in like manner, by way of contumacy, against such as had absented themselues. IOHN Bishop of *Coir* was accused for that 11 yeers before he had bin banisht by the iudgement of certain indifferent Iudges, consisting of both Religions, chosen out of the 3 Cantons, for many perfidious actions, and obstinate disobedience against his country; That he had taken and giuen money to crosse the Swissers their trusty Allies, That he had put his Bishoprick into the protection of their enemies: And, finding himself guilty, he laboured to haue the title of Legat in *Germany*; That afterwards he had fauored their perfidious inhabitants, who had vsurped the Sate-gouernment, and had returned into his Bishoprick at *Coire*, whither he was conducted by RODVLPH PLANTA the chief Author of the treason; and continuing in his old train, he had assisted at all consultations which had been made against the liberty of the country. For these and diuers other crimes obiected against him, and verefied by his own Letters, and the deposition of witnesses; they confirmed his banishment for euer, and confiscated his goods, without preiudice to the Bishopric; They degraded him of his Episcopal dignity, commanding the Chapter to choose another, forbidding all men to lodge him in their Territories; and if he were taken, to be executed by the Sword.

The proceſſe of Bishop of Coire.

The proceſſe of Rodulphus Planta, by contumacy.

This criminall Court proceeded in like manner against diuers others which absented themselues; But especially against the 2 brethren RODVLPH & POMPEY PLANTA, who had bin the ring-leaders of all these alterations. RODVLPH, who had been Captain generall of all the *Valtolin*, Iudge criminall of *Zernetz* & of the neighbor Comunalties, and Captain of a company of Grisons for the French kings seruice; was accused of many hainous crimes, wheron I must of force insist somwhat the longer; for that he was the chief actor and procurer of all these combustions. The Arch-duke of *Austria* of *Inspruck*, hath certain rights and priuiledges to be criminall Iudge in the lower *Engaden* on S. GEORGES day, with the approbation and consent of the Commons: some yeers before, the said PLANTA had bin chosen to that charge for the Arch-duke, wherin he had continued & neuer demanded any renuing or confirmation, contrary to al custom, hauing audaciously vsurped this authority, as if he had obtained it by purchase or inheritance, bringing in criminal Iudges at his pleasure to be at his deuotion. By which meanes he

he drew to himself the Soueraignty of all that iurisdiction, without any opposition; that he had reinstalled the Bishop of *Coire* (who for his treason towards his Country had been banished by a generall Sentence) into his Bishoprick & Castle before he had obtained pardon; that by this means he might haue him at his deuotion, for that the Bishop hath power to create certain Magistrates, and especially those which haue the gouernment of the reuenues of the Church. Hauing good intelligence with the Ambassadors of *France*, not onely they to whom they gaue pensions were most commonly forced to attain to them by the intercession of PLANTA; but also by his practices he had obtained from the said Ambassadors great summes of money, new pensions and increase of the old for his adherents; that he vsually entertained spies in their Countries and Iurisdictions, who reuealed to him what soeuer was said or done against his person, persecuting such as any way opposed him. Moreouer, to encrease his authority, hee had changed the statutes and lawes in his Iurisdiction, raised the amercements and fines, and for 35 yeers together had disposed of all things at his owne pleasure. By these and such like practices hee had growne so powerful, that for many yeers he had the direction of the most important affairs, and through great corruptions and presents had at his pleasure swaied their Communalties and free Countries, disposed (with his adherents) of many offices, presumed to make and break leagues, and to stir vp seditions against good men. His iurisdiction was miserably tyrannized by him, the priuiledges of the Communalties broken; depriuing them of the free election of their Magistrates, and entertaining them with vain hopes, that so all might depend on his fauour.

1622

When the estate of the reformed Clergy opposed it self, in the yeer 1617, against the dangerous league practised between the state of *Milan* and the three Cantons; murmuring openly against it, he persecuted them, and threatned to depriue them of their ministeries, imprisoning them, and to vse them worse. His practices against his Country were such, that he thought to deprive them of their liberties by fraudulent and preiudiciall articles of confederacy with the duchy of *Milan*. After hee had obtained and procured by corruption the renunciation of the league between *Venice* and the Grisons, he deuised new Articles: which was called the league of *Zutze*; by which some Communalties, lying vpon the passage, bound themselues not to suffer any one to passe through their Territories, to hinder all succours from the Venecians. But when, in the yeer 1617, the league and passage was solicited for the Duchy of *Milan*, he was one of the first to yeeld to a perpetuall passage for the Spaniard against the former accord; that hee had forced the Venetian Ambassador to depart their Countries, had leuied Troops, and had made certain barbarous Articles, the which they would force the Inhabitants to obserue; especially, that no Minister of the reformed religion should presume to reueal his intention to the Commons, nor giue his voice in any matter concerning the Countrey: which was allowed to the pooreſt man of their free state; and that they had erected a chamber of iustice, whose principall director had treated with all affairs by the direction of the said RODVLPH PLANTA and his brother, as had been discouered by the Iudges themselues; that they had bound themselues by a particular oath to the Bishop of *Coir* against the sworn customs of the country; that they had tyrannized ouer the Ministers of the reformed religion, commanding them strictly not to meddle with the affairs of *Spain*, imprisoning some, and threatning them with death.

But in this yeer 1618, when as some Communalties did rise to preuent this mischief, he presently forced the Magistrates of his iurisdiction to bind themselues to him by oath, and demanded succours from others, to the end he might raise a ciuill and intestine war, and the common people kill one another; whereby he might make himself Soueraign of the Countrey. When he saw his enterprises were frustrate, and that he might be called in question for his actions, he absented himself, and did not appear. Wherefore, seeing he had drawne vnto him the greatest treasures of the liberty of thir Countrey; that is, To make and disannull lawes, to treat and break leagues, to create and depose Magistrates, to dispose of warre and peace, and in this authority to vse all kinde of treacherie, force, tyranny and treason; he was condemned to perpetuall banishment: and whosoeuer should bring him aliue, to haue one thousand crowns; and he that should bring his head, fiue hundred. Being taken aliue, his body was to bee broken vpon the wheele, and quartered; his goods confiscate to the Communalties without prejudice to the iust pretensions of his wife and creditors; his house to be rased, and Pillars of infamy to be there erected. The Communalty which did relieue or lodge him, should pay 10000 crowns for a Fine: and if any priuate person did entertain him, he should lose his honour, and bee condemned in the like Fine; and if hee had not meanes to satisfie it, his body should suffer for it. Whosoeuer should presume to treat of his liberty, write Letters, conuerse with him, or receiue Letters from

from him, should forfeit body and goods: The like sentence was giuen against his brother and diuers others; whom they charged to haue been pensioners to *Spaine*, to make him absolute Master of their passages, and to haue taken money from the State of *Venice*; with promise to second their demand touching the opening of passage for Souldiers, and that in case no other did contradict it, they would be silent. By these meanes they had gathered together the Treasure of the said Potentates, *sometimes deceiuing* the one, *sometimes* the other; and thereby had brought the Country into contempt. 1620.

The Apology of the Valtolins. The Catholiques of the *Valtolin* complained much of the proceedings of the *Grisons*, pretending that they were not their Subiects, but their Allies, and that it was a meere vsurpation; producing certaine Articles concluded betweene the Bishoppe of *Coire*, and the three Cantons on the one side, and the inhabitants of the *Valtolin* on the other, in the yeere one thousand fiue hundred thirteen. First, that the inhabitants of the *Valtolin* and the Communalty of *Till*, should for euer yeeld due obedience to the Bishoppe of *Coire* and the three Cantons in honest and lawfull things. Secondly, that the Inhabitants of the *Valtolin* and Communalty of *Till*, should bee faithfull Confederats and Allies to the Bishop of *Coire* and the three Cantons. That *in all Assemblies, when it should be fit to call them*, they should haue place with them, and a deliberatiue voice touching all matters concerning the publique good of the said Communalties: and when as they should bee called to any Diet, euery Communaltie of *Till*, should be bound to send a Deputy. Thirdly, that the Inhabitants of the *Valtolin* and the Communalty of *Till*, should enioy their antient customes and priuiledges, so as they were conformable to iustice. Fourthly, that the said Bishoppe of *Coire* and the three Cantons, should be bound to giue aide and counsell to the *Valtolins* and Communalty of *Till*, in fauour of his Imperiall Maiesty and the Duchie of *Milan*, as necessity should require: And the said *Valtolins* should bee freed from all taxes and impositions, as well as the subiects of the three Cantons. Fiftly, that the *Valtolin* and Communalty of *Till*, should yeerly pay vnto the Bishop of *Coire* and the three Cantons, a thousand Florens *in ready money*, to be leuied indifferently vpon the lands and goods of such as dwelt in the said valley.

This they made the ground of their alteration; and in the yeere one thousand six hundred twenty, fell to acts of hostility, as you shall heare. They said that God had in the end giuen them meanes to free themselues by their owne Armes, from those miseries: That the Ministers of the reformed Religion had, in their *pernicious Sermons and Writings*, gotten great credit with the simple people, disguised the truth, blamed innocency, supported crimes, and entertained diuisions and discord: That they had sought to suppresse the profession of the Romish Religion in the *Valtoline*: and touching the Gouernement of the State, That the greatest offices had been set to sale, without respect of merit or vertue: That touching matters of ciuill Iustice, the poore lost their right, they were condemned with all iniustice, they took away their goods violently, at the pleasure of the Iudges; who sould iustice, for money, to pay their purchases: These, and infinite other things, put the Romanists of the *Valtoline* out of hope euer to receiue any better vsage from their pretended Lords the *Grisons*. Besides, that which they had learned of the Assembly of *Thusis*, made them apprehend many bad designes against them and their families, and drew some of the Catholique Communalties to meditate of the meanes, how to free themselues from so cruell a seruitude; and therefore they gaue the Magistrates of the *Grisons* notice of the barbarous proceedings of the criminall Iustice of *Thusis*, and the cruel sentences giuen against some of them: But finding no reformation, by meanes of the Hereticall Ministers (as they tearmed them) the Romanists, hoping for no better vsage, resolued either to perish suddenly, or to free themselues from the subiection of so barbarous a Gouernement. Whereupon the Romanists of the *Valtolin* and the vallies depending of the *Grisons*, conspired together: their pretext was, that seeing themselues banisht and depriued of their goods, and their houses rased and demolished; hauing often assembled and conferred in secret, touching so many miseries and calamities, and finding no hope of better vsage; aswell in regard of those which gouerned, as of the *great hatred of the familie of the Salici Grisons*, their deadly Enemies; who, sought to vsurpe the Gouernement of the State, the which they could not easily do vnlesse they should banish the honestest men of the Countrey which crossed their designes: The chiefe of this faction in the *Valtoline* (whose names were ROBVSTELLA Knight, Captaine IOHN GVICHARDI, ALZO and CHARLES BESTA brethren, IOHN MARIA PARAVICIN, FRANCIS VENOST; and in the bottome of the vallies, RODOLPHVS PLANTA, the Podesta Giouer, IOHN MOLINA, with diuers other banished men) *A faction of the Romanists in the Valtoline.*

men) plotted secretly to free themselues from so many tyrannous subiections (as they pretended) and to purge their Countrie from heresie, by the cutting of the Protestants throats. ROBVSTEL acquainted his friends and kinsfolke with this designe, and inuited PARAVICIN (a banished man, who was retired to *Como*) to approach vnto the Frontiers with what men he could, to the end they might put it in execution on Sunday the 26 of Iuly: but fearing to be discouered if he should delay his designe any longer (for that his Messenger, whom he had sent to *Como*, had been taken) he went only with a hundred souldiers to *Bormio*, where he slew the Podesta, with all his family, and hung him vp: The like they did to as many Caluinists as they found there, except the women and children: The like his confederats did in other places, burning and spoiling all their houses and goods; so as some Authors write, they slue aboue 400 persons. After this furious murdering of the poore Protestants, some of them marched with their Troups towards the valley of *Malingo*, and assured themselues of that passage, hauing broken the bridges, and made Barracadoes to stoppe the Grisons entry that way to *Sondres*, the chief Town of the *Valtolin*. Another Troup went towards *Barben* and other places, and slue all they found of the contrary Religion. PARAVICIN came from *Como* with such forces as he could draw together, and seized vpon the mouth of the Riuer of *Ada*, to stop all succours which might come to the Protestants by water. Finally, they made themselues Masters of the whole *Valtolin*, being fortified daily with new Troupes which came to succour them, whom they put in Garrison in the most important places ioyning to the Grisons and Venecians, where they brake all the bridges, and built some small forts. These things, thus executed, ROBVSTEL was, in an assembly of the communalties in the *Valtoline*, chosen Governor of the whole Vallie; vnder whose protection they submitted themselues, promising to expose their liues for the Catholike faith, and the libertie of their Countrie: this acknowledgement being made, he presently disposed of all the Magistrates and Officers for the administration of Iustice. 1620. *They kill the Protestants in the Valtolin.*

The pittifull cryes of the poore Protestants passing the Mountains, the Cantons sent three thousand men to suppresse the fury of these Rebels: amongst the which there were many Hollanders which had formerly serued the Venecians in the Gulfe; but, they were soone forced to retire without any great exploit, doubting the arriuall of some other forces. At the same time the Gouernour ROBVSTEL sent Ambassadours to *Millan*, to intreat the Duke of *Feria*, the Gouernour, to receiue the Valtolins vnder the protection of the King of *Spaine*, and to assist and defend them; who willingly embraced this occasion, and supplied them with forces, whereby he hoped in time to get an entry for his Master in that valley: so as the Catholiques power increased daily, hauing drawne together, about the middest of August, an Army of six or seuen thousand foote, and seuen hundred horse: And to countenance them the more, the Duke of *Ferda*, Gouernour of *Millain*, had sent twenty two Ensignes of Spaniards and one thousand horse vnto the Frontiers of the *Valtolin*; vnder the command of the Generall of the horse of *Millan*, enioyning him to haue a care that no souldier should goe out of the limitts of *Millane*, vnlesse that some succours should come vnto the Grisons from Forraine Princes: inferring thereby, that if it were lawfull for the Venecians to succour the Caluinists against the Romanists, it should be as lawfull for the King of *Spain* and his Ministers to protect and defend the Catholique Valtolines: And if that should happen, hee commaunded him to enter both with his horse and foote. *The Valtol craue vote & ayde fr the king of*

The Grisons did what they could to make head against their enemies, and had drawn at least 5000 men into the valley, being masters of *Sonders* and many other places: but they, hearing that ROBVSTELL approached with his Army of eight thousand men, retired speedily by the valley of *Malengo*, and past the Mountaines: By whose flight, the *Valtolin* wholly remained in the power of the Catholiques, who assured themselues of all the passages. During these exploits in the *Valtolin*, PLANTA, GIOVAR, and MOLINA vsed the like cruelties against the Caluinists in the valley of *Munstel*; PLANTA desiring to make himselfe Gouernour of that valley, and GIOVAR of that of *Misolcine*. This is all which hath passed in the enterprise of the Catholique Valtolins, from the 26 of Iuly in the yeere 1620, till the midst of August; who being assisted by the Spaniard, forced the Grisons succours (consisting of fiue thousand men) to repasse the Mountaines. The losse of the *Valtolin*, thus surprised by banished men by the help of the King of *Spain*, concerned the Swissers aswell as the Grisons, and might also threaten their liberties; and the Romanists knowing they were not able to subsist of themselues against the reformed Protestants, the King of *Spain* gaue charge to his Gouernour of *Millan* to defend them against all hostile violence: Whereupon the said Gouernour raised some forces *The Spaniar possesse the Va*

1622

which he sent to them. After diuers military exploits, the Spaniards not only subdued the whole *Valtolin*, but also fortified themselues in such sort in the Mountaines and their vallies, as no man could safely passe. Wherefore, to preuent this mischiefe (for that it concerned all Swisserland, if the Spaniard should get a free passage by the *Valtolin* into *Germany*) they appointed a generall assembly at *Bade*: But, for that the Arch-duke LEOPOLD had formerly taken some places there which had belonged to the Iurisdiction of *Austria*, and forced the Inhabitants to do him homage before the antient rights had beene settled in the former State, and to that end had leuied great forces in *Alsatia*, therfore the assembly at *Bade* proceeded very slowly.

The Grisons being duly informed of the Spaniards attempts, who (vnder a color to restore such as had been banished, and to plant the Catholike Religion) sought to make themselues Masters of their Country, they appointed an assembly at *Luzerne*, calling the Protestants thither; with whose consents they made this decree: That whereas it was apparant to all the world, what tumults had beene in their Country, and what seditions had beene raised by turbulent persons to oppresse their liberties; for the preuenting of these miseries and dangers, they had decreed by oath, carefully to defend their liberties with the hazard of their liues and fortunes; to leaue religion free to euery man; to maintaine peace and to liue louingly and quietly together; so as no other Religion should be admitted but the Catholike Romish and the reformed, the exercise whereof should be free vnto them. That all vowes and oathes taken or made against the liberty of religion in these two points (That is to say, the hearing of the word of God, and the Sacraments of Baptisme and the Lords Supper) should be abrogated & held voyde, neither should any man be bound to stand vnto them. If any one in contempt of either religion should forbeare to come to church, to heare Sermons, or to receiue the Communion, the Church where hee dwels shall haue power to punish him. And to the end that both these religions may bee truly and really exercised, it shall be lawfull for euery man and Church to cherish and aduance his religion, to bestow costs and to giue stipends by himselfe or by others for th emaintenance thereof: To erect Schooles and Seminaries, and to institute ministers and Doctors in Churches and Schooles, without any distinction or difference betwixt Monks and Iesuits and Doctors of the reformed Religion, so as neither partie offend the others That honest men and of integrity be chosen, and that they forbeare to tax or slander one another: That Ecclesiasticall persons of what Religion soeuer shall treat onely of spirituall things, and not meddle, with politicall affaires, vpon paine of being remooued from their charges, and the losse of life & goods, being lawfull for euery Magistrate to punish them in whose iurisdiction they shall be found; and if he shall not doe his duty, the whole Communalty may question them: or if they shall neglect it, euery priuate man may punish them and enioy their goods, vnlesse they shall first fly to the Bishopick of *Coire* or to the house of *Tisiaen*, where they shall haue Sanctuarie: All iudgements giuen at *Thusis*, *Ciseret*, and *Danos*, and all decrees made there in the yeeres 1618. 1619. and 1620, with all conclusions made to the preiudice of the French King, shall bee abrogated; and euery one shall haue liberty to prosecute those which haue any way vniustly wronged them in these iudgements: That the Authors of sedition by reason of the Venetians practices should be punished: That the hereditarie confederations and Leagues made with the house of *Austria*, the French King, and other States and prouinces, should remaine firme; That the French Ambassadour (so as the King would stand to his promise) should be restored to his place: That hereafter there should be no seditions raised, vpon paine of the losse of life & goods for such as should be the Authors, and any States, which should attempt the like, should be excluded out of the League, subdued at their common charge, and reduced into seruitude. That no City nor priuate man should pretend any thing against the Iudges of the confederates, nor commence any Action against them, without the knowledge and consent of the Senators of most of the confederates, vpon the like penalties: That all secret practices should be remooued, and iustice equally administred to all men; and offices distributed without respect of persons: That all care should be taken for recouery of the *Valtolin*, *Wormes* and other places, and reducing them to the League craning ayde from the French, the Millanois & others, and that no man should attempt aught against this transaction & decree, vpon paine of infamy & the losse of life & goods.

This yeere 1622. the French King began to labour for the restitution of the *Valtolin*, sending Mounsieur BASSOMPIERE his Ambassadour to the Swissers, to preuent the danger wherevnto the Realme of *France* was subiect, if the Spaniard should enioy that Country and stoppe vp the passage. The Gouernour of *Milan*, to disturb this Treaty, propounded certaine Articles to the confederate Grisons: That there should be a perpetuall peace betweene them

1622

them and the Milanois; that the *Valtolin* should be left to the Grisons, with all priuiledges and immunities; but vpon the conditions, that there should no religion bee vsed there but the Romish; that the ecclesiasticall iurisdiction should belong to the Bishop COMO; that they should vse the decrees of the Councell of *Trent* and the new Calendar; that the Protestants, who had been driuen away for religion, should enioy their goods, and return twice in the yeer if they pleased, but might not stay aboue two months at a time, neither might they seek any occasion to dwell there with their wiues and children; that they should giue no offense vnto the Catholicks; that such as should breake the ecclesiasticall constitutions, should be punished by the Spaniards, and that they should suffer the Valtolins and Grisons to enioy their lawes and customs; that the Spaniards should hould the Fort at *Riua* for fiue yeers: which being ended, it with the Fort of *Pusin* should bee raised; that they should haue garrisons in the *Valtolin* for eight yeers; that the ordinance should be taken out of the Castle of *Sonders*, and that the keies of *Tirano* and *Morbegno* should be kept by the confederates; that the Spaniards should haue only a defensiue passage through the Grisons Country, going vnarmed, and through the *Valtolin* armed; that the garisons should forbear to meddle with any ciuill or criminall actions; that Rebels should be pardoned for their rebellion; the King of *Spain* on the other side should pay yeerly vnto the Grisons 1500 duckets; that, desiring to haue any Leuies from the Grisons, they should not bee bound to send aboue foure and twenty companies, and not lesse than twelue; that the Spaniards should defend the confederate Grisons against all forrain inuasion; that the restitution of the *Valtolin* should bee made onely to the chief of the Grisons, and to such as should imbrace these Articles: the rest that shold not within one month allow of that treaty, nor haue another, should be held for open enemies.

The Romanists departed in the Valtolin.

This Treaty did not satisfie the Grisons: for, they of *Engaden*, going vp to the white hil with some troops, desired to know of the Inhabitants whether they would take their parts, renounce the Spanish capitulation, and defend religion, giuing them foure and twenty houres to resolue: who yeelding to their desires, they presently ioyned their forces together, and charged the Roman confederates at the passage of a bridge; where they slue many, and put the rest to flight: who, retiring towards *Hantz*, were pursued by the Engadins; but, finding themselues too weak, they slue their owne horses and fled, cloying two peeces of ordinance, leauing their arms and all their victuals and baggage behinde them, notwithstanding that 2000 Spanish foot and 300 horse came to relieue them; who, seeing the flight of their companions, and being much troubled with snowe, returned to *Milan*. There were many other military exploits performed with good successe by the Grisons; whereof I cannot insist, lest I should bee too tedious. The Spaniards had attempted *Cleue* in vain, being repulsed by the valour of the Besieged. The Romanists craued more aid from the Gouerner of *Milan* against their enemies; who sent them a supply of 1000 foot and 300 horse, with good store of money and warlike preparations, vntill they shold be further assisted with 6000 Germans & 4000 Neapolitans, with 400000 crowns which was promised from *Spain*.

A Treaty at Coire.

The warre continuing still in the *Valtolin*, and no party willing to yield to the other and to lay down Armes, in the end there was an Assembly appointed at *Coire* to end the controuersie; whither the French King sent his Ambassador, who propounded these following Articles to the Cantons: first, that all souldiers should be dismist out of the *Valtolin*; secondly, that there should be pardon for all offenses; thirdly, ther should be free exercise of religion in all the *Valtolin*, and the Territories of *Cleues* and *Vormes*; fourthly, that the league with the Swissers and the Lords of Saint *Gal.* should be inuiolably obserued; fiftly, that Ambassadors should meet at *Lucerne* for *France*, *Spain*, and the Duchy of *Cleues*, to confirm this hereditary league vnder their hands and seals. Moreouer, the confederate Cantons were required, that hauing forgotten all which was past, they should suffer those which were fled, to return into their possessions: but they, fearing some new treason, made answer, they would take some further deliberation; and when they of *Zurich* were admonished to call back their souldiers, they promised to do it willingly when the Arch-duke LEOPOLD had withdrawn his forces from the Frontiers, and the King of *Spain* restored the *Valtolin*. But all these Treaties could not settle a good peace, the Spaniard and the Austrian being loth to leaue what they had gotten. They fortified some Frontiers, made new Forts, and repaired *Sonein* and *Bormeo*; so as the restitution was deferred. On the other side, the Swissers fortified themselues strongly against the attempts & hostile inuasions of the Spaniards, in building new Forts, raising Souldiers, and preparing cannon: and although the Spaniard had

New combustions in Swisserland.

1621 had attempted to surprise a Fort neer vnto *Clave* by treachery, yet the Swissers repulsed them with losse.

This yeer in October, the Gouernour of *Millan*, hauing seized vpon the county of *Cleue*, he left the Earl of *Serbellone* there for Gouernour, sending his Wallons and Neapolitanes towards *Chiauenne*; who not only took the place, but seized vpon the whole valley. Soon after the Neopolitans passing into the valley of *Borchyane*, they slue all they met without mercy: and although that a Captain of the Grisons attended the enemy with some troups, with an intent to fight; yet finding himself too weake, he yeelded with all his Souldiers to the victor: and for that the women in the lower *Engaden* had prepared to defend themselues with stones, spits, and other like womanish weapons, and had cruelly slaine aboue 80 *Austrians*; therefore the other Soldiers fell vpon them, and put very many of them to the Sword. To end all these miseries, the Grisons sent a Commissioner to the Gouernor of *Milan*, to moue him to a treaty of Peace, and a suspension of Armes.

The Arch-D. Leopolds successe in the Grisons Country.

A little before, the Arch-duke LEOPOLD of *Austria*, without any effusion of blood had subdued *Prettigau*, *Meinfelt*, both the *Engadens*, *Munsterthall*, *Coire*, and all the inhabitants of the 3 Cantons; all which (although in former times they had been held inuincible) craued the victors pardon, yeelded themselues; their Captains, commanders, with their Protestant Ministers and some of their Troups, flying into Swisser-land, and *Germany*: After which he placed Garrisons in all parts of the Country. Soon after in the beginning of the yeer 1622, the Grison State growing desperate, and their countrey in a manner wholly possessed by the Spaniard and the Arch-duke LEOPOLD, they were glad to sue for Peace; the which, after some difficulty, was confirmed with these Articles: 1. That the Romish Religion should remain firm and immutable. 2. That *Cleue* should be restored, and only the Romish Religion allowed. 3. That the places in *Engaden* and *Prettigaw*, should remain to the prouinciall Prince; the which heretofore did belong to the house of *Austria*. 4. That the king of *Spain* and the house of *Austria* should haue a perpetuall passage. 5. That there should be 30000 Florens of yeerly pension paid vnto the Grisons. 6. That it should be lawfull for the Spaniard to leauie 3000 Grisons when he pleased. 7. That hereafter the *Valtolin* should be a Common-weale, and the king of *Spain* haue the title of Protector, allowing no other Religion but the Catholick Roman. 8. That all Leagues should be made voide.

A pacification with the Grisons

The Grisons rise against the Spaniards and Austrians.

All these treaties gaue no contentment to the poore Grisons, which grew Iealous of their liberty and Religion: for they were giuen to vnderstand that the Articles of *Millan* had made them subiect to the yoake of *Spaine*, and diuided them from the other confederats; that their Countrey had lost her liberties, was reduced into seruitude, and spoiled of her wealth; and which was most of all to be lamented, they were depriued of the foode of their soules: whereupon the poore people grew desperate, resoluing rather to die then to suffer that bondage. Wherefore, on the fourteenth day of Aprill they (being formerly disarmed) went into the Wood, vnder colour of gathering greene boughes, where they armed themselues with Bats and Staues, and set vpon the Spaniards and the Archduke LEOPOLD's Souldiers with great furie, nothing regarding their shotte; so as they slue 500 of them in seuerall places. BALDERON had a Garrison of a hundred in the Towne of *Schirsens*, of which they slue fifty with their Clubs; the rest, flying into a steeple, were smothered and burnt: The rest of the Souldiers in many places retired themselues from the fury of these Clubs, vnto *Castell*, *Mynfelt*, *Coire*, and other places.

They that came to *Castell*, being besieged by the Prettigauers, tooke an Oath to goe out of the Prouince, and neuer to beare Armes against the three Cantons; but, comming to *Guttenberg*, they forgot their Oath, and were againe entertained by RITNAVER. After this these Commons went to *Mynfelt*, where they fortified themselues after their tumultuous manner. In the meane time Ambassadours came from the Swissers vnto RITNAVER, entreating him to abstaine from Armes, and giue eare to some honest composition, wherein they would doe all good offices. But hee, neglecting their requests, made haste to *Steiga* to fight with the Confederats, setting a village on fire, thinking they would runne to quench it; but the Prettigauers, regarding not the fire, marched against RITNAVER; whose Souldiers seeing them, cryed out, Come ye Cow-suckers (for so they called them in contempt) Wee will this day giue you a new God: To whom they answered, Wee are well pleased with that onely GOD which created vs, redeemed vs by CHRIST, and hath preserued

serued vs till this time in the vnity of Faith, by the power of his holy Spirit. For his glory wee fight; and then, like madde men, they set vpon them and slue foure hundred, forcing aboue two hundred of them into the Riuer of *Rhyne*, RITNAVER himself hardly escaping. After which, they cut off a Mill neere vnto *Maynfelt*, forcing the towne Garrison to retire with losse. 1622

In the meane time there came about one thousand Neapolitane Souldiers to *Coire*; who making an irruption into the valley of *Schanfice*, carried away their Cattell, burnt the Towne of *Mallader*, and raged most cruelly ouer those poore wretches which were vnarmed and vnacquainted with Warre: Which the Confederats hearing, they fortified themselues at *Sizera*, against the Spaniards; and aboue *Seiet* about nine hundred Grisons charging them, they forced them to abandon their Campe and retire to *Coire*, hauing slayne many of them and taken two peeces of Ordinance with great store of Armes and much Cattell: After which exploite they returned safely vnto their Campe. Soone after they seized vpon diues important passages, and prest *Maynfelt* with such violence and eagernesse, that the Towne and Castle were forced to yeeld, vpon composition that they might depart with their Arms and baggage, on the twenty third of May.

Maynfelt taken by the confederate Grisons.

After this they tooke a strong passage, which was held by six hundred Spaniards: the Garrison whereof was so terrified with their Clubs, as they compounded to depart with their Armes and baggage. This done they went to *Coire*, where they seized vpon a Fort before the Towne, which was very commodious for them; from whence they so annoyed the Townesmen, that no body durst walke in the streetes, hauing easie meanes to burne the Towne, for that they had cut away their Conduits: The Spanish Garrison, being driuen to great Streights, compounded to depart on the sixt day of Iune, vpon these conditions; That they should the next day goe away with their Ensignes, Armes and baggage; That foure Captaines, who were prisoners with the Collonel RYNEL, should be dismissed and let goe, putting in caution to the Bishoppe and Chapter, that none of the Confederats should be wronged in their going away; leauing three Captaines for Hostages. The Confederats, on the other side, should defend the liberties of the Bishoppe and Chapter, and protect them from all Iniuries; That the Souldiers should haue meate and drinke for their money in their going away, and release two Captaines whom they had taken prisoners. These conditions being accepted, Collonel BALDERON went along with the Italians towards *Cleue*, and the Germanes (which were in number nine hundred and fifty) marched another way, hauing all of them taken a solemne Oath, neuer to carry Armes eyther against these Confederates, or against the Protestant Cities.

Coire taken by the Grisons.

After this happy successe, the Confederats, hauing giuen thanks to God, wrote Letters vnto all the States, Common-weales, and free Cities of *Germany*, to whom the recouery of their liberty, and safety of the Church was pleasing. The tenor of their Letters was this, that whereas they been vniustly oppressed by the Austrian and Spanish souldiers, contrary to their liberties and priuiledges enioyed for many Ages, lost all their passages, and with them the exercise of religion, and forced with threats to imbrace another; they could do no lesse than, despairing of all relieue, seeke to recouer by the sword their lost liberty both of body and conscience; that God had fauoured their endeauours with good successe, who no doubt would still assist them if they did craue it with humble hearts. And whereas those mountaine places had beene disarmed and depriued of all munition for the warre by those barbarous souldiers, so as they were not able of themselues to beare the charges of the warre, they were inforced humbly to entreat all Common-wealths and Cities which loued liberty and religion, to assist them with some money in this commendable designe; hoping, that they would take this their petition in good part, and consider carefully how much their preseruation concerned all reformed Common-wealths, and to haue these passages free and without danger; the which, the house of *Austria* had much affected, and now (hating the liberty of *Germany*) had brought in a manner vnder their power; that with the assistance of God they had recouered some of the chiefe, and doubted not (if so they might haue any helpe) to recouer the rest: for the which they would be thankfull to their Benefactors, and pray to God to increase the spirit of wisdom, courage, and Christian charity in all Common-wealths and free States, and protect them from all their enemies.

The confederat Letters to all free States.

After the taking and fortifying of *Coire*, the Grisons, reuiuing their former vnion, put some prime

1622. prime men to death, without any forme of Iuſtice; for that they had ſet their hands to the treaty of *Millan*: and they wrote Letters to the Swiſſers of *Lucerne*, and the other foure Catholique Cantons, entreating them to retire their forces which they had vpon the Frontiers: The Abbat of *Diſentine* promiſed to ioyn with them, to lay open the paſſage, and likewiſe to aſſiſt them with 20000 Florens towards the warre.

The Arch duke preuailes again in the Valtolin.

The poore Griſons ſeemed now to be in good hope to recouer their loſt liberty, and the paſſages which had been vſurped by their Enemies: but they were ill aſſiſted by the French, Lorraine, and German, whom theſe paſſages did much import; ſo as they, being deſtitute of helpe, the Enemy encreaſed his forces: for the Arch-duke LEOPOLD had good meanes by the retreat of Count MANSFELD, to proſecute the warres in the *Valtoline*; whither he ſent new ſupplies, and Collonel BALDERON had drawne the forces of *Millan* alſo into the *Valtolin*, towards *Chiauenna*; with whom the Earle of *Sultz* ioyning, they ſpoiled the Countrey of *Prettigaw*, and put all to the Sword. There was an Aſſembly appointed at *Lindaw*; where the Arch-duke LEOPOLD would yeeld to no peace without the reſtitution of *Coire* and other places. After which, that Citty with the vpper and lower *Engaden*, the Commonalties of *Danos*, *Prettigaw*, and the Lordſhip of *Maynfelt*, were taken by force; and many Griſons with their aſſiſtants, ſent from the Swiſſers, ſlaine at Saint MARTINS bridge neere the lower *Engaden*, where BALDERON forced his paſſage.

The Arch-duke was now Maſter of the field; whereupon the Griſons ſent vnto him to treat for their liues though they had loſt their liberties: and therfore they were forced to accept of ſuch miſerable conditions as it pleaſed him to propound vnto them; which were, That one of the Cantons ſhould be diuided from the other two, and after that day belong vnto the houſe of *Auſtria*, as hereditary ſubiects. Secondly, that the houſe of *Auſtria* ſhould not ſuffer the Inhabitants to vſe any other then Catholique Religion. Thirdly, that all Leagues and Alliances ſhould be made voide except thoſe which they made with *France*; which Article included only the ſubiects of the houſe of *Auſtria*: but the two other Cantons ſhould haue leaue to keepe their old leagues. Fourthly, the Garriſons of *Spain* ſhall be continued for ſix yeers in *Coire*, *Mainfelt*, and vpon the Frontiers, as neceſſity ſhall require; but no new fortification to be made in thoſe parts, except in *Prettigaw*, and thoſe places which did belong to LEOPOLD. Fiftly, all Rebells to haue a generall pardon. Sixtly, that free paſſage ſhould be granted to ſoldiers through their countrey according to the Capitulation made at *Millan*, *Anno* 1617; and that all paſſages ſhould be preſently opened, in regard of commerce. The Griſons murmurred much againſt theſe Articles; pretending that the firſt made them ſubiect to a familie, being free States: and that in the Capitulation of *Millan* in the yeer 1617, they treated as free States; wherein there was no mention made of any ſubiection to the houſe of *Auſtria*, and that *Spain* was to giue three thouſand florens yeerly during the League. The ſecond, they ſaid, reſtrained their Conſciences. Againſt the third, they obiected that it diuided them amongſt themſelues, and would breed a ciuill warre and make them ſubiect to any potent Prince that ſhould come to aſſiſt either party. The fourth they held very dangerous, pretending that by allowing of Garriſons, they ſhould be ſtill kept in fetters, hauing found by the ſort of *Fuentes* what ruines the building of Forts had brought them vnto: Moreouer it had been concluded at the treaty of *Millan* in the yeer 1617, that the Fort of *Fuentes* ſhould be raſed, and no more built againe. They alſo feared that ſix yeers being expired, the Spaniard would be as loath to leaue the Country as at that preſent; and although their pardon was promiſed; yet no man of reſolution would ſue for it: for that whoſoeuer fought for his countrey, would be aſhamed to confeſſe himſelfe a Rebell to the vanquiſher; whoſe ſubiect he doth not yet acknowledge himſelf. And vnto the ſixt they affirmed, that to giue a ſtrange ſoldier free paſſage through their countrey, were to let in an Enemy; and ſo to be ſubiect to the inſolency of ſouldiers, how kind and louing ſoeuer the Prince which ſends them be vnto them. Thus the poore Griſons were ouer-maſtered at this Diet at *Lindaw*, and forced to ſubmit to the houſe of *Auſtria*, and to acknowledge part of their countrey to be the inheritance of that family; ſo as Arch-duke LEOPOLD reſolued to put a Gouernor into the countrey vnder him. Vpon the ratification of theſe Articles, there was a ſurceaſe of Armes, and the Spaniſh and Imperiall forces were to depart the Country, all but ſuch as ſhould be left in Garriſon. But it ſeemed neither party was contented with this Capitulation: for neither did the ſouldiers retire as they ſhold haue done; but continued ſtill in the Countrey, and committed great inſolencies, contrary to the agreement at *Lindaw*: Neither were the

Articles agreed vpon at the Diet of Lindaw.

Obiections to the Articles.

the Griſons in ſhew well pleaſed, finding little eaſe by this accord, being alſo preſt by the Confederate Swiſſers, and by the French kings Ambaſſadours, to demaund better conditions: touching the which they had a conference at *Coire*, where the French Ambaſſadours told them, that if they accepted thoſe Articles, and ſubiected themſelues to the houſe of *Auſtria*, the King their Maſter would hold them for Enemies; ſeeing that whereas he had entred into League with them as free States, they now acknowledged themſelues ſubiects to that houſe. Wherefore to free themſelues from the feare of this bondage, they muſt be forced to flie for ayde vnto ſuch Princes as the paſſage of the *Valtolin* doth moſt concern; namely the French King, the Duke of *Sauoy*, the State of *Venice*, *Lorraine*, *Germany*, the Swiſſers and others, who it is thought will aſſiſt them for their own intereſt: for if they enioy the *Valtolin* quietly, the Emperor and *Spain* ſhall haue eaſy paſſage for their Armies to ioyne together and aſſiſt one another; there being no obſtacle, they hauing got theſe Vallies, whereby they will be fearefull to all the neighbour Princes of Chriſtendom:

1622

But you muſt attend the euents of theſe Combuſtions, vntill the next yeere.

(***)

Faults eſcaped, correct thus.

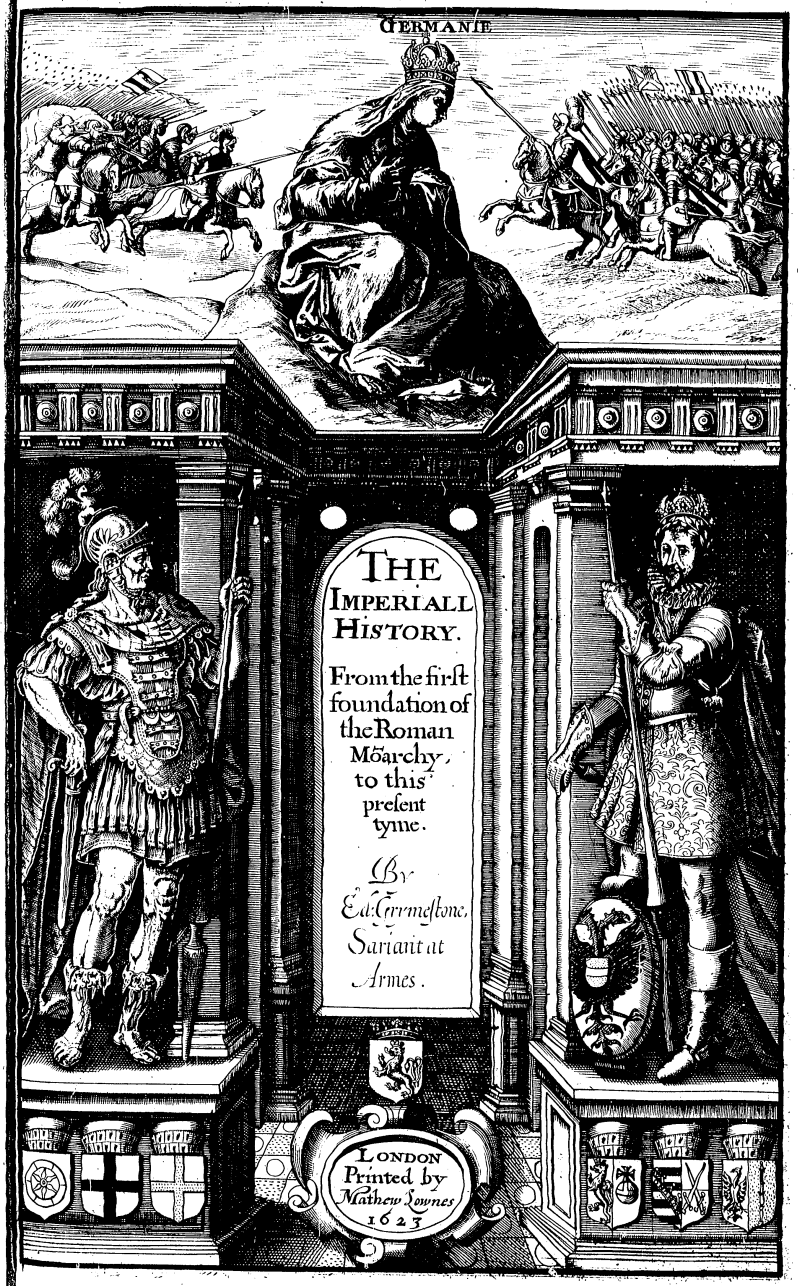
FOlio 571: line 18: they, their. 574: 25: & 54. 579: 55: Pius 5, Pius 2. & 56: who, hoe. 582: 51: Pius 5, Pius 2. 584: 22 ſcarely, ſcarcely. 625: 36: Piuolomini, Piccolomini. 640: 14: getting, going. 641: 11: Floruſco, Horuſco. 642: 3: Otoſio, Oſorio. 642: 14: Moiados, Baiados. and line 25: Granaoos, Granadins. 644: 41: yet, it. 645: 6: Bonguet, Boniuet 645: 40: change charge. 646: 24: in, into. 651: 11: Lauidriano, Landriano. 652: 46: being in, being receiued: and line 49: godly, goodly. 660, 57: ſouldiers, Souldans. 679: 53: battaile, batteries. 751: 23: doubted, doubled. 766: 11: Emperour, Cardinall. 767: 33: direct, diuert. 771: 3: imploy, vndertake: and line 7: Bauaria, Bohemia. 772: 41: contributions, combuſtions. 773: 19: which, with: and 19: all your, you all. 779: 52: Maſtric, Cambray. 782: 14: reſerue, preſerue. 785: 4: Captaine, the Captaine. 796: 9: your, their. 801: 8: 28, 1628. 806: 33: go by, go to the. 107: 10: Philip third, Philip the third. 809: 32: obiect, obiected: and line 33: his, this. 812: 6: 12000, 1200: and line 34: Princes, Prouinces. 813: 35: with, which. 814: 35: houſe, horſe: 817: 23: Palatine, of Saxony. 826: 12: cup, cap. 828: 1: to yeeld, not to yeeld. 834: 46: the reſt, with the reſt. 842: 42: the march, his march. 850: 11: Cheine, Chimei. and 35: Neppel, Meppel. 165, 38, they been, they had beene.

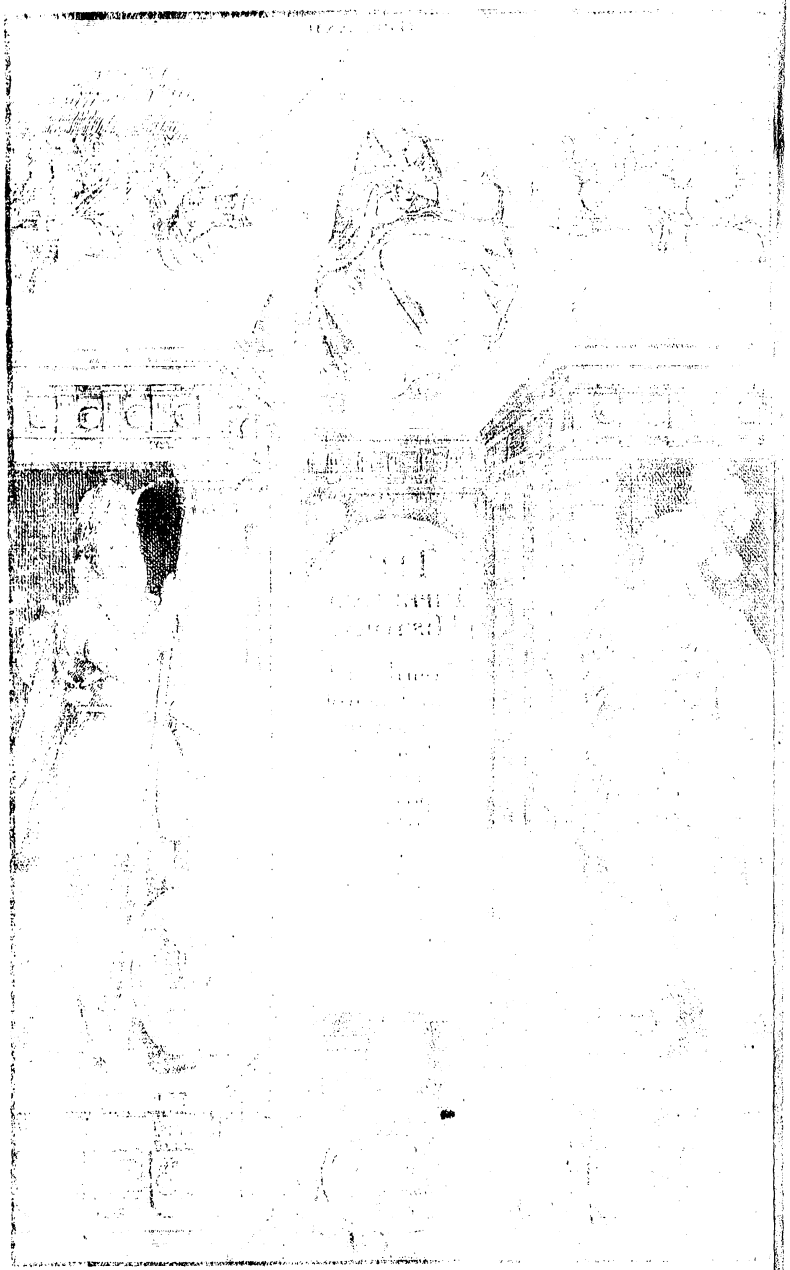
Ca dans
Non can receable ben lume will not allow
Nor can any be happie without a Scarlet Con

The Lanes recovered by Hoby
Land

E E

E E Libris Da: Humfi
filii ad Humfi de Blaeceston


GERMANIE
THE
IMPERIALL
HISTORY.
From the first
foundation of
the Roman
Mõarchy,
to this
present
tyme.
By
Ed: Grimeston,
Sariant at
Armes.
LONDON
Printed by
Mathew Lownes
1623



THE IMPERIALL HISTORIE:

OR

THE LIVES OF THE EMPEROVRS, FROM IVLIVS CÆSAR, THE FIRST FOVNDER OF THE ROMAN MONARCHY, VNTO THIS PRESENT YEERE:

Containing their Liues and Actions,

with the Rising and Declining of that Empire; the Originall, *and Succesſe, of all thoſe barbarous Nations that haue* inuaded it, and ruined it by peece-meale: With an *ample Relation of all the memorable Accidents* that haue happened during theſe *laſt Combuſtions.*

First written in Spaniſh by PEDRO MEXIA: And *ſince continued by ſome others, to the death of* MAXIMILIAN the Second; Tranſlated into Engliſh by W. T.: And *now Corrected, amplified and continued to theſe times by* EDVVARD GRIMESTON Sergeant *at Armes.*

LONDON,
Printed by H. L. for MATHEVV LOVVNES, dwelling at the ſigne of the Biſhoppes head in PAVLES Church-yard. 1623.

TO THE RIGHT HONOVRABLE, LIONEL LORD CRANFIELD, EARLE OF *MIDDLESEX*, Lord High Treasurer of *England*, and Master of his Maiesties Court of Wardes and Liueries.



THE treasures of Emperors themselues in their stil-preserued Actions, Counsailes and Liues (transcending farre their transitory treasures) In all Humility I present to your Lordshippes preseruation and protection; as proper, and peculiarly due to the Honors of your Office and Title, for the most apt correspondency of your Iudiciall habilities, to husband and dispose as well the Treasures of Counsailes and Actions, as of Offices and Reuenues. Of all these Imperiall Liues (my truely honoured Lord) most of the first Edition I haue only weeded, ordered, and amplified: The last six are the fruits of mine owne Labours. Three of the first I haue cast into new Mouldes: And the later I haue faithfully collected according to the most Authenticall and Impartiall-reputed Authours now extant, together with the confident relations of such as haue been eye-witnesses of some of the late Accidents, here offered as a Sacrifice to Immortall Memory. Notwithstanding which sufficient acquitall (and discharge from blame) of my well-intended Industries, I can no more assure nor promise their Approbations, then all other ingenuous and laborious Treasurers of example and vertue; though therein they cannot but be commended for cordiall restoratiues, to redouble Liues, if not to eternize them. But, in these moderne times, Endeuours that profit not, receiue acceptances that please not. Yet such was the Bounty and Nobility of all our antient Presidents of Times, that whosoeuer committed, to the Monuments of writings, eyther the prayses of Cities or singular Men, were euer adorned with Crowns, or Honours.

But in these degenerate yeers of ours; As many other excellent and ornamentall Merits: so these, especially, are left vtterly prayseleſſe and exolete. For ſince men ceaſe to doe praiſe-worthy deeds; To be prayſed, likewiſe they thinke thriftleſſe and idle. Notwithſtanding, what Preſents more precious can poſsibly bee giuen to Men, then Prayſe, Glorie, and Eternitie? All which I intentionally and effectually preſent and aſcribe, with all Worthineſſe to your Lordſhippe, in entitling them to you, in theſe ſupreameſt Perſonages. For, Whoſoeuer protects and maintaines Vertue and Nobilitie, muſt neceſſarily be himſelfe both Vertuous and Noble. To the Protection therefore of all the Vertue and Nobility herein made ſacred to Eternitie, I only ſelect and inuoke your Honour, in theſe my humble Dedications; Abiding euer

Your good Lordſhippes moſt

humbly vowed, in all true Duty

and Seruice,

Ed. Grimeston.

A Table of the Names of all the Roman Emperors.

A

Adrian. 115
Albert *the Firſt.* 349
Albert *the Second.* 602
Adulph. 546
Alexander Seuerus. 161
Antoninus Pius. 121
Anaſtatius *the Firſt.* 302
Anaſtatius *the Second.* 363
Arcadius *and* Honorius. 261
Arnolphus. 405
Aurelianus. 199
Auguſtus Octauianus Cæſar. 20

B

Baſsianus Caracalla. 147

C

Caligula. 48
Carus, Carinus *and* Numerianus. 213
Charles *the Great.* 383
Charles *the Second.* 399
Charles *the Third.* 403
Charles *the Fourth.* 571
Charles *the Fift.* 634
Claudius *the Firſt.* 53
Claudius *the Second.* 195
Clodius Balbinus, *and* Maximus Pupienus. 173
Commodus Antonius. 129
Conſtantius Clorus. 222
Conſtantine *the Great.* 225
Conſtantinus, Conſtantius *and* Conſtance, *the ſons of* Conſtantine *the Great.* 235
Conſtantine *the Third.* 346
Conſtance *the Second.* 347
Conſtantine *the Fourth.* 351
Conſtantine *the Fift.* 369
Conſtantine *the Sixt.* 377
Conrade *the Firſt.* 411

Con-

Conrade *the Second.* 439
Conrade *the Third.* 472
Conrade *the Fourth.* 532

D

Decius. 180
Didius Iulianus. 137
Domitianus. 100
Diocleſian. 216

E

Emilianus. 183

F

Ferdinand *the Firſt.* 660
Ferdinand *the Second.* 755
Florianus. 206
Frederick Barbaroſſa. 479
Frederick *the Second.* 516
Frederick *the Third.* 605

G

Galba. 76
Gallus. 182
Galienus. 187
Gordianus. 175
Gratianus. 252

H

Heliogabalus. 156
Henry *the Firſt.* 414
Henry *the Second.* 435
Henry *the Third.* 441
Henry *the Fourth.* 448
Henry *the Fift.* 461
Henry *the Sixt.* 500
Henry *the Seuenth.* 553
Heraclius. 339

I

Iulius Cæſar. 9
Iulianus Apoſtata. 241
Iouianus. 245
Iuſtinus *the Firſt.* 305
Iuſtinus *the Second.* 322
Iuſtinian *the Firſt.* 308
Iuſtinian *the Second.* 355

L

Leo *the Firſt.* 292
Leo *the Second.* 297
Leo *the Third.* 366
Leo *the Fourth.* 376

Lewes *the Firſt, called* Ludouicus Pius. 387
Lewes *the Second.* 397
Lewes *the Third.* 401
Lewes *the Fourth.* 408
Lewes *the Fift.* 559
Lotharius *the Firſt.* 393
Lotharius *the Second.* 498

M

Macrinus. 151
Marcus Aurelius. 125
Martianus. 290
Mathias. 737
Mauritius. 328
Maximinus. 167
Maximilian *the Firſt.* 620
Maximilian *the Second.* 686

N

Nero. 62
Nerua. 105

O

Otho *the Firſt.* 81
Otho *the Second.* 419
Otho *the Third.* 428
Otho *the Fourth.* 431
Otho *the Fift.* 511

P

Pertinax. 133
Philip *the Firſt.* 178
Philip *the Second.* 505
Philippicus. 362
Phocas. 336
Probus. 207

Q

Quintilius. 198

R

Robert. 585
Rodulph *the Firſt.* 540
Rodulph *the Second.* 696

S

Seuerus. 141
Sigiſmund. 590

T

Tacitus. 205
Theodoſius *the Firſt.* 256
Theodoſius *the Second.* 274
Theodoſius *the Third.* 365

Tiberius *the First*. 39
Tiberius *the Second*. 326
Titus. 97
Traianus. 108

V

Valentinianus *the First*. 247
Valentinianus *the Second*. 283
Valerianus. 185
Vespasianus. 91
Vitellius. 85

W

Wenceslavs. 576

Z

Zeno. 297

THE

THE LIFE OF IVLIVS CAESAR.

FOVNDER OF THE EMPIRE AND MONARCHIE OF ROME.

THE ARGVMENT.

IVlius Cæsar *was of a Noble Family; and, returning to Rome from the Pretorship in Spain with great renown, entred into friendship with* Marcus Crassus *&* Gneius Pompey, *who were the mightiest Citizens in Rome: and, pacifying the controuersie between them, he obtained the Consulship: which he executed with such grauity and reputation, that his fellow-Consul would not endure to be with him, but liued retired. Afterwards, gining his daughter* Iulia *in mariage to* Pompey, *hee went into France; which he subdued, and ouercame the Germains. Hee went afterwards also into Britannie, and by force subdued it to the Roman Empire.* Iulia *afterwards dying, and* Marcus Crassus *being slain by the Parthians, mortall discord grew between* Cæsar *and* Pompey: *the occasion whereof was, for that the second fiue yeers of* Cæsars *gouernment of France beeing expired, it was propounded by* Pompeyes *faction, that a successor should be sent him: and* Cæsar *desired, that his command in the French Wars might be prolonged, and that in his absence he might demand the Consulship: which beeing denied him, hee made another proposition, that he would giue ouer his army in France, vpon condition that* Pompey *should do the like by his in Spain. Which being also denied, and being enioyned to leaue his army, he passed the River Rubicon (limits assigned him which he was not to passe) and, taking the city of Ariminum, he went with such fury directly to Rome, as* Pompey *abandoned Italie; and he, following him, in the end ouerthrew him in Pharsalia. Whereupon* Pompey, *for refuge repairing to* Ptolomey *King of Egypt, was in a small Barke, by that Kings direction, slain by the hands of* Septimius *and* Achila: *whose head being (by* Ptolomy's *command) presented to* Cæsar, *he wept. Afterwards, bending his force against* Ptolomy, *and ouercoming him, he passed into Egypt, and tamed the pride of the Egyptians. Thence he went into Africa, pursuing the remainder of* Pompeyes *faction; all which he ouercame: and* Cato *being in Vtica, vnwilling to fall into* Cæsars *hands, slue himself.* Cæsar, *returning to Rome, triumphed: and afterwards going into Spain (after a most cruell battell, wherein he was in danger to haue been lost) hee ouerthrew* Sextus Pompeius, *eldest son of the great* Pompey: *and, returning to Rome, hee took vpon him the Dictatorship. Where, finally,* Decius, Marcus Brutus, Gaius Cassius, Gaius Casca, Attilius Cimber, Quintus Ligarius, Marcus Spurius, Cornelius Cinna, *with many other principall Romans, conspiring against him, he was slain in the Senat, being of the age of 56 yeers, vpon the fifteenth day of March, with 23 wounds; many prodigious signes of his death appearing both before and afterwards: which hindred his passage against the Parthians, and many other high designs, which he resolued to haue vndertaken.*

BEing to write the liues of the Roman Emperours, which held the Monarchie of the world; or, to speak more properly, to reduce them into a brief *Compendium* (a work in truth of waight and troublesome, requiring an actiue spirit, and a more eloquent pen than mine) I hould it no small difficulty to begin with IVLIVS CÆSAR, of whom I am first to treat. Who although he were but Dictator, and not stiled Emperour, in that sense of Lord and Soueraign, as his Successors afterwards held it; yet he was the fore-runner, and made the way to this Monarchie: and all succeeding Emperours haue held it a glory to be called CÆSARS after his name. His exploits were such and so many, and Histories are so fraught with them, that I hould it as great a difficulty to relate them briefly, as to write them confusedly. Wherefore, out of so large and copious a field, I will onely collect that which I shall hould

All Emperors took the stirnam of Cæsar.

fittest

fitteſt for the Subject of this Work; yet handling it with conuenient breuity: notwithſtanding (he being the *baſis* and foundation of this ſtately Building) it wil be needfull I ſhould extend my ſelf much more in this, than in the reſt which ſhall follow. As for his other braue atchieuements, I will refer the Reader to thoſe many books which make honourable mention of CÆSAR, and to the content which is generally conceiued of his vertues and worthy endeauours.

Among all the glorious actions of IVLIVS CÆSAR, the greateſt in my opinion, and which breeds moſt admiration, is, how he durſt project, then put it in practice, and laſtly bring it to effect, to make himſelf Lord of the Roman State (the which was Lady and Miſtreſſe of the greateſt and moſt habitable part of the world) and of all that ſhee had ſubdued during the ſpace of 700 yeers: for, ſo long it was from the firſt foundation of *Rome*, vntill that IVLIVS CÆSAR ſeized vpon the gouernment of the Common-weal: whereof there were 240 yeers vnder the abſolute command of Kings, and the reſt vnder the gouernment of Conſuls, who were choſen by the people; except ſome fewe yeers, in which the Tribunes and Decemuiri bare the ſway. Doubtleſſe, a ſhort time to raiſe and get ſo great an Empire as the Romans had obtained; whenas CÆSAR, of a free State, made it ſubject to the command of One; whoſe Empire without doubt exceeded all others both for continuance, extent and power: the which is confirmed by many approued Writers. Wherefore, omitting all other Kingdoms and Common-weals, wch are not to bee paralleld with this, I will make mention onely of the greateſt and moſt famous which at the firſt were called Monarchies; namely, the Aſſyrians, Perſians and Macedonians: all which the Roman Empire did far exceed. As for the Aſſyrians and Babylonians, which is the moſt antient of all Monarchies, during the ſpace of 1240 yeers (for, ſo long it continued, according to the computation of Saint AVGVSTINE) it neuer extended it ſelf out of the bounds of *Aſia*, nor had any footing in *Affrick* or *Europe*. Neither were the Medes more powerfull: of which Kingdome ARBATVS was the firſt Founder; by the ruine and death of SARDANAPALVS King of the Aſſyrians, ouerthrowing the firſt Monarchie. Then the Perſians extinguiſhed the Medes by the powerfull hand of CYRVS; and this ſhall bee accounted the ſecond Monarchie: who although they made ſome irruption into *Europe* (as that of XERXES and others) and in *Aſia* grew more powerfull than thoſe which had gone before, yet it continued not aboue 200 and odde yeers; and they were ruined, with DARIVS their King, by ALEXANDER, the Great, King of *Macedon*. We cannot deny, but that his Empire was of a greater extent than any of the aboue-named: for, he had vnder his obedience a great part of *Europe*, and hee ſubdued in a manner all *Aſia*: and this is held for the third Monarchie; but it was like a flaſh of lightning, burning all it encounters, and is ſoon extinct: for, with the death of ALEXANDER, his power decaied. Then grew factions, and diuerſe Kingdoms were erected; ſo as it is apparant, that the Roman Empire exceeded them all both in time, greatnes and power. In time, being not much leſſe than 2300 yeers ſince *Rome* was built, and yet the name of the Roman Empire continueth vnto this day. For the ſpace of 1300 yeers it ſtill increaſed, and hath euer ſince been held the moſt predominant power of all others. In extent of dominions & power; for, it is moſt certain, that, vniting whatſoeuer the others held, it will ſcarce equall the one half of the Roman Empire. For, laying aſide whatſoeuer the Emperours did adde vnto it, before that IVLIVS CÆSAR did ſeize vpon the State, they had ſubdued the beſt part of the world. In *Europe* they were Maſters of all *Italie*, and *Gallia Ciſalpina* or *Lombardie*, *Auſtria* and *Illiricum*, now called *Sclauonia*; and they extended themſelues as farre as the riuer of *Danubius*: they had ſubdued all *Greece* (ſome yeelding voluntarily; others, by force) the States of *Athens*, *Lacedemon*, *Thebes*, *Corinth*, and all *Peloponeſus*, now called *Morea*, with their Territories; the Kingdoms of *Macedon*, & *Epirus* now *Albania*, and in like maner *Thracia*. They held the Ilands of *Sicilie*, *Sardynia*, *Creete* or *Candie*, *Cypres*, *Rhodes*, *Euboea*, now *Negropont*, with many other Ilands in the Mediterranean Sea. They alſo ſubdued *Spain* (but with more difficulty and oppoſition than any of the reſt) and in like manner all *France*, with that part of *Germanie* which lies on this ſide the *Rhine*, called the Lower, or *Gallia Belgica*, which was the work of CÆSAR himſelf; and in like maner that of *Britannie*, vnder which are comprehended *England* and *Scotland*. They were Maſters of all *Affrick* (which is the third part of the world) that is to ſay, of the fruitfulleſt and moſt habitable parts, hauing ruined proud *Carthage*. In *Aſia* they had ſubdued the greateſt and beſt Prouinces, and made them their Subjects and Tributaries: among the which were *Syria* called *Soria*, *Phenicia*, *Paleſtina*, *Iudea*, *Phrygia*, *Caria*, *Cilicia*, and *Bithinia* by the laſt will and teſtament of King NICOMEDES. The Kings of *Egypt* and *Cappadocia* were their friends and confederates; and they had a commanding power in *Armenia*, *Colchos*, and other Prouinces. *Albania*, *Iberia*,

Iberia, and ſome other Countries, did them homage, and paied them tribute: which Countries had been vanquiſhed by them, and many Kings and valiant Captains ſlain. Finally, they were Lords of ſo many Cities and Prouinces, as it were an endleſſe labour to ſet them down in particular; and their power was ſo great, as no forces but their owne were able to annoy them. But afterwards, diſcord and ambition creeping into this State which was ſo free and powerfull, what forren force could not effect, they wrought with their owne Arms, and triumphed ouer themſelues. *The Romans vanquiſhed themſelues.*

The cauſe of all this grew through the diſcord between POMPEY and IVLIVS CÆSAR, which two were at that time the moſt eminent and powerfull men in *Rome*; and yet at the ſame Inſtant there were other Citizens of great eſteem. But, the root of this hatred grew from a further cauſe, that is, from the factions and ciuill war between SCILLA and MARIVS: in which, MARIVS being ſlain, SCILLA made himſelf Dictator, and ſeized vpon *Rome*; yet before his death hee gaue it ouer, and left the City at liberty. POMPEY had followed SCILLAS faction, and done braue exploits for him: but CÆSAR had ſided with MARIVS, being his kinſman, and at that time very young. This was the ſeed from whence ſprung the ciuill war between them. But, it ſhall be needfull to relate ſome former matters, for the better vnderſtanding of the occaſions which went before, and the ſucceſs which followed; the which wee will deſcribe briefly after this maner: The warre and power of SCILLA beeing ended, GNEIVS POMPEIVS and MARCVS CRASSVS (who had alſo followed that partie) remaining in great reputation, the one ſought to ſupplant the other, ſo as there grew ſome jarrs between them, which began during the life of SCILLA. CRASSVS grew very powerfull: for, beſides his Wiſdome, Nobility and Eloquence, he was very rich beyond all the other Citizens of his time. POMPEY alſo became famous and much eſteemed, beſides the ſucceſſion he had by SCILLA, for his great victories and valiant exploits in Arms performed in SCILLAS time and ſince, both by ſea and land, in *Affrick*, *Spain* and *Aſia*; the which are ſo many and ſo great, as I dare not relate them. The deeds of theſe two eminent Perſons being growne to this height, and their quarrels increaſing daily as the heads of factions (and yet at the ſame time there were others of great note within the City, as CATO, CICERO, LENTVLVS, and others) during theſe alterations, IVLIVS CÆSAR returned to *Rome* from his Pretorſhip in *Spain* with great reputation, yet his ambitious thoughts aimed at greater matters, both in regard of the greatnes of his houſe (for, by the fathers ſide, hee was of a Noble and very antient Family; and by the mother hee deſcended from the Kings of *Rome*, who were extracted from ÆNEAS of *Troy*) and for his many allies and friends; being alſo very witty and eloquent. He had alſo purchaſed great credit and authority in the managing of thoſe charges which had been committed vnto him. He had bin Queſtor in *Spain*, Tribune of the ſouldiers, *Ædile*, high-prieſt and Pretor; hauing gotten victories in *Spain* againſt the Inhabitants of *Galitia* and *Portugal*; adding to all this, his merits and vertues, being bountifull, wiſe and learned in all good Arts, moſt actiue in the managing of Arms both on foot and horſe-back; very valiant and ſtrong, whereof he made great proofs before he had any command in the wars of *Aſia*, vnder the Pretor MARCVS TERMO, and SERVILIVS the Proconſul; where hee obtained a Ciuicall Crowne. He was, moreouer, of a good conſtitution of body, tall of ſtature, fair, ſtrong of his members, and very patient of labour. For all which conſiderations and many others, hee was in great eſteem; but neither by his authority nor place able to equall MARCVS CRASSVS or POMPEY, for that the roots of their greatnes had been of long continuance. *Competency betwixt Pompey and Craſſus.* *The reaſons of their greatnes.* *Cæſars familie and vertues.*

CÆSAR being comm to *Rome*, with a ſecret intent to make himſelf greater than either of them; CRASSVS and POMPEY affected his friendſhip, by whoſe help they might ſupplant one another. But CÆSAR, being diſcreet and wiſe, would not follow any party, nor tie himſelf to defend their actions; but, carrying himſelf indifferently, he laboured to reconcile them; hauing a conceit, that, if he carried himſelf as a Neuter, they would both yeeld vnto his will: and this his cunning practice (as PLVTARCH reports) was onely diſcouered by M. CATO. In the end, by his endeauours a peace was concluded betweene them, beeing both bound vnto him: yet, being ſtill jealous one of another, and fearing to loſe CÆSAR, they both ſought to gratifie him: and in this ſort he made himſelf equall to either of them; and that power which two had formerly vſurped, was now diuided between three; and in the end wee ſhall ſee who got the ſole command. This league and attonement beeing made, CÆSAR demanded the Conſulſhip, which is the greateſt ordinary dignity. He carried himſelf in this charge with ſuch reputation, as his fellow Conſul BIBVLVS neuer accompani'd him, but kept himſelf retired during his Conſulſhip. CÆSAR, the better to maintain the credit and authority wch he had got, *Cæſars policy and practice.* *A league betwixt Cæſar, Craſſus and Pompey.* *Cæſar made conſul.*

and to attain to the greatnes whereunto he aſpired, he himſelf took to wife CALPHVRNIA, the daughter of LVCIVS PISO, who was to ſucceed him in the Conſulate; and hee gaue IVLIA his daughter in mariage to POMPEY, rejecting her former ſpouſe SERVILIVS CEPIO, by whoſe help he had a little before croſt his Collegue BIBVLVS. CÆSARS conſulſhip being ended, theſe three Confederates being equally greedy of honour, they eaſily made a match to inuade the Common-weal. CÆSAR made choiſe of *Gaul* or *France* for his Prouince; CRASSVS, of *Aſia*; and POMPEY, of *Spain*: whither they went with three puiſſant Armies. And thus the whole world was to be held by three Princes in partnerſhip. The exploits of CÆSAR in his Prouince, what battels he fought, what victories he won, what cities and people he ſubdued, what ſtratagems, policy and valour he vſed (this warre continuing little leſſe than ten yeers) I cannot relate, my meaning being to obſerue breuity. He left excellent Commentaries of his owne deeds, and full of truth; the which were approued by his very enemies, and much commended by CICERO. Yet ASINIVS POLLIO (enuying CÆSARS vertues) doth in ſome things tax him. They are alſo written by PLVTARCH, SVETONIVS, APPIANVS, ALEXANDRINVS, LVCAN, PAVLVS OROSIVS, LVCIVS FLORVS, EVTROPIVS, and many other: to whom I refer the Reader. CÆSAR got ſuch reputation in this war, as he was held the greateſt Captain of his time, yea, or of thoſe that were in former Ages. He ſubdued all *France*, from the *Pyrene* Mountains vnto the *Alps*, and all the remainder vnto the riuer of *Rhine*. Hee firſt vanquiſhed the Suiſſers and Tigurins, who (as PLVTARCH affirms) were 300000 men, whereof 190000 were well trained vp in Arms. He conquered the Germains, with ARIOVISTVS their Leader, who had inuaded *France*, from whence he expelled them. He ſubdued the Belgij, the Ambiani and Neruij, with other warlike people of *France*, and he ſpilt more bloud than euer was in any wars in the world. Then, paſſing the *Rhine* vpon a bridge of wood which he built, he ſubdued the Germains to the Roman Empire; and, finding no more oppoſition there, hee paſt with his Army into *Brittanie*, which was inhabited by a fierce Nation, not till that time knowne by any traffick or commerce: theſe hee forced to ſubject themſelues to the Roman State. During the continuance of theſe warres, in which CÆSAR got great ſpoils and wealth, he neuer left to purchaſe to himſelf friends, both in *Rome* and in all other places, both by letters and gifts, and in like manner with the Kings and Cities of *Aſia*, *Greece*, and other Countries; ſending them aids of men, without any leaue or authority from the Senate: the which he might ſafely do, as long as the league continued betwixt him, POMPEY and CRASSVS. He won men vnto him, and was much beloued of his ſouldiers, giuing theſe double pay, and beſtowing honours vpon others: by which means (POMPEY not foreſeeing it) he grew to ſuch power and reputation, as he began to fear him when he was not able to ſuppreſſe him. But now that ſtrict league of friendſhip, which had been betwixt theſe two, began to diſſolue, for that the pawn which maintained it was taken away; ſo as there grew a mutuall fear & jealouſie betwixt them; firſt, by the death of IVLIA, CÆSARS daughter, who marrying to POMPEY entertained concord between the ſon and the father-in-law, by the league of nuptiall loue; ſecondly, by the death of MARCVS CRASSVS, the third man in this company, who was ſlain by the Parthians in *Aſia*, whither he went to make war (as ſome write) more to heap vp riches, than to win honour; whoſe reputation notwithſtanding was a ſupport to their good agreement. So as the chief cauſes, whereupon their friendſhip was grounded, being taken away, their emulation preſently brake forth. POMPEY was jealous of CÆSARS greatnes; and CÆSAR hardly endured POMPEY's ſupereminency; the one brookt no equall; the other, no ſuperiour. Whereupon they fell to warre, which was the greateſt and moſt generall that euer was: for, in it there were engaged the Senate, all the Roman Legions, all their friends and ſubjects, Kings and Cities, for the one or the other partie. On the one ſide were eleuen Legions, on the other eighteen; all Roman and Italian ſouldiers, with all the forces of *Rome*, beſides the aids of their confederates. This war was managed in *Italie*, *France*, *Spain*, *Epirus*, *Theſſalie*, *Egypt*, *Aſia* and *Affrick*, by themſelues or their Lieutenants; and in the end, after fiue yeers, it died in *Spain*. Some Authors ſet down the cauſes of this ciuill war, although they vary in ſome points: but the truth is, the chief reaſons were enuy, ambition, and deſire of command, wherewith they were both infected: and the one jealous of the others greatnes (as if the Roman Empire had not been ſufficient for them two) the one ſought to ruine the other. That POMPEY had any intent to vſurp the State, and become a Tyrant, it doth not appear: but it is apparant, he would not haue CÆSAR attain to that dignity wherein he was. Of CÆSAR ſome write, that being forced through fear he came to Arms, leſt he ſhould ſee himſelf called in que-

queſtion, and condemned: for, CATO had threatned to accuſe him whenſoeuer hee ſhould giue-ouer his Prouince. Others obiect, that he had alwaies a deſire to vſurp the State; and therfore, balancing his power with POMPEY's, he thought it behouefull to entertain friendſhip and contract an alliance with him. CICERO ſaith, that he had alwaies in his mouth that verſe of EVRIPIDES, that If it were lawfull to infringe the lawes, it was for a Kingdome; and that CÆSAR, being greedy of command, could not endure to be without an Army: but, in my opinion, the reaſons were ſuch as haue been related; and theſe, the occaſions.

This being the laſt of the ſecond fiue yeers of CÆSARS gouernment in *France*, LENTVLVS and MARCELLVS being Conſuls, and of POMPEY's faction; it was propounded in the Senate, to ſend a Succeſſor to CÆSAR, and that hee ſhould giue-ouer his gouernment and the Army; and if he would (as he had written) demand the Conſulſhip, he ſhould com to *Rome* in perſon. CÆSAR demanded, that his command in the war might be prolonged, and the gouernment which he had, and that he might demand the Conſulate being abſent, before he gaue-ouer his Armie; which honor ten Tribunes had formerly granted him, with POMPEY's good liking. But now POMPEY would not yeeld vnto it, as being againſt the lawes, which did not allow any man to demand the Conſulſhip but preſent; forgetting, that he had been made Conſul before he came to lawfull age, and had attained to other dignities, contrary to the ordinarie courſe of law. But it is the common condition of men, To blame that in another which they allow in themſelues.

Lawes for demanding the conſulſhip.

This being denied to CÆSAR, he made another propoſition; that hee would leaue his Army, and come to *Rome* as a priuate man, ſo as POMPEY would giue-ouer his which he held in *Spain*. This was put to the queſtion, and did cauſe a great diſtraction in the Senate. CICERO interpoſed himſelf, labouring to reconcile them, and to conclude their jars with peace. POMPEY would haue been tractable, had not thoſe of his faction, being of the prime men of *Rome*, ſtood proudly vpon tearms; who (notwithſtanding any juſt and reaſonable conditions propounded by CÆSAR) were inflexible. It was therefore decreed in Senate, that CÆSAR, by a certain time prefixed, ſhould leaue his Army, and that hee ſhould not paſſe it ouer the riuer of *Rubicon*, which did bound-in his Prouince; declaring him an enemy to the Roman State if he did otherwiſe. LVCIVS ANTONIVS and QVINTVS CVRIO, Tribunes of the people, fauouring CÆSAR, oppoſed themſelues to this decree: but they were diſgraced, ill-intreated, and thruſt out of the Senate. Whereupon, they fled out of *Rome*, and went to CÆSAR: the which was a great help to him to win the hearts of his ſouldiers, for that the office of the Tribunes was held ſacred and inuiolable.

Cicero ſeeks to reconcile Cæſar & Pompey

A decree of the Senat againſt Cæſar.

CÆSAR hearing how matters had paſt, ſeeing himſelf depriued of all future hope of peace, he marcht ſpeedily from *Rauenna*, onely with 5000 foot, and 300 horſe, commanding his Legions to follow preſently after, and to joyn with him. Comming afterwards to *Rubicon* (which if he ſhould paſſe, there would be no hope of peace remaining) ſome ſay that he ſtaid there a good ſpace; conſidering with himſelf, of what importance this paſſage was, and what miſeries would enſue. PLVTARCH writes, that he diſcourſed thereof with ASINIVS POLLIO, and other his friends which did accompany him. APPIANVS ALEXANDRINVS reports, that hee vſed theſe words, Doubtleſſe, if I forbear to paſſe this riuer, it will be the beginning of my ruine; if I paſſe it, the ruine will be generall. And SVETONIVS writes, that turning towards the riuer, he ſaid, It is yet in our power to turn back; but, paſſing the riuer, wee muſt make our way with our weapons. He writes, moreouer, that CÆSAR ſtanding thus doubtfull and irreſolute, he was animated by the apparition of a man of an extraordinary ſtature & ſhape, ſitting neer vnto his Army, piping vpon a reed. Beſides the ſhepheards and heardſmen, many ſouldiers left their guards, and went down to hear him, and with them ſome Trumpetters; ſo as hee caught hould of one of their trumpets, and leapt forth to the riuer, beginning with a mighty blaſt to ſound the battell, and ſo went on his paſſe to the bank on the other ſide. Then, with a furious reſolution, CÆSAR cried out, Let vs go whither the gods, and the injurious dealings of our enemies, do call vs: The dice are caſt. I haue ſet vp my Reſt, come what will of it. After which words, he ſet ſpurs to his horſe, and paſt the riuer, the whole Army following him. In this maner he reſolued: which was the beginning of the ciuill wars, and of *Romes* ſeruitude, and the firſt ſtep to a Monarchy and the ſoueraigne command of one, as I will briefly ſet it down.

Cæſars words when he paſſt Rubicon.

Whoſo deſires to haue a full view of this Hiſtory, let him read APPIANVS ALEXANDRINVS, SVETONIVS, PLVTARCH in the liues of CÆSAR, CATO, and CICERO; Saint AVGVSTINE *lib. 3. de ciuit. Dei*, IVLIVS CÆSAR himſelf in his Commentaries, LVCIVS

FLORVS, *hist. 4.* TITVS LIVIVS his Abbreuiats, PAVLVS OROSIVS, EVTROPIVS, *6. hist.* LVCAN, PLINIE *de viris illustribus*, VALERIVS MAXIMVS, with diuerse others.

CAESAR hauing past the riuer, and drawn his whole Army together, where (as SVETONIVS writes) the Tribunes of the Commons came vnto him, in base and dishonourable garments, with the which they had fledde from *Rome*; there hee made an excellent Oration to his souldiers; shedding some tears, and tearing his garment down the brest, laying before them the equity of his cause, and craving their helps and assistance. To whom hauing with a generall applause and consent made answer, that they were ready to obey his will, he parted presently, and
inning of ill war. the next day came to *Ariminum*, whereon he seized: the like hee did to all the Towns and Castles where he past. DOMITIVS, who in a factious tumult had been nominated his Successour in *Gaul*, held *Corfinium* with a garrison of 30 Cohorts: which being taken, he pardoned the souldiers and inhabitants, and intreated DOMITIVS kindly, giuing him leaue to depart (who went presently to POMPEY) which was an act of a Noble and generous minde: the which, CAESAR obserued in all his victories during the ciuill war; by which clemency he purchased to himself as great honour, as by his victories.

CAESARS resolution being knowne at *Rome*, it troubled POMPEY, amazed the Senat, and terrified the common people; and it would bee tedious to relate what prouisions they made. POMPEY was much deceiued, for that hee could not beleeue that CAESAR would thrust
ey's ser- suming ch of him himself into so great a danger, or that hee should bee able to raise sufficient forces to resist him: but the successe proued otherwise. For, notwithstanding that he had authority from the Consuls and Senate to leuie souldiers, to call home the legions, and to send Captains for the defense of diuerse cities of *Italie* whereas CAESAR should passe, yet all this was not sufficient to resist CAESARS fury, and the power he brought with him. The fame of his coming increasing daily, POMPEY with the whole Senat abandoned *Rome*, going to *Capua*, and from thence to *Brundusium*, a sea-town vpon the confines of *Italie*, seated at the mouth of the gulf of *Venice*: where he gaue order, the Consuls should passe to *Dirrachium*, now called *Durrazzo*, a sea-town of *Macedonie* (whereof a great part is now called *Albania*) to waite all their forces; beeing out of hope to be able to resist CAESAR in *Italie*, who had already taken *Corfinium*, as I haue formerly said: where, hauing drawn DOMITIVS Cohorts to serue him, hee marcht on; and, hearing that POMPEY and the Consuls were together at *Brundusium*, he went towards them with his Legions with all the speed hee could. But POMPEY had fortified himself sufficiently to make defense; yet vpon CAESARS approach, beginning to inuest the Town, he imbarkt himself in the night time, and so past ouer to *Dirrachium*, where the Consuls attended him. And thus CAESAR remained in *Italie* without resistance; being very doubtfull what to resolue: for, although he would gladly haue followed POMPEY, yet he had no prouision of ships: and, by reason that it was winter, shipping could not come so soon as was requisite; and considering withall, how much it imported, not to leaue any enemy behinde him, which might cause any alteration in *France* or *Italie* by his absence, he resolued to deferre the pursuit of POMPEY, and to take his way towards *Spain*, which held for POMPEY: where he had his best legions, and two captains, PETREIVS and AFRANIVS. SVETONIVS TRANQVILLVS saith, that when hee had thus resolued, he said to his friends, Let vs first go against an Army which is without a Captain; and afterwards let vs return against the Captain that hath neuer an Army: for, the souldiers that POMPEY had in *Spain* were valiant, and had been long trained vp in Arms; but their Commanders, PETREIVS and AFRANIVS, were not held for politick or expert in the wars. And, on the contrary, POMPEY was most wise, and a very valiant Captain: but the souldiers which he had with him were newly leuied, and of small experience.

feized e and e. Returning from *Brundusium*, in sixty daies, without bloudshed or battell, CAESAR becam Lord of all *Italie*; and coming to *Rome*, they were in very great fear, remembring the cruelties committed in the time of SYLLA: But CAESAR, vsing his accustomed clemency, did hurt no man of any degree, high or lowe; but called to the Senate those Senators which remained, and which came with him, comforting euery one with milde and good words, and laying the whole fault vpon POMPEY, in accusing him of all things which had hapned, and of this discord. He sought by all means to justifie his owne cause, and declared how much he did then and euer had desired peace, and therewith requested that Embassadors might be sent to POMPEY
Consul to procure the same; and, causing himself to be presently chosen Consul, he opened the Roman Treasury, notwithstanding that METELLVS, one of the Tribunes of the people, was desirous and went about to hinder the same. The treasure which he took from thence he diuided among his

his souldiers: which, as PLINIE in his three and thirtith Book reports, was very great; the which LVCAN also affirmeth. These things being ended, and CAESAR desirous to go from *Rome* into *Spain* (like a wise and discreet Captain) first took order aswell for the ciuill gouernment, as for the wars; and, making choice of the legions which were to go with him, hee left part of his troops in *Brundusium* and *Otranto*, and in other strong places vpon the Sea side, to keep POMPEY from landing if he sought to return into *Italie*. He also nominated HORTENSIVS and DOLABELLA for his Captains, to make prouision of shipping to be brought to the port of *Brundusium*, there to bee in a readinesse against his return from his journey. QVINTVS VALERIVS hee sent with a legion to *Sardinia* against MARCVS COTTA, which held the same for POMPEY. To *Sicilia* he sent CVRIVS against MARCVS CATO, with direction, that hauing taken the same, hee should passe ouer into *Africa*. LEPIDVS hee left in *Rome*, as Prefect thereof; and MARCVS ANTONIVS, for Gouernor of all *Italie*: and, determining to leaue LICINIVS CRASSVS in *France*, with his accustomed celerity he went on his journy, and found no resistance, neither in *Italie*, nor in *France*, but onely at *Marselles*, which held for POMPEY: who (in my opinion) more like bould and aduenturous friends, than wise men, would not receiue nor lodge him in their city, but put themselues in Arms against him for their defense. CAESAR coming thither besieged the City; and, to auoid losse of time, left DECIVS BRVTVS and CAIVS TREBONIVS with sufficient forces, who continued the siege, and endured much: he himself followed his way into *Spain*, where his comming was already knowne; and AFRANIVS and PETREIVS attended him, with the aid of their friends, and foure Roman legions; between which and CAESAR the warres continued many daies, and chiefly neer the city of *Lerida*. In the beginning, CAESAR was in great danger and much distressed, aswell through want of victuals, as by reason of the winter being com, which annoyed him with the swelling of riuers: before and after which, there passed many great skirmishes and conflicts between the two Armies, and other accidents and aduentures too long to bee recounted. Finally, CAESAR knew how to make war in such sort, as, without giuing them oportunity to come to a battell, he brought his aduersaries to such extremity and distresse, as perishing with hunger they came to a composition; which was, that to the legions (who now were able neither to offend nor defend) should be granted liberty to depart & to go whither they would: which was performed accordingly; and PETREIVS and AFRANIVS went to POMPEY: and part of the legions, which would not abide with CAESAR, had leaue to do as they listed; CAESAR still perseuering in his clemency and mildnes.

Cæsars going into Spain against Petreius *and* Afranius.

This war being ended, and the spring come (not to leaue any thing in *Spain* to be subdued) he passed forwards, and came into the prouince of *Betica*, now called *Andaluzia*, with part of his forces, leaning commandement with the Armie to march whither hee had appointed, and there to stay for him, because that MARCVS VARRO, being POMPEY'S Lieutenant in that prouince, held it for him, with one legion of good souldiers: but not daring to oppose himself against CAESAR, he peaceably yeelded vp vnto him both the countrey and the legion; and so all was pacified, and at his command. Thence hee went to *Cordoua*, where hee called a parliament, and an assembly of all the estates of that prouince: wherein, among other things which there were treated of, he highly commending the Cordouefes and Seuillians which had taken his part (as himself writeth) marched forwards, and visiting the prouince he came to the Isle and city of *Cales*; and, prouiding there certain necessaries, hee took the shippes and gallies which MARCVS VARRO had there in a readinesse, and such other as hee could get, and embarked himself. And, leaning QVINTVS CASSIVS with foure legions in that prouince, he took his passage by sea to *Taragona*, sending commandement by land to his legions to march thither: where hauing in few daies taken order for that prouince, hee departed with his Army towards *Narbona*, and from thence to *Marselles*: which yeelded vnto him, hauing in the siege and assaults endured many calamities. CAESAR, nothing respecting the small regard and ingratitude of that city, but the antiquity and fame therof, would not permit any violence to be offred to the citizens & inhabitants; but, leauing a sufficient garrison to guard the same, he commanded his legions by appointed journies to march towards *Italie*: himself, with a necessary guard for his person, and others in his company, took passage for *Rome*; all things succeeding prosperously with him, although that some of his Captains had ill successe. For. CAIVS ANTONIVS, whom (we said) he left with DOLABELLA for Captain of his Nauie, was ouerthrowne and taken prisoner in the gulf of *Venice* by OCTAVIVS, POMPEY'S Lieutenant. At this ouerthrowe there was an Act don worthy to be recommended with honour to posterity. ANTHO-

Cæsar subdued all Spain.

The taking of Marselles, and Cæsars return to Rome.

NIE was constrained to ship his souldiers in long boats for want of seruiceable ships; the which were taken by a stratagem as in a toil, by the Pompeians, who tied ropes vnder the water. One of them, which carried almost a thousand Opitergins, young men and valiant, was intangled in this snare, and was assaulted by the power of the whole Armie, they making resistance from morning vntill night: but, in the end being oppressed by the multitudes of their enemies, and seeing no means to escape by their valour, by the incouragement of VVLTEIVS their Colonel they slue one another. And DOLABELLA was likewise ouercome neer to the Ile of *Cocyra*, now called *Corfu*; and CVRIVS, who (according to CÆSARS commandement) went into *Africa* with two legions, hauing in the beginning good successe, was afterwards ouerthrown, and the most part of his people slain by POMPEY's friend, IVBA King of *Mauritania*, which is now the Kingdom of *Fez*: hee might haue fled away, but shame perswaded him to dy with that Armie which his rashnes had cast away.

CÆSAR being comn to *Rome*, and made Dictator (as PLVTARCH and APPIANVS testifie) new Consuls were chosen; and he, being one of them, deposed himself from his Dictatorship, and so, changing and prouiding Pretors for the prouinces at his pleasure, sending MARCVS LEPIDVS into *Spain*, and AVLVS ALBINVS into *Sicilia*, SEXTVS PEDVCEIVS into *Sardinia*, and DECIVS BRVTVS into *France*, and taking such further order as he thought good, he departed from *Rome* in the moneth of December towards *Brundusium*: whither hee commanded all his Forces to march, there to take passage for *Macedonia*, the greatest part whereof (as I said) is now called *Albania*; where he knew that POMPEY staid with his Armie. Who, all one whole yeer, which CÆSAR spent in his journey into *Spain*, busied himself in prouiding a Nauie to return into *Italie*, and in gathering treasure, and in leuying souldiers for that purpose, and had made ready a wonderfull great prouision of all things. For, there came vnto him ships, mony and men, from many kingdoms, prouinces and cities of *Asia* and *Græcia*, from *Syria*, *Pontus*, *Bithynia*, *Cilicia*, *Phœnicia*, *Cappadocia*, *Pamphilia*, *Armenia* the lesse, *Egypt*, *Græcia*, *Thessalia*, *Boëtia*, *Achaia*, *Epire*, *Athens*, *Lacedemonia*, and the Iles of *Creta*, *Rhodes*, and many other parts and countries: there came also to his aid, in person, the Kings, DEIOTARVS and ARIOBARZANES. Of which people, and of those which he brought with him from *Italie*, POMPEY had drawne together a great Armie by land, and an exceeding great number of ships and gallies by sea; which I do not set down, by reason of the diuersity of opinions between Authors touching the number of his souldiers and of CÆSARS: for certain, they were very mighty Armies, but the greatest number were of POMPEY's side. Who imagining (because that it was in the hart of winter) that CÆSAR should not be able, nor haue time, commodiously to passe the seas; and hauing (as indeed he had) aduertisement that CÆSAR was in *Rome*, he diuided and lodged his people in *Macedonia* and *Thessalia*, retiring himself from the sea, commanding and charging his Captains by sea (of which, MARCVS BIBVLVS was chiefe) that they should guard and defend the coast. But CÆSAR knowing, that in the speedy execution consisted the principall point of his victory, and that occasion once let slip is seldome recouered; being departed from *Rome*, and arriued at *Brundusium* (as we haue before said) notwithstanding that all his legions were not yet come, yet he embarked aboord those ships which hee had there in readinesse, so many as they could contain, which were seuen legions of his choise men (as he himself recordeth) and sent commandement to those which were comming, to make haste, to the end they should join with the rest which there remained, whom he would speedily send for. And so hee departed from *Brundusium*, now called *Brindez*, in the beginning of Ianuarie: and, crossing the seas with prosperous weather, the third day after, he arriued vpon the coast of *Macedonia*, before that POMPEY had any intelligence of his embarking; and, setting his people on shore in the despite of POMPEY's Captains, hee commanded the ships and gallies presently to returne to *Brundusium* to fetch the rest of his Armie which hee had there left and commanded to come. And the wars beginning, hee presently seized vpon the cities of *Apollonia*, which is now called *Bellona*, and *Erico*; driuing from thence LVCIVS TORQVATVS and LVCIVS STRABERIVS, which held the same for POMPEY: who as soon as he was aduertised of CÆSARS landing, with the greatest speed possible sending for his troops (such as were neerest hand) hee marched towards *Dirrachium*, where lay all his victuall, munition, and prouision for the warres; doubting that CÆSAR would come to surprise the same, as in truth he did; but in vain: for, the situation thereof made it inexpugnable.

POMPEY being come, their Camps were lodged within few forlongs one of the other, a riuer running between them: there passed many aduentures, skirmishes, and also some treaties of peace,

ompey's preparation.

ortunity lost feldom recouered.

esars passage Gracia against Pompey

esar and mpey lodge

peace which CÆSAR offred; the which were not accepted by POMPEY, so much he assured himself of his power: and CÆSAR daily expecting the coming of his other legions, who staied longer than he thought they ought to haue done, without the which he thought it no wisdome to come to a battell; beeing much grieued, and very carefull for the same, hee resolued in person, with three confident seruants onely, secretly to embark himself in a Brigandine, and to passe that streight of the sea to fetch them, thinking to bee able to perform the same without the knowledge of any. And, putting it in execution accordingly, he passed down the riuer to the sea, which he found so troubled and tempestuous, as the Master of the Brigandine (not knowing whom he carried) nor daring to passe any further, would haue returned. Then CÆSAR, discouering his face, as it is reported, said, Be not afraid, Friend: for, thou carriest with thee CÆSAR and all his fortune. The Master, heerwith encouraged, striued to hould on his voyage: but, at length, the force of the tempest was so great, and the winde so contrary, that (notwithstanding CÆSARS courageous words) they were constrained to return, vnable to passe anie further forwards. Which being vnderstood in his Armie, they much wondred, grieued, and murmured thereat; praising him more for a valiant Knight, than a wise Captain: and so VALERIVS MAXIMVS recounts it for a rash aduenture; which, in my opinion, was the occasion why IVLIVS CÆSAR records it not in his Commentaries.

neer vnto Dyrrachium.

The rash aduenture of Cæsar.

This being past, within fewe daies after, ANTONIVS arriued with foure of those legions which were left behinde in *Italie*, presently returning the ships back again for the rest: and (after some aduentures which hapned) joyning with CÆSARS Armie, and all things set in good order (and the like being done on POMPEY's side) there passed some things between them, which for breuity I omit, vntill that neer to the city of *Dyrrachium* (whither CÆSAR went, with a determination to haue surprised the same, and POMPEY to relieue it) the two Armies lodged themselues the one so neer the other, as there were daily skirmishes and slaughters of men of either partie; and that one day the skirmish waxing hot, and rescues coming from either Armie, it came to a battell: wherein the successe was such, that CÆSARS troops began to flee, and could not bee made to stand by any intreaties or threats, till they came to their camp which they had fortified; and yet some abandoned the same, and durst not defend it. But POMPEY, either for that (as some think) hee imagined their flight to bee fained, and that there was some deceit or ambush, or that he supposed there was no more to be done, and that CÆSAR had been ouerthrowne with small toil, so as he should bee no more able to recouer himself, did not prosecute the victorie, neither followed the charge, but rather caused a retreit to bee sounded, without assailing his enemies camp. Whither when CÆSAR came, he took such order as was most conuenient, being no lesse courageous and politick in time of aduersity, than of prosperity: and it is reported that he said to his friends, Truely, this day had ended our warres, if our enemies had had a Captain which had knowne how to haue ouercome. This day, IVLIVS CÆSAR lost a great number of his souldiers, amongst which were foure hundred Romane Knights, ten Tribunes, and two and thirty Centurions; and his enemies took from him two and thirty Enfignes. This battell ended, POMPEY sent the newes thereof to diuerse parts of the world, houlding himself for absolutely victorious: And IVLIVS CÆSAR hauing blamed some of his Captains and Ensigne-bearers (notwithstanding that his whole Armie grieued, and were ashamed of their late losse) again desired the battell; yet he would not then fight, his Armie being timorous, against those which were in heart & victorious, but rather took a new course: and, sending his sick and hurt men to the city of *Apollonia*, hee departed by night, with the greatest silence that could be, from the place where he was, and took his way towards *Thessalia*, with intent to refresh and encourage his Armie, and to draw his enemie further from the sea-coast, where his chief force lay, and where his camp was fortified and victualled; or, at the least, to go to meet and ouerthrowe SCIPIO, who (as hee was aduertised) came to join with POMPEY.

A battell betwixt Cæsar and Pompey, neer to Dyrrachium.

Pompey's rashnes.

POMPEY, seeing CÆSARS departure, after that hee had followed him some fewe dayes, took counsell, and (as APPIANVS testifieth) was determined (leauing so sufficient a Nauie at sea, as CÆSAR should not be able to make any benefit thereof) to passe into *Italie*, and to recouer the same, with *France* and *Spain*, and then afterwards to return against CÆSAR: but, beeimportuned and ouer-ruled by the Roman Lords which came with him, he altered his determination, and presently departed to pursue CÆSAR, who made a stay in the fields of *Pharsalia*, which are in *Thessalia* (making his retreit with such discretion and in so good order, as in all occasions that were offred he had euer the better) vntill that at length, seeing his men full of resolution, force and courage, he resolued no longer to forbear the Fight; and therefore cared not any

any more to refuse the battell, but rather daily presented the same to POMPEY. Who knowing (as indeed it was true) that CÆSAR began to want victuals, and that his Armie began to weaken and diminish, he deferred the same, and would not fight; and, as a wise and well-experimented Captain, would haue prolonged the war, defeating his enemie without putting his own Armie in hazard: and although that POMPEY had thus resolued, yet the opinions, murmurings, and importunity of those which were with him prenailed so much (as LVCAN, PLVTARCH, and CÆSAR himself, report) that they made him yeeld to giue battell, euen contrary to his owne opinion and will: wherein ioined, of the one side and the other, all the flower and force of *Rome*. And although that CÆSARS Forces were fewer in number (for, all Writers affirm, that POMPEY'S Armie was twice as great) yet his men were more actiue, and better trained. How many there were of the one side and the other, I cannot certifie; the Authors doo so much differ among themselues therein. APPIANVS setteth down the diuerse opinions which are held thereof. Some raise the number to three hundred thousand men, whereof LVCIVS FLORVS was one; others, to threescore and ten thousand: and some set down somewhat lesse, among which is PLVTARCH; who saith, that POMPEY brought to this battell 45000 men, whereof 7000 were on horseback; and IVLIVS CÆSAR, two & twenty thousand Foot, and of horse fewe more than one thousand. But APPIANVS vnderstandeth, that this lesser number of these Armies was to be vnderstood of Romans onely, who were the force and hope of both these Generals: for, it is not likely, that of all nations there should be so small a number in a war so long prepensed, and of such importance: and, in my opinion, this is most likely to be true. But, howsoeuer it was, this battell was between the best captains and best souldiers, aswell for experience, as for force and valour, that euer were in the world; and yet being so, it was not much fought, neither did it long continue. So strange and variable are the aduentures which happen in wars and battels: for, where there seemeth to be the greatest force and assurance, oftentimes is found the greatest weaknes; and that which is least feared, doth sometimes annoy most. Before the battell there were many signes of an eminent downfall; The running away of beasts appointed for the sacrifice, swarms of Bees, the sky darkned in the day time, POMPEY'S fearfull dream ouer night of mourning in his Theatre at *Rome*; and in the morning early he was seen in the head of his main battell in a black Robe.

Either of these two great Commanders, hauing resolued to giue battell, ordered his battalions and squadrons as to him seemed most expedient, making speeches and orations to animate their souldiers; and, the accustomed signe being giuen, the battell presently beganne on either side: In the beginning whereof, POMPEY'S horse-men (wherein he reposed his greatest hope) who were all of the Roman Nobility, and of the Order of Knighthood, and who alwaies had the better; began to come where CÆSAR'S Cauallery was, and forced them to forsake the Field. Which, CÆSAR perceiuing (losing nothing by ouersight) he made a signe to a battalion, which for that purpose he had left a-part from the other squadrons, to charge POMPEY'S Cauallery: who charged them with such fury, wounding them (according to CÆSARS direction) no where but in the face; that POMPEY'S horse-men either vnable or vnwilling to endure it, began to retire, in such sort, as from that part whence POMPEY thought to haue obtained the victory, from thence sprang the beginning of his ouerthrowe. For, notwithstanding that they had broken the first squadron, and were entred into the second, and the other battalions continued still fighting, and that they maintained the same with great resolution; yet, seeing that POMPEY'S Cauallery fled, and that CÆSAR'S came to charge them afresh, they all did the like; in such manner, as in short space the victory plainly appeared for CÆSAR: and POMPEY, hauing lost all hope to preuail, fled to his camp, leauing the field and victory to his enemy. Happy had POMPEY been in this misery, if he had runne the same fortune with his slaughtered Armie: but he out-liued his owne glory, that with dishonour he might flee for life through *Thessalie*, be chased from *Larissa*, and vpon a forlorn rock of *Cilicia* studie whether to flee; to *Parthia*, *Affrick*, or *Egypt*: Finally, that vpon the Pelusian shoar, by the command of a most vnworthie treacherous King, by the councell of gelded men, he should be murdered by the sword of SEPTIMIVS his Fugitiue, in the view of his forrowfull wife and children. CÆSAR, letting slip no occasion, seeing that hee found no resistance in the field, assembled his Forces to assaile POMPEY'S camp, which with small difficulty hee entred: which POMPEY perceiuing, leauing his ensignes and robes of Generall, and putting on other apparall, vpon the first horse that he could get, with foure on horse-back onely that accompanied him, which (as VELLEIVS PATERCVLVS saith) were his son SEXTVS POMPEIVS, and the two LENTVLI, and FA-

FAVONIVS of the Pretorian order: he fled so fast as he could, as you haue heard, and neuer staied vntill he cam to the citie of *Larissa*; where ioyning with some thirtie other horse, which had fled, without any stay he continued his flight, vntill he came vnto the shore-side of the *Egean* sea; where, finding a certaine Merchants ship of *Rome*, he embarked himselfe therein, and failed to the Isle of *Lesbos*, which is in that sea which now is called *Archipelago*, to the citie of *Mytilene* in that Iland: For, in that citie were his wife and familie, which he tooke with him: and, gathering together such ships and men as he was able, he departed from thence very doubtfull, and not able to resolue whither to go. Some counselled him to sail into *Africa*, for that King IVBA was his friend, and very mighty. Others were of opinion, that hee should retire himself to the Parthians. Finally, he resolued to go into *Egypt*, for the friendship which hee held with King PTOLOMY, father of that PTOLOMY then raigning; and did so. Hauing first touched in the prouince of *Cilicia* in *Asia*, and in the Ile of *Cyprus*, sailing into *Egypt*, and arriuing at the city of *Alexandria*, he had such an end as we will presently declare. *Pompey's flight.*

IVLIVS CÆSAR hauing obtained so great a victory, as is aforesaid, vsed therein his accustomed clemency, not suffering any Romane to be either slaine or hurt after the battaile was ended, and pardoning all those which were taken therein, or found in the Campe; among which was MARCVS TVLLIVS CICERO. And although that in the battaile were slaine of POMPEIES side fifteen thousand men, and of the Conquerors lesse then two thousand, as CÆSAR himselfe writeth: yet vnderstanding which way POMPEY fled, to the end to giue him no place or meanes to returne and repaire himselfe; without losing any time, he pursued him with the lightest and swiftest of his Army. And comming to the Sea side, bringing to his obedience in his way all the Cities whereby he passed, and gathering together such Ships and Gallies as hee then could, together with those which CASSIVS had, who was at this time receiued to his grace and seruice, he therein shipped such troupes as he was able, and passed into *Asia* the lesse; where being aduertised that POMPEY had been in *Cyprus*, he presumed that he tooke his way towards *Egypt*. For which cause he tooke the same course, taking with him two whole legions of old souldiers only; and arriuing in safety at *Alexandria* in *Egypt* (where we said that POMPEY had lately taken port) he vnderstood that POMPEY was arriued there: who presuming of the benefits and good entertainment which this King PTOLOMIES father had receiued in his house, he sent to request PTOLOMY to harbour and assist him. But as with men which are fallen from a high fortune, few men hold faith and friendship; and in their aduersities, the benefits and good turnes receiued are commonly forgotten: so this King sent him his promise to perform what he required: and comming vpon safe conduct, in a small boat towards the shore, hee was murdered before he came to land by the Kings commandement, by the hands of one called SEPTIMIVS, and another ACHILA; thinking by meanes hereof to winne CÆSARS friendship. This was done by the perswasion and counsell of FOTINVS an Eunuch, who was of great authority in the Court, and by whom the King was much ruled. He vnderstood also that CORNELIA, POMPEIES wife, and his sonne SEXTVS POMPEIVS were fled from that port in the same ship, wherein they came. CÆSAR being landed and receiued into the City, they presently brought him for a present, the great POMPEIES head; which hee would not see: and his ring and seale of Armes being presented vnto him, he wept for pity, considering the end and successe of the great aduentures and prosperities of POMPEY, who with such honour and fame had three times triumphed, and bin so many times Consul in *Rome*, and had gouerned the same, and had been the most eminent man there for so many yeers, and had in like sort obtained many victories and dignities. *Cæsar pursued Pompey.* *The death of Pompey.* *Cæsar wept for the death of Pompey.*

When IVLIVS CÆSAR landed in *Egypt*, he found the country infested with ciuill wars, and great discord between yong King PTOLOMY and his sister, the fair CLEOPATRA, about the diuision and inheritance of that Kingdome: wherein IVLIVS CÆSAR (as a Roman Consul) took vpon him to intermeddle. For which cause (as CÆSAR himself writeth) or because that their guilty conscience, for the treacherous murder of POMPEY, made them to fear, as PLVTARCH affirmes; the before-named FOTINVS which had been the practiser of this murder, and ACHILA who had been the actor thereof (both which were in great authority in Court and with the King) imagining that CÆSAR inclined to fauour CLEOPATRA'S faction, sent for the Armie which the King had neer the city, consisting of 20000 good men, purposing to do by IVLIVS CÆSAR as they had done by POMPEY: and so within few daies there beganne between CÆSAR and the small forces which he brought with him, both within the city and in the harbour, between the ships and gallies, the most cruell war and in- *The clemencie of Cæsar.* *Cæsars way in Egypt.*

incounters that he euer had; which I cannot distinctly set down, for the many aduentures that passed. But let this suffice, that IVLIVS CAESAR fought therein many times in his owne person, both within the city (whereof his enemies held the greatest part) and also in the harbour with his ships; and was sometimes in such perill and danger, as he was driuen to leap out of the boat wherein hee was, into the water, and by swimming to flee into one of his gallies: and, as SVETONIVS writes, he carried his Commentaries in the one hand out of the water, lest they should bee wet; and his Robe in his teeth, to the end it should not fall into his enemies hands. But at length his forces and aid being comn from *Asia* and other parts, he at the end of nine moneths (for, so long lasted these wars) remained victorious, as in all others hee had been; and the yong King PTOLOMY was slain in Fight. In this warre CAESAR did such exploits, and shewed such valour and wisdome, that for the same onely hee did well deserue the fame and renowm of a most excellent Captain.

death of Iomy King Egypt.

CAESAR hauing tamed the pride of the Egyptians, and put to death the murtherers of POMPEY, and established CLEOPATRA for Queen and Gouernesse in that Kingdome, whom during his staie there he entertained for his friend, and she conceiued and had a sonne by him, called CAESARIO; all things being quietly settled, he departed from *Egypt* towards *Asia*, trauelling through *Syria*, now *Soria*, by reason that he was giuen to vnderstand, that while he was busied in the warres of *Egypt*, King PHARNACES, sonne of the mighty King MITHRIDATES, thought it now a fit time (seeing the ciuill discord between the Romans) to recouer that which his father had lost; and hauing ouerthrowne DOMITIVS, whom CAESAR had sent to gouern those parts, and also hauing taken by force of Arms the prouinces of *Bithynia* and *Cappadocia*, expelling thence King ARIOBARZANES, a friend and subiect to *Rome*, and beginning to do the like in *Armenia* the lesse, which King DEIOTARVS had made subiect to the Romans: IVLIVS CAESAR coming with his Armie sooner than King PHARNACES imagined, although hee had expected him, and had intelligence of his approach; within fewe daies they came to a battell: in which (without any great resistance) the King was ouerthrowne and put to flight, with great slaughter of his people, from which hee escaped by flight. Great was the joy CAESAR conceiued of this victory, for the desire he had to return to *Rome*, where he knew that many scandals and insolencies were committed, by reason of his absence: he knew also, that POMPEY'S eldest son had seized on a great part of *Spain*, and had raised great forces of those which M. VARRO had there left, and of his fathers troops. Hee also vnderstood, that in *Africa* many principall Romans, which had escaped from the battell at *Pharsalia*, were gathered together, whereof M. CATO (called VTICENSIS, because that in *Vtica* he slue himself) was the chief, and SCIPIO, POMPEY'S father-in-law; and that these went thither with a great part of the gallies and ships of POMPEY'S Nauie, and with the greatest power they were able to leuie; joyning with IVBA King of *Mauritania*, they had subdued all that countrey, and had a great Armie in readinesse against CAESAR, hauing chosen SCIPIO for their Generall, because that CATO would not take that charge vpon him, and for that the name of SCIPIO was very fortunate in *Africa*. CAESAR, hauing intelligence of all these things, within fewe daies, with great celerity and diligence, recouered all that which PHARNACES had vsurped: and, chasing him out of *Pontus*, he recouered all those countries: and leauing CELIVS MINVCIVS for Generall, with two legions to guard that prouince, pacifying the contentions and controuersies in the rest, rewarding the Kings & Tetrarchs which had continued firm in league and amity with *Rome*; without any longer aboad he departed from *Asia*, and in short space passing into *Italie*, came to *Rome*: within little more than a yeer after that, he departed from thence; a short time in truth, for the performance of so great matters and so long a journey.

esars victory inst Pharces King of um.

Within few daies after his comming to *Rome*, he made himselfe to be chosen the third time Consul, and reforming (the best that he could in so short a time) all disorders in *Rome*, being grieued and not able to endure that his enemies should possesse *Africa*, with great expedition he prepared all things necessary, and from *Rome* tooke his way thitherward, commanding his forces to follow him. First he went into *Sicilia*, and there shipped himselfe, and thence passed into *Africa*: and notwithstanding that neither his Nauie nor Armie arriued with him; trusting in the valour and goodnesse of his souldiers, and his owne good fortune, he tooke land with those small forces which he brought with him, neere vnto the citie of *Adrumentum* in *Africa*; and from thence marched to another citie called *Leptis*, where he was receiued: and after some conflicts which passed, his legions being come, and certaine troopes both on foote and horseback; he began the warre, which lasted foure moneths, *viz.* from the beginning of Ianuarie till

esars war in ica against pio.

till the end of Aprill, beginning first against PETREIVS and LABIENVS: afterwards it was continued against SCIPIO and King IVBA, which assisted the contrary faction with 8000. men, the one halfe whereof were horsemen, whereof the prouince of *Africa* did then, and to this day doth abound; among all which were leuied against CAESAR eight legions of footemen and 20000. horse: In this warre were many encounters, skirmishes and battailes, which HYRCIVS in his Commentaries, PLVTARCH, LVCAN, LVCIVS FLORVS & others write of at large, in which CAESAR was in great danger: but at the last with his force and good fortune, he ouercame them all in a great battaile; wherein, of the enemies, were slaine 10000. men, and CAESAR remained master of the field, and in few daies after of all the Countrie. SCIPIO and all the principall Captaines which were his aduersaries, died sundrie deaths within few daies; and king IVBA by slight escaping from the battaile, and finding no place of refuge, in despaire, he and ARANIVS determined to die fighting, the one against the other, till they were both slain, in which combat King IVBA being of greater strength then ARANIVS, slew him; and afterwards commanded a slaue of his own, to kill himself, and so he died desperately.

Hyrcius *lib.* 5. Appian *lib.* 2. Lucan *lib.* 5. Lucius Florus *lib.* 4. Titus Liuius *lib.* 114. Plutarch *in his liues.*

The good MARCVS CATO who was in the citie of *Vtica*, knowing that CAESAR marched thitherwards, and although he knew that he would not put him to death, but had rather a desire to pardon him, and to doe him honor; yet to the end that he would receiue neither life nor honor from his enemie, he slue himselfe: in whose death passed many notable accidents recorded by many authors both christian and heathen. CICERO did write in commendation of the death of CATO, against the which CAESAR did write another discourse: both which are lost. And FLORVS writes his death after this manner; Hearing of the decease of his partners, hee dallyed not at all, but (as it became a wise man) did ioyfully hasten his owne death: for after he had imbraced his sonne and friends and bid them good night; he rested a while vpon his bed, hauing perused PLATOS booke of the immortalitie of the Soule; then about the first relining of the watch, he drew his sword, and thrust himselfe into the bodie: After which the Physitians sought to wrong this resolute man, by applying some salues, the which he endured vntill they were out of the roome; but then he pulled them away: and, the blood following abundantly, he left his dying hand in the very wound. SCIPIO, who had been Generall in this warre, escaped from the battaile by flight, and shipping himselfe in certaine galleyes, wherein he fled, was met withall by CAESARS nauie; who, to the end hee would not be taken, giuing himselfe some wounds, cast himselfe into the sea, and so was drowned. CAESAR, hauing obtained so great and absolute a victory, spending some fewe dayes in ordering the prouinces of *Africa*, reducing the kingdome of king IVBA into a prouince, hee came to the citie of *Vtica*, where he imbarked himselfe the third of Iune, and came to the Ile of *Sardinia*, wherein he stayed some few dayes, and arriued at *Rome* the fiue and twentith day of Iuly. At his comming (as SVETONIVS, APPIANVS, and PLVTARCH record) there were grapted vnto him foure triumphs. The first triumph was for his conquest and victories in *France*, where were set the portraitures of the riuers of *Rodanus* and the *Rhine*, wrought in gold: and in the second triumph of *Egypt*, and of King PTOLOMEY, were set the riuer of *Nilus* and the *Pharus* of *Alexandria* burning. The third triumph was of the prouince of *Pontus* and of King PHARNACES, wherein for the speede wherewith he prosecuted the victorie, was placed a briefe writing which signified as much; which was, *veni, vidi, vici*, which is to say, I came, I saw, I ouercame. The fourth triumph was of the prouince of *Africa*, wherein was placed King IVBA his sonne, as a captiue: and in this triumph (as SVETONIVS writeth) were giuen iewels and armes to OCTAVIVS, CAESARS Nephew, who afterwards was Emperor, as we will declare, notwithstanding that he was not present in those warres by reason of his yong age: for he was not then fully sixteene yeares old. As for the battaile which CAESAR wanne against POMPEY, he would not triumph for it, because it was against Citizens of *Rome*.

Cato Vticensis slew himselfe. S. Aug. *in his booke de ciuit. dei. r.* Scipio slew and drowned himself. Lactantius Firmianus. Aulus Gellius *in his twelfth booke.* Cicero *in the 3. ofhis offices.* Valerius Maximus *cap.* 3. Cæsar *triumpha.*

Veni, vidi, vici.

Cæsar would not triumph for his victorie against Pompey.

These triumphs being ended, giuing great rewards to his souldiers, and entertayning the Romane people, with feasts, gifts and other great bountie, hee caused himselfe to be chosen the fourth time Consul, and to the end that there should be no place in the world wherein he would not be obeyed, he resolued to goe into *Spaine*, where he vnderstood that GNEVS POMPEIVS (POMPEIVS sonne) with the remainder of the armie which had escaped out of *Africa*, was gone to ioyne with his brother SEXTVS POMPEIVS, who already was there, as I haue said, and was in possession of a great part of *Spaine*, with the cities of *Seuill* and *Cordoua*, and many others in that coast, and many Spaniards were come to their ayde. CAESAR, departing, carried with him his most experienced and chosen souldiers, and made so good speede, as within few

dayes he arriued in *Spaine*, and in this iourney (as SVETONIVS and VELLEIVS PATERCVLVS recorde) his Nephew OCTAVIVS followed him.

CÆSAR, being entred *Spaine*, came into the prouince of *Betica*, which is *Andaluzia*, where SEXTVS POMPEIVS and his brother GNEIVS POMPEIVS were with such legions and souldiers as they had gathered together; and so there began betweene them a cruell and bloudie warre. The end whereof was, that neere to the citie of *Munda*, CÆSAR and GNEIVS POMPEIVS (for SEXTVS POMPEIVS was in *Cordoua*) ioyned battaile; which was one of the most obstinate and cruell, that euer was in the world. For CÆSAR being the most excellent Captaine, and the souldiers which he brought with him, the most valiant and accustomed to ouercome; the resolution and courage of POMPEY and his men was such, and they fought in such manner, as CÆSARS esquadrons began to giue ground and were ready to forsake the field, and at the very point to haue been wholly ouerthrowne; And the matter came to this issue, that (as SVETONIVS and EVTROPIVS do write) CÆSAR was about to haue killed himselfe, because he would not see himselfe ouercome; and that he took a target from one of his souldiers and rushed in among his enemies, saying with a loud voice (as PLVTARCH reporteth) If you be not ashamed, leaue me and deliuer me into the hands of these boyes: for this shall be the last day of my life and of your honour. With which words, and his example, his souldiers took heart in such manner, that, recouering the ground which they had lost, the battell became equal, which (as APPIANVS affirmeth) lasted the most part of one whole day, without any signe of victory; sometimes seeming to incline to one partie, and sometimes to the other, vntill that at length CÆSAR and his men did so great exploits, as the euening being come his enemies became faint, and began to flee, and the victory was apparantly CÆSARS. There died of his enemies aboue 30000 men in this fight: and of CÆSARS part, were slaine a thousand men of account, besides many other of lesser note. CÆSAR esteemed this victorie so much, and so gloried in the danger wherein he had been, that after the victorie he vsed to say, that only that day he fought for his life, and in all other battailes euer for honor and victorie. He then remayning master of the field, his aduersarie POMPEY, who in nothing had failed of the office of a valiant and good captaine (after that he saw no other hope) escaped by flight, and wandring through many places was afterwards taken and slaine by CÆSARS friends, whose head was brought vnto him; the like hapned vnto LABIENVS. His second brother SEXTVS POMPEIVS fled form *Cordoua*, & in the end forsook *Spain*: hereafter more mention shall be made of him. I. CÆSAR recouered the cities of *Seuill* and *Cordoua*, & all the rest; and disposing of all things in *Spaine* at his pleasure, returned to *Rome*, & entred in triumph for the warres in *Spaine*, which was his fift and last triumph: in this place LVC. FLORVS and PATERCVLVS speak of all his triumphs.

CÆSAR came to be the most mightie, the most redoubted, and most highly esteemed man that euer had been in the world, hauing subdued and conquered the greatest part thereof, with an Armie and by force, in as little time, as it might seeme that another man might be able to trauail those countries by reasonable iourneys. All which being in subiection vnto him, he made himselfe perpetuall Dictator of *Rome*; and so without contradiction he finished the making of himselfe soueraigne Lord and Monarch of the Romane Empire, within little lesse then fiue yeeres after that he began the same. And this was the originall and beginning of the Romane Emperours: for IVLIVS CÆSAR would not be called King (for the name of King was odious to the Romans aboue all things, euer since the Kings were chased from *Rome*) but contented himselfe to be called perpetuall Dictator and also Emperor; although not with a name of such power and dignitie as his successors haue done since, but as by a name which signified he had been a conqueror in the warres, which in this sense was giuen to the Romane Captaines, when they had obtained any notable victorie: but after IVLIVS CÆSAR, all his successors took that name, glorying to be called Emperors, which was held for the highest title and dignitie in the world.

IVLIVS CÆSAR hauing attained to that absolute power which he so much desired, he shewed in all things great clemency and magnanimitie, honouring and rewarding his friends, and easily forgiuing, and very cheerefully pardoning all those which had been his aduersaries; and so he not only pardoned BRVTVS and CASSIVS, CICERO, MARCELLVS, and many others: but also some of them he admitted to his companie and priuate familiaritie, and to offices and dignities. It is certaine that among all the many vertues wherewith CÆSAR was endued, his clemencie and liberalitie were most glorious. But this suffiiced not to quench the desire of their lost libertie, neither to asswage the hatred and malice conceiued against him by his aduersaries, as in time did appeare.

And

And notwithstanding that many were grieued: yet some for the loue which they bare him; others for feare and dissimulation; the Senate and people of *Rome*, and finally all, gaue him names, preheminencies and titles of honour, such as neuer had been giuen to any other; neither ought he to haue accepted the same, as PLVTARCH, APPIAN and others doe report: But CÆSARS minde and ambition was such, and his thoughts so eleuated and so high; as he held nothing so great, but he was worthie thereof and had deserued the same: and so he not only accepted that which they offered him; but many more were offered, because they knew that he desired the same. Whereupon they gaue him the name of Emperour, Father, restorer and preserver of his countrey: He was created perpetuall Dictator, and Consul for ten yeeres, and perpetuall Censor of their customes. His statue and image was erected among the Kings of *Rome*, and a chayre and throne of Iuorie in the Temples and Senate, and a high pulpit and throne in the Theatre, and in the place where the Senators did vse to sit, his pictures and statues were set vp in all the Temples and publike places. I passe ouer some titles which they gaue him, and he accepted, which only, to those whom they held for God, ought to haue been attributed. The moneth which they called Quintil, they called IVLIVS after his name, as March of their god MARS, and Iune after the goddesse IVNO: they did also consecrate and build Temples vnto him, as vnto IVPITER, and their other gods: and gaue him certaine honours which they held particularly for their gods, which they call Thensas: and so they did many other things to his honour, which exceeded all measure.

The names and high titles which were giuen to Cæsar.

IVLIVS CÆSAR enioying such honour and power, so as he had no equall or second in the world with whom he might contend; it seemeth that he would contend with himselfe, and attempt something wherein he might excell himselfe: for he was not contented with all the victories which he had obtained, neither (as PLINIE, SOLINVS and other report) to haue fought in fiftie seuerall battailes (in all which he ouercame) sauing in that one at *Dyrrachium* against POMPEY; where, as we haue alreadie said, he was not wholly ouerthrowne, neither (according to the same authors) to haue slaine in the warres and battailes which hee fought, a million, ninetie and odde thousand men; and yet they say that they reckon not those which died in the ciuill warres: but that as he was of a most haughtie minde, he sought to doe greater matters, if greater might be. For, first he resolued to passe into the East, there to conquer and subdue the fierce nation of the Parthians, and to reuenge the death of MARCVS CRASSVS, and to passe through *Hircania* and other countries, vntill he should come to the Caspian sea, and so through all the prouinces of *Scythia Asiatica*; and passing the riuer *Tanais*, to returne through *Scythia* in Europe, and in this retreit to come into Germany, and other prouinces bordering thereupon, conquering and subduing them all to the Romane Empire; for the which conquest hee presently caused to be leuied in sundrie places, ten thousand horsemen, and sixteene legions of chosen footmen, and appointing the time wherein he thought to depart, he commanded them to march towards their Rendeuous. And besides all this, he sought not only to subdue all the nations of the world, but to correct and reforme nature it selfe: for he purposed to haue made an Iland of *Peloponesus*, which now is called *Morea*, by cutting the neck of the land which is betweene the *Egean* and the *Ionian* Seas.

The high thoughts and purposes of Cæsar.

Of the Riuer *Tiber* and the Riuer *Anien* (as PLVTARCH saith) he purposed to haue altered the courses, and to haue opened new chanels, through which they should run into the Sea, making them to leaue their naturall course, and capeable to bear great ships. He commanded, and alreadie began to dig down and make plain many hils and high mountains in *Italie*, and to dry vp and dreine some of the great lakes and marishes which are therein: and, in this manner, hee thought to haue done other things more than a man, which seemed to bee possible to none but to God alone. He corrected (as many Authors affirm) the computation of the yeer, conforming it with the course of the Sun, and brought it to that rule which is yet held: for, before that time it was much out of order. He did the like in the course of the Moon, and the conjunctions and oppositions of her and the Sun: and this was attributed to him for tyrannie, by those which did hate him. For, one day, in a discourse in the presence of CICERO, it was said, that the next day there should be an Eclipse of the Sun; yea, quoth he, it is so: for, CÆSAR hath so commanded. Many other things CÆSAR began, which were very great, in reforming the lawes, customes and offices, which for breuity I omit: among which, the reedifying of the ruined city of *Carthage* by SCIPIO (as all the world knoweth) was one, and he sent thither Colonies and Roman citizens to inhabite: the like hee did by *Corinth*. But all these works and these so high conceits and resolutions were abbridged by death, which within fewe daies ensued: and this

Cæsar corrected the computation of the yeere. Suetonius, Plutarch, Censorinus.

Carthage repeopled by Cæsar.